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THE
INDIAN ANTIQUARY

A JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

IN

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, FOLKLORE, LANGUAGES,
LITERATURE, NUMISMATICS, PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, &c., &c.

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THE RELIGION OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLES.

BY THE LATE C. P. TIELE.

(Translated by G. K. Nariman.)

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, p. 360.)

8. Mazda's Satellites.

A LONG side of Mazda in the *Gāthas* stand a few heavenly beings, who co-operate with him. They are six in number, are closely allied to him, and latterly are placed, together with him, as the seven Amesha Spentas at the head of creation divine.

This term, Amesha Spentas, does not occur in the *Gāthas* proper, but in other Gathic writings. It has been conjectured that in the remotest period they were called Ahuras; but this has not been proved. Another question is whether, as known to the poets of the *Gāthas*, they formed a heptade at all. This has been asserted, regard being had to the seven Adityas of the Indians, and it has been opined that the worship of seven supreme existences, which we encounter in both the kindred races, at least in posterior times, demonstrates the existence of the belief in the epoch, when they had a common habitat. The numeral seven as a sacred figure is assuredly old. We have already admitted as much, but did the Zarathushtrian reformers employ it from the first with reference to their divine spirits? This is doubtful, even of the Adityas; and their number is in no way fixed and certain. And I would certainly call it in as regards the spirits, which were latterly definitely named Amesha Spentas, for even in the younger *Avesta* occasionally more than seven are enumerated. One of the poets on one occasion has combined in a single strophe all those which subsequently were reckoned among them, and he has, at the same time, specially mentioned Spento Mainyush as one of them: — "Through Spento Mainyush and Vahishtem Mano, through words and deeds springing from Asha may Mazda-Khshathra-Armaiti Ahura give me Haurvatat and Ameretat (health and immortality),"⁶⁰ and there is no doubt that he meant it to be so. But properly speaking it is eight spirits that are here invoked, for Spento Mainyush is clearly distinguished from Mazda Ahura. Then again at least two of the spirits, health and immortality, here appear not as personal beings, but as celestial boons.

Further, Mazda Ahura is in the text united with Khshathra and Armaiti in a trinity, and finally, as we shall see, Ahura Mazda stood so high above all the rest in the oldest announcements, that the idea had not yet suggested itself of placing him on a level with them even as *primus inter pares*. If, therefore, the figure seven was a sacred one to the Eastern Aryans, the fact that the

Iranians at a subsequent period applied it to their Amesha Spentas and the Indians to their Adityas does not show that originally there were seven of both classes of existences. Geush Urva, Geush Tashan, and Atar, the fire-god were also occasionally so named, and in a younger Gathic writing we shall find still more personifications reckoned among them. It is possible that the strophe cited above furnished the Zarathushtrian theologians of the post-Gathic ages with a means to elevate the seven mentioned therein to a special category, the passage being turned into a proof of the new tenet. They found seven and not eight beings in it, because to them Spento Mainyush had long become identical with Mazda.

A peculiarly intimate relation subsists between **Mazda**, **Vohumano**, and **Asha Vahishta**. There is no question but that they play the principal rôle. All the three together are entitled the most beneficent, and the most benignant helpers of the human race.⁶¹ To them follow **Khshathra** and **Armaiti**. Further in the back-ground appear **Haurvatat** and **Ameretat**. They are seen much less frequently as persons, the two last certainly not oftener than **Sraosha**, who, like another female personification, **Ashi**, figures as the image of **Khshathra** and **Vohumano**. Let us first examine the special significance of each separately and then their general or common character and the relations in which they stand to Mazda.

Vohumano.

Vohumano literally means the "good spirit" or the "good mind." The poets knew this. They seldom employed the term as a fixed proper name; oftener they named the angel, *Vahishtem mano*, the "best mind." We may call him the personification of the righteous or pious mind, the frame of mind, veracious and pleasing in God's sight. In fact, he approaches nearest to what we understand by the Holy Ghost, — *Spento mainyu*, indicating something different, though the term is mostly so interpreted. Hence the mention of his⁶² oracles, his doctrine and his wisdom. With **Armaiti** he brings Mazda's revelations to Zarathushtra. But reference is mostly made to his actions and his energy, by which he helps on the growth of Mazda's domination, so that we may even say that he actually gives the sovereignty to him.⁶³

As a person he is characterised above all by his right manly quality of *virtus* or *hunaratat*.⁶⁴ He is the cherisher and heavenly representative of all beings,⁶⁵ especially of men, and of the order of the pious on earth, who bear his device or mark (*fradakhsha*).⁶⁶ I should not be surprised if he were the Manu transformed by speculation, — the first father of our race among the Eastern Aryans, perhaps also among the Old Aryans, who left behind but feeble traces in the Zarathushtrian dogma — a personified religious-ethical idea, consequently, superposed on an original national hero.

Asha.

Asha is common to the Zarathushtrian and the Vedic religions. It is the same word as the Vedic *ṛta*, being equally derived from the Aryan *arta*, and is not essentially different from it in signification. Only the Indians have not personified him, as the Iranians have. The concept is, therefore, an old one, originally non-Zarathushtrian, but adopted by it, as being very appropriate. Or better, it so dominated the original Aryan faith that it asserted itself in the religions sprung from it, how divergent soever they otherwise were.

⁶¹ Yama 28, 9.

⁶² Yama 48, 9 and 29, 6. I derive Vafush from *vap*, to weave, and not from *vap*, to throw.

⁶³ Yama 48, 11. Yama 49, 5. Yama 43, 7. Yama 31, 10-11. Yama 43, 16. Yama 45, 4, *vanghush vereryanto manangho*, the very active Vohumano. Yama 48, 8. Yama 30, 8. Yama 31, 6. Yama 51, 21, the Khshathra created by Vohumano.

⁶⁴ Yama 50, 8.

⁶⁵ Gathic *vrapao*. Yama 34, 3.

⁶⁶ *Vanghush haor thvat manangho*. Yama 45, 9.

There can be little question regarding the significance of this personification and yet it is impossible to express it in one word. Some translate it as "purity"; others, following Plutarch, see "truth" in it. Neither of these is incorrect, but both are imperfect equivalents and to the last word we attach a different sense. The base-idea is that of being "fitted to" or "proper", and thus it indicates "to establish or to consolidate." Hence *asha* or *rita* is that which is befitting, coming, proper as well as what is determined, regulated, legitimate, righteous. Among the Indians, as well as the Iranians, the term is employed, in the first instance, with reference to sacrifice and the cult, and so we may probably translate it by "pious." But it is by no means limited to piety. It comprehends all that we understand by "divine order of the world," especially the moral order. It embraces all the duties of man in general and his obligations to the heavenly powers in particular.

As a rule we shall translate the substantive by "uprightness" or "order," the adjective by "righteous" or "pious," and also differently, where the sense requires it, but not without, at the same time, calling attention to the original word.

Asha then, or, as his full name runs, Asha Vahishta, is, as a personification of all that is dutiful and godfearing, the controller of divine laws and the prime factor or personage in the cult. The conduct of religious operations devolves on him. Longevity is attained by the practice of "Vohumano's order," which obviously is an allusion to the everyday cult. He is called the "order incarnate" — *astavat ashem*.⁶⁷ And when the seer asks: — "This I inquire of Thee, tell me aright, Ahura, how shall I pray with a prayer worthy of Thee?" he follows it up by the supplication: — "May friendly succour be vouchsafed us through Asha, when he comes to us with the Good Mind (Vohu Mano)."⁶⁸

No marvel that, as the representative of the sacrificial service to which the Aryan ascribes such terrible potency and such rich blessings, he is the most powerful foe of the Druksah, who destroys his settlements. Her strength however does not avail her much against him. She will have to surrender herself into his hands and he will completely overthrow her, ere the renovation or the resurrection of the world.⁶⁹

Finally, as such, he is connected with Atamaiti, who, as we shall see, is his complement with Haurvatat and Ameretat, who, as will also be shown, are represented by the two most important offerings, and above all with the fire, whose genius he himself becomes at a later stage.⁷⁰

As the concept of Asha, so also was the worship of fire an heritage from the earlier times to the Zarathushtrian reformers, a bequest which they would not forego, but piously preserved. To the fire must be brought the offering of worship. It comes to the pious, strong in Asha and with the strength of Vohumano. It is hisegis against the wicked glance of the vindictive, and belongs to Mazda, who, with it and with his mind or spirit, supports Asha.⁷¹

Along with the worship of fire, has an old system of ordeal or divine judgment remained imbedded in the Mazdayasnian faith? At all events it has, according to the tradition. It is related that the celebrated Atarpad Mabrespand subjected himself to a glorious ordeal of fire and vindicated the Zarathushtrian faith in the reign of Shahpuhr II. Molten lead was poured on the chest, if it did no harm, it established the truth of the doctrine and the claim to apostleship. According to several exegetes, the *Gâthas* refer to it in many places and the pioneers of the Zarathushtrian precepts are said to have put their antagonists to shame by successfully issuing out of trials by fire. Others are of the view that, in the passages in question, the last judgment is referred to when all will be purified by fire, the wicked suffering tortures and the good experiencing an agreeable

⁶⁷ Yasna 33, 14. Yasna 43, 2, 15.

⁶⁸ Yasna 44, 15.

⁶⁹ Yasna 30, 8. Ahura rules over those who deliver the Druksah into the hands of Asha. In 31, 1, I translate *gâthas* by settlements and not by "wesen" as does Geldner, for it is not clear to me what could be the meaning of "Wesen Ashas."

⁷⁰ Yasna 44, 10. Yasna 31, 6, *mathrem yim haurvatato ashahya ameretatashcha*. Yasna 31, 3 and Yasna 39, 8, where *utvazishia* is one of the sacred fires.

⁷¹ Yasna 43, 9; 43, 4; 46, 7, *thuchmat athvashaha mananghashcha*.

warmth. I am convinced, however, that this dogma is to be found only as a germ in the *Gāthas*. When they speak of a definite decisive division of two parties, or contending sections, they merely indicate the struggle between the Mazdayasnians and the Dævayasnians. The eschatological deduction is a later thought. It is possible that men were willing to decide the contest by an appeal to the test of fire, for there is the unmistakable mention of Mazda's hot red fire, as well as of his spirit. It is also possible to construe this only as figurative language, employed by the poets, or at least to look upon it as we do on the encounter of Elijah and the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel. In any case this barbarous animistic usage did not belong to the Zarathushtrian canon. It was a survival which was still tolerated.⁷²

Khshathra.

Khshathra is at once the sovereignty of Mazda in the abstract and his empire, which is celestial as well as terrestrial. The things celestial are delineated in vivid colours. Even prior to the creation, this dominion belonged to Mazda Ahura, Asha and Aramaiti. It is indestructible. There is there reverence for perfection, and forgiveness of sins. There also live the supreme spirits. It is also known as Khshathrem Vairim, the desirable dominion, the most advantageous portion, the best lot. The pious long for it, and as their reward for their prayers addressed to the Deity, they hope for a share in it to their eternal beatitude.⁷³ On the earth it appears as the domination of the good spirit, from which his blessings emanate, in which, Asha with Aramaiti, *i.e.*, the worship of God with active life (or as we would say prayer and work) flourish, and in which Mazda graciously promotes true life. If it is stated that Mazda created Asha out of or by himself, but that he had Khshathra brought to light by means of Vohumano, then we must think of the kingdom of heaven on earth, which is a production of the good spirit.⁷⁴ How far are we still from that posterior doctrine, which makes of Khshathra Vairya a genius of metal, a god of riches?

Aramati.

Aramati, still so named by the poets of the *Gāthas*, and corrupted subsequently into Aramaiti, is an old Eastern Aryan goddess, who was received from the first into the Zarathushtrian system, and occurs sometimes in the *Veda*. Here she is far from occupying the place of importance, which is assigned to *ṛta*. On the other hand, she plays an important rôle in the *Avesta*, and is scarcely less adored than Asha, with whom she is often conjoined. Plutarch calls her the creator of wisdom and this she is, according to the tradition, as she also is the guardian spirit, or deity, of the earth. Strange as the union of these two may appear, it dates from a distant past and is to be met with equally among the Indians and the Iranians.⁷⁵ Besides, it is by no means inexplicable, neither does it conflict with the signification of the name. Aramati indicates the solicitous, the good Mother Earth, who considers what is salutary for her children and is accordingly ever denominated the beneficent.

⁷² According to Geldner, and in his footsteps Jackson (*Beizenbergers Beiträge*, xiv, 15 ff. and "A Hymn of Zoroaster," respectively), there is no reference to divine judgment or a decision in strophe 3 of Yasna 51. They construe *rasa* in the dual or in the plural, occurring in Yasna 31; 18 in 47: 6 and in 51: 9 not as two rival or contending parties, but variously as "the two helpers of Mazda," as "the spirit and fire," as "the fire and lead," and as "Mithra and Raahnu." I am not satisfied with this explanation.

Also Kern in a private communication is of opinion that *rasa* can have no meaning, but the one given above. He assigns hereto *Ash* the narrow sense of oath, if not divine judgment, and that corresponds to the meaning of the word in the Ossetian, Armenian and Slav languages.

⁷³ Yasna 51, 12 and 4, *bagem aithaeriktem*. Yasna 28, 3.

⁷⁴ Yasna 51, 21; 30, 8 ; 33, 13, 14; 34, 3.

⁷⁵ The *σπλάγχνος σολίας* of Plutarch corresponds to Neriosengh's translation *asapernamassas*. He also explains her as *grāhitrīti*, lord of the earth. As Spiegel observes (*Iranische Alterthumskunde*, 11, 23), Sayana explains *Rig Veda*, vii, 36, 8 and 42, 3 by *dhūmih*, the earth. This, however, is usually objected to, as incorrect. But it is better than Grassman's translation "*dis arachtygellin*," and the explanation of Bergaigne, who would make of her a personification of prayer (*Religion Vedique*, 1, 220 *suire* and III, 243), in which there is only relative truth. Also *Rig Veda*, V, 43, 6, brings her in connection with *ṛta*: — *māhim aramaim jñam devim—ṛtjñam*; in *Rig Veda*, vii, 33, 8, she is invoked along with Pushan, the god of husbandmen, Bhaga, the god of fortune, and Parandhi, the dispenser of superabundance, which is altogether in keeping with her character as a benevolent earth-goddess.

How the reformers were able to adopt this Aryan divinity into their system, while they rejected all the other popular gods becomes clear, as soon as we reflect that the fostering of agriculture went hand in hand with religion and constituted such an important part of their work of reform. She is therefore actually represented as the guardian deity of the husbandman. A daughter of Ahura Mazda, who belonged to Genah Tashan and lived with her in her divine company, was allowed by the Deity her choice as to whom she would take under her protection on earth, whether her protégé was to be a husbandman or a non-agriculturist. She elected the industrious tiller of the soil, the pious lord who advances the good Spirit, and consequently her followers, must, when the false and the true preachers come to them, always make investigations to find out on which side lies the Lie. Her activity, so runs another passage, is manifested in manual labour, in contradistinction to the expressions of Vohunmano, which are produced by the mouth and the tongue. With her comes the true sovereignty, which secures a good dwelling place, fosters tillage and thereby disables the bloodthirsty fiend. By means of wisdom, good words and deeds one becomes a beneficent follower of Aramati.

And finally this last significance of the ancient goddess explains why she has always been united with Asha, with whom she progresses together, whose creation and seat she is called, and how reference is made to her own *asha*, which one must study well in order to enter the kingdom of Mazda. Asha is the informing concept of all religious and ethical obligations, as prescribed by the Zarathushtrian doctrine. Wherever she is regarded, settled mode of life prospers. The well sown earth is the creation and the seat of this religion, and to cultivate the land is a religious duty. Hence the older mythical character of the deity is also well manifested in the Zarathushtrian Aramaiti.

But of yore she had another phase still, which made her a sort of dependent of Asha, for Aramati can also mean "the right prayer, the right pious thought," which could help make her a genius of piety. This is not her only significance, as is usually supposed, though there are isolated passages in which she appears so to have been comprehended. When her sacrifices are spoken of, sacrifices with which Mazda is glorified, or her prayers and blessings, then this sense appears to be the most suitable. Yet, as said above, such are stray passages, for when it is said she instructs Zarathushtra in the ordinance of the infallible wisdom of Mazda, or brings to the Prophet, along with Vohu Mano, Mazda's revelation, that can be applicable to her only in her capacity of the guardian deity of the husbandman and the patron saint of settled life.

Haurvatat and Ameretat.

Indissolubly united are Haurvatat and Ameretat, perfect well-being, or sanity and immortality:—two concepts, which the *Veda* and the *Avesta* share in common, but which, however, in the *Avesta* have been transformed into spirits and united into a Duality. It seems that their personifications in the *Gāthas* took place in their incipient stage. At any rate, they play a subordinate rôle and seldom appear independently. More often the words occur in their ordinary significance without any personification. For instance, they are even called "the food of Mazda," which, he, in his kingdom, by which is meant here the kingdom of heaven, bestows on the pious, after having conferred on them here below strength and endurance. For strength and endurance are the earthly blessings, which correspond to the heavenly *haurvatat* and *ameretat*. As personal spirits, both belonged, at least at this time, to the cult. Their *mantra* is joined with that of Asha. They promise the priestly singers their reward, namely, steeds and camels; and next to endurance, which is the gift of Ameretat, we have mention of the *draona*, that is to say, the sacrificial cake of Haurvatat. Ameretat here fully occupies the place of Haoma, so that we might hazard the conjecture that, in the cult of the *Gāthas*, it was turned into the drink of deathlessness.

Sraosha.

Even **Sraosha**, a word which several times is employed in its ordinary connotation of obedience, occupies but a very modest place as a genius in the *Gāthas*. He is a messenger between the terrestrial and the celestial worlds, is despatched by Mazda with *Vohu Mano* to his favourites, distributes together with *Ashi*, the bestower of riches, blessings among men, leads the pious on to the eternal domains of the beneficent Spirit along paths, which, starting from righteousness, conduct to the seat, where is Mazda Ahura enthroned, and he is even called "the Way to Godhead." **Sraosha** seems to have been in the beginning only a clearly defined heavenly figure, and to have acquired only at a later period great importance as the representative of divine revelation.

Airema.

The Aryan god **Aryaman**, in the *Veda* the companion of *Varuna* and *Mitra*, retained his place of honour also with the *Zarathushtrians*. At least they recognise a genius in whom he is concealed, **Airema Ishyo**, the desired friend. In one of the oldest prayers, which bears his name, the wish is expressed that he might come in order to delight the men and women of *Zarathushtra* by his presence, to which is joined another prayer that Mazda may shower his blessings upon those who deserve them through righteousness.

These are the higher beings who were obviously acknowledged in the most ancient *Zarathushtrian* doctrine and who were revered by the early order. Partly deities of an earlier epoch, but afterwards substantially modified and reduced to harmony with the principles of the new teachings. Properly speaking they are none of them gods at all, with the single exception of Mazda Ahura. Most of these figures are more personifications than persons; in fact are neither more nor less than concepts appearing in the shape of divine beings whose real significance was nevertheless perfectly clear. Here and there they occur as mere manifestations of the existence of the supreme Deity, the effectuation of His spirit.

Some times two of them, as a rule the two that are pre-eminent, *Vohu Mano* and *Asha*, are united to Mazda in an almost indissoluble Trinity. *Asha's* will is in the most complete accord with Mazda's. Later on this is said of all the seven *Amesha Spentas*. That early in this period the seven were known as closely combined and elevated to higher rank than other *Yazatas* cannot be proved. On the contrary **Sraosha**, *Genah Tashan*, *Aryaman*, but above all the first, are held in no less esteem than, for instance, *Haurvatat* and *Ameretat*. And, however hostile the new preaching was to the *Dyaus* worship, that it had its roots in the elder faith, and that it was a reformation of it, is evident from the harmony between Mazda Ahura and *Varuna*, and the conservation of the older gods, after peculiar modifications, such as *Aramati* and *Aryaman*, and the ancient prevailing beliefs, such as those in *Asha* and *Ameretat*, and from other circumstances to which we shall refer further on.

One of the most important features of this reform is the tendency it shows to **Monotheism**. Too little value has been hitherto attached to the fact that even the most exalted celestial beings stand by no means on the same footing with **Mazda**. He alone is properly God, of whose being created or born there is no mention anywhere, except in an heretical doctrine promulgated centuries later. The rest of the spirits are all created or have come to birth. They are the creatures or the progeny of Mazda, and by consequence distinct from him, not only in rank, but in their very essence. As a matter of fact, as well as in actual practice, the system of *Zarathushtrian* religion in its most ancient form known to us was monotheistic.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M. A., RAI BAHADUR.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII., p. 357.)

The Feudatory Families.

This is the main thread of the history of the Nellore District until the close of the first quarter of the 14th century A. D. Before continuing the narrative we must attempt a brief survey of the various feudatory families that sprang into existence in the Nellore District on the first sign of weakness of the imperial Chôlas. With the Velanāṇḍu chiefs who

The chiefs of Velanāṇḍu. had their capital at Tsandavōlu in the Guntur District;²³ we are not much concerned, though a few inscriptions of the family have been found in the extreme north of Nellore. The family has already been mentioned incidentally in this paper more than once. It is enough here to remark that though they belonged to the fourth or Sūdra caste, they based their claim to dominion on the services which they had rendered to the Eastern Chalukya king Vimalāditya²⁴ and to prince Vira-Chôḍa,²⁵ one of the viceroys of Vēṅgi during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. The last named king is also said to have adopted a Velanāṇḍu chief as his son.²⁶ Subsequently, the members of the family expanded their dominions and occupied a considerable portion of the province of Vēṅgi. Kulōttuṅga-Rājendra is the only chief represented in the Nellore volume (O. 59, O. 60, and D. 45). He was a feudatory of the Eastern Chalukya Rājarāja II. in A. D. 1167-68.

The Chôḷa king Parāntaka I. claims to have conquered the Vaidumbas. Several inscriptions of this family have been found in the Cuddapah District.²⁷ Members of the Vaidumba family figure as feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. in his inscriptions found at Tirukkōvalūr in the South Arcot District.²⁸ Subsequently, they appear to have transferred their allegiance to the Chôḷas.²⁹ A few later Vaidumbas seem to have held some authority in the south of Nellore, originally as Chôḷa feudatories (G. 61, G. 88, N. 6 and S. 8). Rājendra-Chôḷa-Vaidumba-Mahārāja (S. 8) was evidently the feudatory a Telugu-Chôḷa chief, whose name is not preserved in full.

The family whose history is more complicated is that which, on a former occasion,³⁰ I styled the Telugu-Chôḷas. The name does not seem to be inappropriate, because these Chôḷas appear to have extended their dominions over a considerable portion of the Telugu country. Almost all the known branches of the family trace their origin to the mythical Chôḷa king Karikāla mentioned in Tamil literature. This fact proves that Karikāla and his achievements were well known in the Telugu country, if it cannot be taken to show that his dominions extended thither. In support of this conclusion may be adduced the existence of a Chôḷa principality in the southern part of the Kurnool District in the 8th century A. D., the rulers of which claimed to be descended from Karikāla and to be born

²³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 238.²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 34. Vimalāditya gave them the tract of country round Gujivōḷa.²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36. Vira-Chôḍa is said to have given them the country between the Krishṇa and Gōdāvarī rivers.²⁶ This was Chôḷa, on whom was bestowed the country of Vēṅgi containing sixteen thousand villages.²⁷ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, Part II, para. 52.²⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 142-44.²⁹ *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, pp. 166-7.³⁰ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, paragraphs 46-54.

in the Solar race and the *Kāśyapa-gotra*.³¹ The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled in India in the 7th century A. D. refers to a Chōḷa kingdom in the same locality.³² It has, therefore, to be concluded that more than a century before the Chōḷas of the Tamil country became dominant in Southern India, there was a Chōḷa kingdom comprising the southern portion of Karnool, and the northern part of Cuddapah. With this principality and its history we are not at present concerned. Its existence has, however, to be noticed, because the Chōḷas with whom we have to deal must have had some connection with the former.³³ At any rate, they claim no relationship with the Chōḷas of Tanjore.³⁴

Of the Telugu-Chōḷas I noticed three branches in the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900. One of them seems to have settled down in the modern Guntur District with Kopidena (the ancient Koṭṭyadōṇa) near Narasaraopet as its capital. Daśavarman, the earliest known member of this branch claims to have conquered Pākanāḍu and to have ruled at Pottapi³⁵, a name which is associated with the surnames of a large number of Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs. Kandukūru in Pākanāḍu also seems to have been the capital at some time or other. The early history of these chiefs is obscure and the circumstances which led to their acquiring dominion are nowhere set forth. But towards the close of the reign of the Chalukya-Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I. some disturbances hitherto unexplained appear to have taken place in the province of Vēṅḡl.³⁶ The Chōḷas of the Telugu country whom we found in possession of a kingdom in the 7th and 8th centuries must have sunk into comparative insignificance during the succeeding three centuries and were probably looking for an opportunity to acquire dominion and reassert their power. The disturbance in Vēṅḡl might have afforded them the requisite opportunity. The earliest³⁷ inscription of the Telugu-Chōḷas is dated in

A. D. 1106-07 during the reign of Ballaya-Chōḷadēva Mahārāja³⁸
 The Telugu-Chōḷas of Kopidena. D. 68. Next came Pottapi-Kāmadēva Chōḷa-Mahārāja³⁹ and Karikāla-Chōḷa-Mahārāja who were feudatories of Kulōttuṅga I. and whose inscriptions have been found at Tripurāntakam in the Karnool District.⁴⁰ D. 48 and D. 49 introduce Ballichōḷa-Mahārāja (or Ballibhūpālaka), son of Kāma, grandson of Veika and great-grandson of Pottapi-Nanni-Chōḷa.⁴¹ The dates of Ballichōḷa are Śaka-Saṃvat 1067 and 1088 corresponding to A. D. 1144-45

³¹ See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1904-05, Part II, paras. 5 and 6.

³² This reference was first noticed by me in an article contributed to the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for 1893 (Vol. XI, p. 234, note) and pointed out independently by Mr. V. A. Smith in his *Early History of India*, second edition, p. 417.

³³ In his volume of Tumkur inscriptions, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XII, p. 7, Mr. Rice refers to certain Chōḷa records from the country round Hēmaṃṣi (in the Anantapur District) and Nijugal. These he assigns to the middle of the 8th century A. D.

³⁴ The title "lord of the city of Uraiyūr" is borne by many of them and would show that they claimed descent, not from the Chōḷas of Tanjore, but from the earlier Chōḷas who had their capital at Uraiyūr.

³⁵ Pottapi is perhaps identical with Potapi near Tongootoor in the Pullampet taluk of the Cuddapah District; see my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1907-08, Part II, paragraph 79.

³⁶ The frequent change of viceroys (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 334) and the alleged adoption of a Velanāḍu chief as son by Kulōttuṅga I. are facts which are at present inexplicable on any other supposition.

³⁷ If the date assigned by the editors to P. 22 be correct, the history of the family would be carried to a still earlier period. The inscriptions of this branch as well as the Telugu records of the southern branch open with a Sanskrit passage, the first words of which are *chavaga-sarvruḥa-vihata-vilochana*.

³⁸ Perhaps this is the same as the Chōḷaballayachōḷa on p. 18 of the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900.

³⁹ Perhaps identical with Kāma who married Śrīyādēvi and whose date is Śaka-Saṃvat 1059 (*ibid.*).

⁴⁰ *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 54.

⁴¹ Their ancestry might be made to agree with that quoted in the two preceding notes only on the supposition that Kāma had two sons and that Veika was another name of Chōḷaballayachōḷa.

and 1165-66.⁴² Ballichôḍa does not acknowledge the overlordship of the reigning Eastern Chalukya kings Kulōttuṅga II. and Rajarāja II. But another Telugu-Chôḍa chief who was a contemporary of Ballichôḍa, viz. Tribhuvannamalladēva-Chôḍamahārāja was actually an Eastern Chalukya feudatory in A. D. 1147-48 (O. 142). He probably built the Kēśava temple at Kōḍidena. In A. D. 1152-53 (O. 19) he seems to have been a semi-independent ruler of Kammanāṇḍu.⁴³ In A. D. 1226-27 Mallidēva-Chôḍamahārāja⁴⁴ of the same family appears to have been governing Kammanāṇḍu (O. 17). D. 28 dated in A. D. 1234-55 introduces Haridēva⁴⁵-Chôḍamahārāja who might have been a Kākatīya feudatory. On the same day⁴⁶ Gaṅgayasāhaḥi, another Kākatīya feudatory, already known from the Tripurāntakam inscriptions,⁴⁷ made a grant at the same village, viz. Gaṅgayaram in the Darśi division (D. 25).⁴⁸ [Siṅga]yadēva Gaḍidēva Chôḍa-Mahārāja, who was a feudatory of Rudramahārāja and for whose merit a grant was made in A. D. 1267-68 (D. 24) must also have belonged to the Telugu-Chôḍa family, though it does not appear how he was connected with the other members who have been already mentioned.

Another branch of the Telugu-Chôḍas is represented by the inscriptions of the southern taluks of the Nellore District. The capital of this family appears to have been Nellore. They were, accordingly, more in touch with the Chôḍa kings whom they generally acknowledged as their overlords. Some of these chiefs appear to have carried their arms as far south as Conjeeveram. In the temples of Conjeeveram as well as in the North Arcot and Chingleput districts, a large number of inscriptions of this branch, have been found. One of its members was also a patron of Telugu literature.

The earliest members of this branch were Madhurāntaka Pottapi-Chôḍa and Tiluṅga-Vidya.⁴⁹ Of the former it is said that he acquired the name Madhurāntaka by conquering Madura and Pottapi-Chôḍa by founding in the Andhra country the town of Pottapi. Tiluṅga-Vidya is reported to have erected a pillar of victory with a figure of Garuḍa at the top at a place called Ujjapurī.⁵⁰ The time when these two flourished is not known. But as the latter is said to have been born in the race of the other, the interval of time between the two must be considerable. The first five kings of the family⁵¹ mentioned in inscriptions from the Tamil country are not represented in the

⁴² O. 92 dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1079=A. D. 1156-57 mentions six generations, viz. Rājamahēndra-Pottapi-Chôḍa; his father Sūmaparāḥu; his father Nanni-Chôḍa; his father Kaṭṭra Vāṅkya; his father Ballerāja; and his father Chāḍi-Vāṅkana of the Solar race. There is nothing in the inscription to show that these chiefs enjoyed any dominion. They might have been private individuals who boasted of some remote connection with the Telugu-Chôḍas. If this be the case, the origin of the Telugu-Chôḍa family is carried to a period anterior to the oldest hitherto discovered record of the family. D. 33 dated in A. D. 1101-37 records a gift for the merit of the Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara Paṇṭṭadēva-Chôḍamahārāja, who might be a local chief, though it is doubtful if he had anything to do with the family of which we are now speaking.

⁴³ See also the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, para. 47. The name of the chief is not preserved in full in O. 19, as the stone seems to be built into a tank-band. O. 120 also belongs to the Telugu-Chôḍa family. But as it is very badly damaged, neither the king's name nor the Śaka date is certain.

⁴⁴ Chôḍadēva-Chôḍamahārāja and his brothers Malidēvarāja and Chikkirāja are mentioned in KR. 22 dated in A. D. 1236-37.

⁴⁵ A close examination of the impression makes me think that the reading *Ghaḍidēva* is not unlikely.

⁴⁶ The details of date are the same in D. 28 and D. 25.

⁴⁷ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, Part II, paragraph 44.

⁴⁸ A later Kākatīya feudatory was Chôḍamalidēva-Mahārāja, who, in A. D. 1291-92, made a grant for the merit of Prathāparadra (D. 6). To judge from the name he might have been a Telugu-Chôḍa. Other inscriptions which may be assigned to the Telugu-Chôḍa family on the same ground are:—O. 86, which mentions the Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara Mallidēva-Chôḍamahārāja; O. 117, where the king's name is only partially preserved; O. 91, dated during the reign of Jagadebhaḥi-gaṇḍa Ujjala-Chôḍa-Baḥḷaya-Chôḍamahārāja; and O. 125, where the king's name cannot be made out in full from the impression. As late as the 15th century A. D. there was a chief who boasted of having obtained dominion through the favour of Karikāla-Chôḍa (O. 148).

⁴⁹ The details which follow are taken from Dr. Lüders' paper in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII.

⁵⁰ Dr. Lüders identifies this place with Ujjipuram or Ujjapuram, 18 miles east-south-east of Kōḷḷāḍi in the Coimbatore District. There is, however, a place now known as Uṭṭar in the Sālūrpet Division of the Nellore District. The village is called Uchchiyūr in a Tamil inscription found at the place (S. 19).

⁵¹ Members of the Telugu-Chôḍa family who were contemporaries of the Chôḍa kings Vikrama-Chôḍa and Kulōttuṅga II. are mentioned in inscriptions from Nandalūr in the Cuddapah District; see my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1907-8*, Part II, paragraph 78.

Nellore volume. These are Siddhi, his younger brother Betta I. and the latter's sons, Dāyabhlma, Nallasiddhi, and Eṛasiddhi. Of these, Nallasiddhi is said to have taken Kāñchi. If there be any truth in this, it may be that the event took place prior to the reign of the Chōja king Kulōttuṅga III.⁵² The capture of Kāñchi and the victorious entry into the city mentioned in some of the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III.,⁵³ may, in that event, refer to his recovering it from Nallasiddhi or from his successor.

The earliest inscription of the branch in the volume before us is dated during the reign of the Chōja king Kulōttuṅga III. (N. 40) and in Saka-Saṃvat 1112 corresponding to A. D. 1189-90. It records a gift to a temple at Nellūr *alias* Vikramasimhapuram by a chief who is called Siddhi in the Sanskrit portion and whose name is not fully preserved in the Tamil portion. Perhaps he was called Madurāntaka-Pottapichōja-Manmasiddha.⁵⁴ No records of Betta II., who is said to have resigned the kingdom in favour of his younger brother⁵⁵, are found in Nellore. Tammusiddhi (KV. 39, N. 72, and N. 75) is represented as a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III. in an inscription of his 26th year = A. D. 1203-04 (N. 72). Here the former is called M. P. *alias* Tammusiddhi. His records have been found at Conjeeveram, Tiruvorriyūr and Tiruppāṣūr in the Chingleput District and Tiruvālaṅgaḍu in the North Arcot District. From the Conjeeveram inscription we learn that he was the son of Gaṇḍagōpāla (which was evidently another name of Eṛasiddhi) by Sridēri and younger brother of Manmasiddhi⁵⁶ and that he "performed his anointment to universal sovereignty in the town of Nellūr."⁵⁷ His dates found in the Tamil country range from Saka-Saṃvat 1127 to 1129 = A. D. 1205-06 to 1207-08. Then came M. P. *alias* Nallasiddharasa who was probably ruling at Nellore (N. 85).⁵⁸ He seems to have been a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III. from the 27th to 35th year of his reign (G. 34, N. 67 and A. 18) and had a son named Pettarasa⁵⁹ or Bettarasa (G. 76). M. P. Pettarasa mentioned in N. 111 with the date A. D. 1213-4 has probably to be identified with this Pettarasa. It is not unlikely that his father Nallasiddharasa is the same as the Bhujabalavīra-Nallasiddhanadēva-Chōḍamahārāja (R. 36), Bhujabala[vīra]-Nallasiddhanadēva-Chōḍamahārāja (G. 1) and Vira-Nallasiddhanadēva-Chōḍamahārāja (KV. 13).⁶⁰ The last boasts of having levied tribute from (the ruler of) Kāñchi. The relationship, if any, which this Nallasiddha⁶¹ bore to Tammusiddhi, is not explained. As the former appears to have been a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga III. from his 27th to 35th year, it is clear that he must have come after Tammusiddhi.⁶² The contemporary of Rājārāja III. was apparently M. P. *alias* Eṛasiddha⁶³ (R. 38, V. 10, and G. 59) or

⁵² Manmasiddhi and Tammusiddhi, sons of Eṛasiddhi, were feudatories of Kulōttuṅga III. as will be pointed out in the next paragraph.

⁵³ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1904-5*, Part II, paragraph 19.

⁵⁴ In a Tamil fragment found in the town of Nellore (N. 82) mention is made of [Madurā]ntaka-Pottap[pi Chō]ja *alias* Manmasi[ṭṭarasa].

⁵⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 122.

⁵⁶ From KV. 39 the editors of the Nellore volume have made out that Nallasiddhi was the elder brother of Tammusiddhi. Other inscriptions of the family hitherto known mention two elder brothers of Tammusiddhi, *viz.* Manmasiddhi and Betta II. of whom the latter did not reign. The impression of KV. 39 found in the collection made over to me by Mr. Butterworth is indistinct at the end of line 15 where the editors read *tatradēva-Nallas* and I am therefore unable to decide if this is the correct reading or if it has to be *tatradēva-Manmas*.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁵⁸ The inscription is mutilated and the date is lost.

⁵⁹ G. 85, dated during the 36th year of Tribhuvanavardēva, *i. e.* Kulōttuṅga III. mentions Siddarasa, son of Peddarasa, who probably belonged to the Nāga family (see below). Siddarasa's elder sister is said to have married M. P. Manmasiddharasa.

⁶⁰ In this inscription, two sons of his seem to be mentioned, *viz.* Manmasiddha and [A]ṭṭiga.

⁶¹ K.R. 25, which professes to be dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1160, the cyclic year Kūlayukta, mentions Nellūri-Nallasiddharāja, who invaded Yarragūḍḍapāḍu in connection with the grazing of cattle. The same story is elsewhere told of Siddharāja of Nellore who is said to have fought against the combined troops of Kōṭamarāja of Yarragūḍḍa and of the Padmanāyaka who was ruling Palnāḍ.

⁶² The provisional genealogy given on p. 18 of my *Annual Report for 1899-1900* seems now to be confirmed by records of the family found at Nandalūr in the Cuddapah District; see my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1907-8*, Part II, paragraph 74. In the former, Dāyabhlma, son of Betta I., appears to have been called after his grandfather who would in that case be identical with No. (1) Dāyabhlma of the Nandalūr inscription.

⁶³ This Eṛasiddha must be different from and later than his namesake who was the father of Tammusiddhi.

Bhujabalarāṣa-Ērasiddanādēva-Chōḍamahārāja, who boasts of having levied tribute from the ruler of Kāñchi (A. 38). He is also mentioned in R. 37, V. 7, and G. 58.⁶⁴

The next chief whom we have to consider is Tirukālatidēva who seems to have been a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III. He figures first in a record of the [3]1st year of Kulōttuṅga III. where he is called M. P. *alias* Tirakkālatidēva (N. 101). The same name occurs in R. 66, dated in the 37th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva. He is also called Chōḷa-Tikka-nṛpati and Chōḷa-Tirukālatidēva (R. 8), son of Manumaṣittaraśar⁶⁵ and Bhujabalarāṣa-Tikakāladēva-Chōḍamahārāja (R. 47). KR. 29, which is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1137, the Sakā *saṁvatsara* apparently belongs to him. Here he is called Tirukālatidēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja. Gaṇḍagōpāla-Tirukāladēva (or M. P. Gaṇḍagōpāla Tiru[kkālat]tidēva),⁶⁶ whose dates range from Saka-Saṁvat 1150 (KV. 38) to 1153 (R. 65), appears to be different from the abovementioned chief. He was a feudatory of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja III. (S. 12 and G. 60). KV. 45 probably belongs to his reign.⁶⁷ From the Telugu *Nīrvachanōttararāmdīyaṇamu* we know that Tikka-nṛpati (or Chōḍa-Tikka), son of Manmasiddha, defeated Karṇātaka Sōmēśa (*i. e.* the Hoysaḷ king Vīra-Sōmēśvara), Sambavarāja and other enemies, established the Chōḷa king on his throne and in consequence assumed the title *Chōḷa-sthāpandachārya*. Though we cannot be quite sure at present how many chiefs there were who bore the name Chōḷa-Tikka or Tirakkālatidēva (or if there was only one who reigned a pretty long time at Conjeeveram and who slightly altered his name during the later portion of his life) we have to identify the Tikka-nṛpati of the *Nīrvachanōttararāmdīyaṇamu* with the Chōḷa-Tikka-nṛpati, son of Manumaṣittaraśar, mentioned above. R. 39 which seems to be dated in A. D. 1243-44 mentions the *Mahāmaṇḍalīśara* M. P. [*alias*] Tilakanārāyaṇa [Manu]maṣittaraśar.

Next came Allu Tirukālatidēva-Mahārāja who was ruling at Kāñchi and who had a maternal uncle (or father-in-law) called Tirukāladēva-Mahārāja (A. 7). The prefix *allu* was evidently added to the former to distinguish him from his uncle. G. 77 dated in the 3rd year of Allantirakkālatidēvar *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla-Mahārāja may belong to him. His dates range from Saka-Saṁvat 1166 (KV. 25) to 1174 (U. 48) in the latter of which he is called Tikayadēva-Mahārāja and figures as a feudatory of Virarājēndra-Chōḷa-chakravartin. He had a younger brother named Vijayādityadēva⁶⁸-Chōḍamahārāja (R. 20).⁶⁹ KG. 11 where the king's name is only partially preserved⁷⁰ and Nallūr in Pākanaḍu is mentioned as the capital, may also belong to him.⁷¹

(To be continued.)

⁶⁴ In A. 45 an officer of a certain Ērasidīrāja is mentioned.

⁶⁵ KV. 40, which is undated, mentions the *Mahāmaṇḍalīśara* Jagadobbagapḍa Kāmayaḍava-Mahārāja and Manumaṣittaraśar-Chōḍamahārāja.

⁶⁶ There is an inscription in Tamil of Gaṇḍagōpāla in the Aruḷḷa-Perumāl temple at Little Conjeeveram. The date is A. D. 1233 and he is called M. P. Manumaṣittaraśar Tirakkālatidēva *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla (No. 37 of 1893). This name shows that he was the son of Manumaṣittaraśar and therefore he might be identical with the Chōḷa Tirukālatidēva mentioned above. A Sanskrit inscription in Kanarese characters of Chōḷa-Tikka is also found in the same temple. It is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1156 (No. 34 of 1893) corresponding to A. D. 1233-4. Though the names are different, it is not altogether improbable that these two inscriptions belong to the same king who might be identical with the Chōḷa-Tikka of the Telugu *Nīrvachanōttararāmdīyaṇamu*.

⁶⁷ N. 51 which is a Tamil fragment mentions Pottappiechōḷa Gaṇḍagōpāla.

⁶⁸ It is not known when Vijayāditya of O. 57 flourished or to what dynasty he belonged. In G. 93 the editors have read the king's name as Vijayadēva. An examination of the impression leads me to suspect that, in the original, the stones on this part of the temple wall may be out of order.

⁶⁹ A. 55, dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1212, the cyclical year Vikṛiti = A. D. 1290-91 belongs to the reign of Manumaṣittaraśar-Chōḍamahārāja, son of Vijayādityadēva-Mahārāja. There is, however, nothing to show that the former was a Telugu-Chōḷa, though his name was borne by a chief of that family. It is also possible that Manumaṣittaraśar-Chōḍamahārāja was not the son of Vijayādityadēva-Mahārāja, but that the unnamed son of the latter made a gift during the reign of the former.

⁷⁰ The second portion of the inscription records a gift by a chief whose name seems to be different from that of the donor in the first portion.

⁷¹ No. 45 of 1893, where he is called Tribhuvanaśakravartin Śrī-Allantikkamahārāja Gaṇḍagōpāladēva, No. 649 of 1904 (Rāmagiri) and No. 201 of 1903 (Kālabastī) may also belong to him. In the second he is called Tribhuvanaśakravartin Śrī-Allantikkamahārāja *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla and in the third Tribhuvanaśakravartin Śrī-Allantirukāladēva *alias* Gaṇḍagōpāla.

ARIYUR PLATES OF VIRUPAKSHA. SAKA SAMVAT 1312.

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M.A.

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WHILE editing the paper on the *Sorakkāvūr* Plates of the Vijayanagara king Virūpaksha in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, I happened to show a transcript of the inscription to the late Mr. S. M. Nāṭhā Sāstri, B.A., who, struck by the identity of the introduction of this record with another of which he had a transcript, placed that transcript at my disposal. I now edit the inscription from the transcript kindly lent to me by him. He added that the plates were discovered by one Saṅkara Sāstri of Ariyūr, while digging in a portion of his house for a foundation. The plates were made over to Mr. Nāṭhā Sāstri, who did not remember what he did with them, but thought he might have sent them to Dr. Fleet.

The set must have contained at least three plates engraved on both sides. They are each marked on the left corner of the first side with the Tamil numerals one and two. The inscription does not end with these two plates and hence the surmise that there must be at least one more plate now missing.

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Tamil. The first part is in the former language, and the second in the latter, and both of them are written in the Grantha alphabet. There are here and there Tamil letters employed, which will be noticed in the foot-notes added to the text of the inscription. The Sanskrit portion contains verses which are word for word almost identical with the verses in the introduction of the *Sorakkāvūr* plates.

Here also the genealogy begins with Sangama whose wife was Kāmākshī; his son was Bukka; and his son Harihara (II.). This Harihara married Mallādēvi, the grand-daughter (*pauṭri*) of Rāmadēva. To them was born Virūpaksha, who is described as having conquered Kuntala, Tundīra, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya countries. He is said to have weighed himself against gold in the presence of (god) Rāmanātha and made gifts of a thousand cows. He is called *śālagasthāpandchārya*. He re-gilded (the central shrine of the temple at) Srīraṅgam and the golden hall (at Chidambaram). The plates further add that the prince Virūpaksha conquered also Siṃhaladvīpa (Ceylon); this last fact is mentioned in the Ālampūḍi plates, but not in the *Sorakkāvūr* ones. He is compared to the celestial *kalpaka-vṛksha* in giving presents to those depending upon him.

The record is dated in the Saka year 1312, expressed by the chronogram *śāyāśāḍghyē*. This corresponds, according to the inscription, to the cyclic year Pra[mōdūta]. The name of the month in which the record is dated is lost, but it is one of the months of the *chāturmāsya vṛta*, beginning with the month Śrāvaṇa. The gift is made on a Sunday, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright half of that month. The immediate object of the grant is the gift of the village of Ariyūr, said to be situated in the Kalavā *nivṛti* belonging to the Paḍuvūr-kūṭṭam of the Jayachōla province (Jayaṅgaṇḍa-kōlamanḍalam), to learned and famous Brāhmaṇas of good family, under the name of Virūpakshapura. Following these statements are the usual four imprecatory verses; and at the end we find that the document was drawn up by Viśvanātha by the command of the king Virūpaksha. From the fact that the Sanskrit portions of the *Sorakkāvūr* and the Ariyūr plates are almost identical, we can well infer that Viśvanātha must also be the composer of the *Sorakkāvūr* plate grant.

¹ In his Ālampūḍi plates, Virūpaksha is said to have been the grandson through his daughter, of Rāmadēva, whom Mr. V. Venkayya identified with the Yādava king Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri. But Mr. E. Sewall in a note contributed to this Journal (*ante*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 19), disagreed with Mr. Venkayya in his opinion about the identity of Rāmadēva of the Ālampūḍi grant with the Yādava king Rāmachandra and, in conclusion, dismissed the view that though Mallādēvi might have been of the race, she was not the daughter of king Rāma, if Rāma is to be identified with Rāmachandra of Dēvagiri. About this point, see my remarks and those of Dr. Hultsch, in my paper on the *Sorakkāvūr* plates in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 299.

The second part deals exclusively with the division of the shares in the village granted. The inscription informs us that the village was divided into 32 shares and the following table gives at a glance the names of the donees, their *gōtras*, *sūtras* and *vēdas*, and the shares of each in the division:—

No.	Names of the donees.	Vēdas of which they are students.	Gōtras.	Sūtras.	Number of shares.
1	.....²	.....	.....	.....	1
2	Kāyamāṇikkabhaṭṭa	Drivēda ...	Vridhāṅ-gīras.	Kauśika ...	2
3	Rāchaya	Do. ...	Kāśyapa ...	Āśvalāyana.	1
4	Kuppaṇṇa ... ..	.....	Kāpa ...	Do. ...	1
5	Peddibhaṭṭa	Yajurveda...	Bhāradvāja.	Āpastambha.	1
6	Svayampāki Girippaṇṇa Dikshita .	Rigvēda ...	Viśvāmitra...	Āśvalāyana...	1
7	Kōḍu Dēvanāthayya	Yajurveda...	Harita ...	Āpastambha.	1
8	Vainadēyabhaṭṭa	Do. ...	Kauṇḍinya...	Do. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$
9	Srīraṅganātha	Do. ...	Saṁkṛiti ...	Do. ...	$\frac{1}{2}$
10	Mallappa	Sukla Yajur- vēda.	Kauśika ...	Kātyāyana ...	$\frac{1}{2}$
11	Mallinātha Paṇḍita	Yajurveda...	Kāśyapa ...	Āpastambha.	1
12	.....	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	1
13	Lakkaṇaṅga]	Do. ...	Viśvāmitra.	Āśvalāyana.	1
14	Viśṇubhaṭṭa	Rigvēda ...	Srīvatsa ...	Do. ...	1
15	Kēśavabhaṭṭa	Do. ...	Viśvāmitra...	Do. ...	1
16	Nāgabhadēvabhaṭṭa ... ..	.....	Saunab h ā r- gava.	Do. ...	1
17	Srīkṛishṇabhaṭṭa	Yajurveda...	Naddhruva Kāśyapa.	Āpastambha.	1
18	Dēvarājabhaṭṭa	Do. ...	Vatsa ...	Do. ...	1
19	Srīkṛishṇabhaṭṭa	Do. ..	Kauṇḍinya...	Do. ...	1
20	Vīrarāghavabhaṭṭa	Yajurveda...	Kauṇḍinya...	Do. ...	1
21	Sudarśana	Do. ...	Ātrēya ...	Do. ...	1
22	Eḍattavamudiyār (?)	Do. ...	Bhāradvāja.	Do. ...	1
23	Bhava . . . bhaṭṭa	Do. ...	Porukṛita...	Bōdhāyana...	1
24	.....	Do. ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	...

² The details about this name, &c., are lost.

Text.³

First Plate; First Side.

1. 1 | Subham = astu [1°] Avignam = astu [1°].
2. Ōmkâr - āmkura - dānshtrāya sa -
3. kal - āmnāya - ghōshipē | ādyā -
4. y = āstu namas = tasmai Varāhāya mahau -
5. jasē | [1°] = Ādhāra - śaktim = ambhōdhi -
6. mōkhalān ratna - garbhiṇim | Hara - mūrttim
7. Harēh kântām Bhūtadhātīm = upāsma -
8. hō | Āsit Sōm - ānvay - ōttam -
9. saḥ Kāmākshī - Saṅgam = ātmajah | Bu -
10. kka - bhūpa iti khyātō rājā Raghu -
11. r = iv = āparah | [1°] Tasya bhūt = tanayaś - śrīmān
12. rājā Hariharēśvarah⁴ | Yash = shōḍa -
13. śa mahādāna - sukrit - āmṛita - sāgarah | [1°]
14. sa paṭtryām Rāmadōvasya Mallā -
15. dēvyām mahāśayam | (1) Virūpākṣa -
16. mah | [pālam labdha]vān = ātma sambhavaḥ⁵ | [1°]
17. Sa Kuntal - ēndus = Tuṇḍira - Chōja -
18. Pāṇḍya - kshittīśvarah | sannidhau -
19. Rāmanāthasya tulām = ārūḍhavā -
20. n = dhanaih | sa gō - sahasra-dō
21. vōda-mārg [g⁶] a - sthāpana-tatparah | (1) Śrī -
22. raṅga-Kāñchanasabhā yathā purama -
23. bhāsayat⁶ | [1°] Śrīkrishṇa-kshētra nishpanna -⁷
24. viśva-chakra-mahādadhvarah | (1) brahmāṇḍat -
25. na santushta samasta dvija-maṇḍalah | [1°] Siṁ -
26. ba|a-dvīpa vinyasta-prasasta jaya -
27. lāñja (cha)nah | śrīit = āmara-vṛikshō sau -
28. śrīmān-Virūpa-bhūpatih⁸ | [1°] Rājyaślā -

First Plate; Second Side.

29. [ghyē] śakasy = ābdē Pra[mōda-Saḥ⁹].
30. vatsarē.
31. pūrv = asmin paksha Ekādaśi-ti -
32. than | Chātur-māsyē Bhānu-vārē
33. puṇy = asmin samayē-prabhah | Jaya -
34. chōlēshu Paḍuvūr-kōttē Ka -
35. lavai nīvriti Ariyūr(r) = id(h)am grāmam

³ From the transcript of the late Mr. S. M. Naṭṭia Śāstri, B.A.

⁴ *Asī rājādhirāj* = *śya pūri* *Harāhar-śācarah* |, in the Śoraikkāvūr plates.

⁵ Read *sambhavam*.

⁶ *Śrīraṅga-Kāñchanasabhā-pamarutthāsana kalamah*, in the Śoraikkāvūr plates.

⁷ Lines 1 to 23 are identical with the Śoraikkāvūr plates.

⁸ The passage beginning from *Śrīkrishṇa*⁶ up to *bhūpatih* is not found in the Śoraikkāvūr plates.

36. Virûpâkshapur = âkhyâ | Sâkam va -
37. shpu śabhâgâbhyâ dvâtrîmśad = vṛitti sa -
38. mmitam | prādāt prasasta gōtrē -
39. bhyô brâhmaṇḍbhyô yasô dhana
40. sarva-mānyatayâ sāyyô dhārâ -
41. pûrvam | tayâsthira dra varddhatām = agraḥ -
42. rô = yam-âchandra-ravi-târakam | Dâna-pâ -
43. lana tayôrm = maddhyē dānât śrēyô -
44. nupâlanam dānât svarg[^g]am = a-vâpnô -
45. ti pâlanaḍ = achyutam padam | Êkai -
46. va bhagiñî lôke sarvēśham = eva
47. bhûbhujât | nabhōjyâ nakaragrâhyâ
48. pradattâ vasundharâ | svadattâm paradattâ[^m]
49. vâ yô harēta vasundharâm | shashṭi
50. varsha sahasrâṇi viśṭhâyâ[^m] jâyatē -
51. kṛimi | Sâmanyôyam dharmma Sêtu nṛi -
52. pânâm kâlē kâlē pâla -
53. ntyô bhavatbhiḥ sarvân = êtân bhâvi -
54. na pârthivēndrân bhûyô bhûyô
55. yâchatē Râmahhadrah | Vidushâ Viśva =
56. nâthēna Virûpâksha nṛipâjñayâ
57. tattam = asy = agraḥârasya na-nyamam

Second Plate; First Side.

58. 2 | Bhâghanam | Brâhmaṇânâm gōtra
59. nâmani | Vibhâgam |
60. bhâgam | . . vridh = âṃgīrasa gô -
61. trattu Kausika sūtra dvivēdi Kâya -
62. *mâṃṣika-bhaṭṭa-dīkshitar¹⁰ vṛitti | 2 | Kâ -
63. śyapa-gōtrattu Âśvalâyana-sūtra -
64. ttu dvivēdi Irâchechayaṅku¹¹ vṛitti | 1 |
65. Kâ[śya*]pa gōtrattu Âśvalâyana-sūtrattu
66. Kappan¹²anukku¹² vṛitti | 1 | Bhâradvâja gô -
67. trattu Âpastamba sūtrattu Yaju[r]vêdi Pe¹³ -
68. ddi-bhaṭṭaṅku¹⁴ vṛitti | 1 | Viśvâmitra gōtra -
69. ttu Âśvalâyana sūtrattu Rîgvêdi sva -
70. yampâki Girippaṇa-dīkshitar¹⁵ vṛitti | 1 |
71. Harita gōtrattu Âpastampa -
72. sūtrattu Yajurvêdi Koḍu¹⁶dēvanâta -
73. yanukku(kku)¹⁷vṛitti | 1 | Koḍinya gô -

* The letter md is Tamil.

¹⁰ The letters rhu is Tamil in this and the following instances:— (14), (15), (22) and (25) to (32), (34).¹¹ The word Irâchechayaṅku is entirely in Tamil characters. ¹² The word Kappan¹²anukku is also Tamil.¹³ The letter pe is Tamil.¹⁴ The letters Koḍu are Tamil.¹⁵ The letters nukku(kku) is Tamil.

74. trattu Âpastampa sùtrattu Yajurvêdi
 75. Vainadêya-bhaṭṭaṇṇukku¹⁵ vṛitti | 1 | Saṁ -
 76. kṛiti gôtrattu Âpastamba sùtrattu
 77. Yajurvêdi Sriraṅganâṭhaṇṇukku¹⁶ vṛitti | ½ |
 78. Kauśika-gôtrattu Kâtyânana -
 79. sùtrattu śukla-Yajurvêdi Mallappannukku²⁰ vṛi -
 80. tti | ½ | Kâśyapa-gôtrattu Âśvalâ -
 81. yana-sùtrattu Jañche Daivaṇṇu(kku)
 82. kku²¹ vṛitti | ½ | Kâśyapa-gôtrattu Â -
 83. pastamba sùtrattu Yajurvêdi Mallinâ -
 84. tha-Paṇḍitarṇu²² vṛitti | 1 | Kâśyapa gô -
 85. trattu Âpastamba sùtrattu Yajurvêdi -

Second Plate; Second Side.

86. . . . nukku(kku)²³ vṛitti | 1 | Viśvâmi -
 87. tragôtrattu Âśvalâyana -
 88. sùtrattu Yajurvêdi Lakkaṇṇa -
 89. ṇukku²⁴ vṛitti | 1 | Śrīvatsa-gôtrattu
 90. Âśvalâyana-sùtrattu Rîgvêdi Viśṇu -
 91. bhaṭṭarṇu²⁵ vṛitti | 1 | Viśvâmitra gôtra -
 92. ttu Âśvalâyana-sùtrattu Rîgvêdi Kê -
 93. śava bhaṭṭarṇu²⁶ vṛitti | 1 | Sauna-bhârggava -
 94. gôtrattu Âśvalâyana-sùtrattu Nâ -
 95. kabba (?) dēva-bhaṭṭarṇu²⁷ vṛitti | 1 | Naddbruvaṇṇa (?) Kâ -
 96. śyapa-gôtrattu Âpastamba sùtrattu
 97. Yajurvêdi śrī-Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭarṇu²⁸ vṛitti | 1 | Va -
 98. ta-gôtrattu Âpa[stamba] sùtrattu Yajurvê -
 99. di-Dēvarāja-bhaṭṭaṇṇu(r)kku²⁹ vṛitti | 1 | Kau -
 100. ṇḍinya-gôtrattu Âpastamba sùtrattu -
 101. Yajurvêdi śrī-Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭarṇu³⁰ vṛitti | 1 |
 102. Kauṇḍina-gôtrattu Âpastamba-sù -
 103. trattu Yajurvêdi Vīvarāghava-bhaṭṭa -
 104. rṇu³¹ vṛitti | 1 | Âtṛeya-gôtrattu Â -
 105. pastamba-sùtrattu Yajurvêdi Suda -
 106. [rēa]na-bhaṭṭarṇu³² vṛitti | 1 | Bhāradvāja gô -
 107. trattu Âpastamba-sùtrattu Yajurvêdi
 108. Eḍuttuvamudiyarṇu (?)³³ vṛitti | 1 | Pô -
 109. rûkṛitsa-gôtrattu Bôdhâyana -
 110. sùtrattu Yajurvêdi Bhava . . . bhaṭṭa -
 111. rṇu³⁴ vṛitti | 1 | Pôrûkṛitsa-gô -

¹⁵ The letters nukku are Tamil in this and in the following cases:— (19), (20), (21) and (23).

²⁰ The letters jukku are in Tamil.

²¹ The letter rku are in Tamil. So also in (26) to (34).

²² The unintelligible name Eḍuttuvamudiyarṇu is in Tamil.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES I.

Industrial Technicalities.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 371.)

Dondī : a boat whose bow makes an angle of 30° and stern one of 60° with the water. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 17.

Dorassa : an alloy of gold. Cf. *dokara*.

Dori : a jewel string. Cf. Hind. *dorī*, Platts; p. 568. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 20.

Dosūti : a cloth with double threads in both warp and wool. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 7.

Drūn : a cradle used in gold washing. Cf. *kawa*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 2.

Drūnwāla : gold dust; Rawalpindi. Cf. *gorī*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.

Dugga : a variety of boat. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 17.

Dugu : a bangle. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 36.

Dukan : a loom. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 12.

Dukhī : a Bokhāran silk used in embroidery. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Dūla : a washer for gold, usually a Kahār by caste. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 2.

Dulara : a neck ornament. Cf. *dholaṛā*.

Dumchī : crupper. Cf. *sākhī*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 24.

Dundkū : a basket. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 18.

Durmarah : a neck ornament; Gujranwālā. Cf. *dharamra*.

Dutāra : a Bengali silk. Cf. *ektāra*, *lānī*, *maktūl* and *kattar*. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Dutlī : the turner's tool used for smoothing tusks. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 11.

Duwal sāman : a secondary stirrup leather. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.

Ektāra : a Bengali silk. Cf. *dutāra*.

Ekwaī : a two-pointed anvil. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.

Era : *typha angustifolia*; the bulrush, Gardāspur. Cf. *diḥ*, *kunder*, *luh*. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, App. I, p. i.

Eri : the silk yielded by the castor-oil silkworm, *attacus ricini*. Mono: Silver Industry, p. 1.

Fath chānd : a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Firōzā : turquoise blue: (? *adī*), cf. Hind. *fīrūza*, 'turquoise,' Platts, p. 785. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 10.

Gainjan : a small, sharp steel instrument. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 22.

Gaira : a bundle. Cf. Hind. *gairā*, Platts, p. 932. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 4.

Galāna : a head ornament. Cf. *jālī*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.

Gangā-jamni : a pattern consisting of plated rings in brass. Cf. Platts, p. 919. Mono: Brass and Copper Ware, p. 3.

Gaani : *oreosaris lanuginosa*, from the woolly growth under whose leaves tinder is made. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 5.

Gānwārī: a skin taken off by the village sweeper or *chamdr*. Opp. to *qasābī*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 17.

Garāi: a percentage on the value of a made article of jewellery. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 16.

Garbi (garvī) patti: a kind of cloth of cotton and wool mixed. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 8.

Garbi: a rug of a mixed cotton and woollen fabric exported from Multan to Sindh. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 8.

Gārdah (gulbarra): a plain or striped silk. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 19.

Gāru: a kind of bamboo (*arundinaria falcata*). Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 4.

Gaung: a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 36.

Gausa: a strip of old leather let into a shoe. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 28.

Gazī: a mould for making hooks. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Ghambail: a wide hole made in the ground wherein a potter deposits prepared clay as stock. Cf. *ghord*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 3.

Ghamān: a *kāes* (blanket). Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 5.

Ghār: a synonym for *rambī* (an iron scrape knife); Kullū. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 24.

Gharoli: a zinc bracelet. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.

Gharra: a sort of hammered brassware. Cf. *sakrd*. Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 8.

Ghaswattī: touchstone. Cf. *kaswattī*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

Ghāt: a kind of silver; Jhelum. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 5.

Ghati: a fine cloth of close texture. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 7.

Ghetta or ghetla: a woman's shoe; Delhi. Cf. Hind. *ghetlā*, slipper, Platts, p. 940. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 29.

Ghorisambi: an extra piece of leather which goes round the outside of the heel. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 28.

Ghotāyā-Kachha: a man who gives paper its first rubbing; Siālkoṭ; -*pakka*: a man who puts the final polish on paper. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 16.

Ghugge-kā-thappa: a die. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.

Ghuggī: a cone. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.

Ghuri: a double ringlet. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.

Gijai: a tinsel. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 27.

Girih koshād: a bodkinawl. Cf. *sutākī*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.

Godāh: a small water-bag; Bannū. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 22.

Gol: an earthen vessel with an elongated body and broad mouth. Cf. Hind. *gol*, Platts, p. 926. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 7.

Golā: a small vessel. Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 4.

Golra: a chisel. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.

Gorā: an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.

Gori: gold dust. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.

- Gosha** : a charge for the loan of ornaments. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 38.
- Grand** : a square bin for corn and flour ; Derajāt. Mono : Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 10.
- Gujai** : an arm ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Gujri** : an ornament. Cf. Hind. *gūjri*, Platts, p. 923. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.
- Gulbadan** : a silk fabric with narrow stripes. Cf. Hind. Platts, p. 913. Mono : Cotton Manufactures, p. 8.
- Gull** : the disc resulting from the cooling of molten metal poured into earthen pans. Mono : Brass and Copperware, p. 2.
- Gull** : apricot oil. Mono : Leather Industry, p. 20.
- Gulla** : a loop. Mono : Carpet-making, p. 12.
- Gulli** : a silver ingot. Cf. *raini*. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 27.
- Gulsam** : a chisel. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.
- Gungrū** : Bengali silk. Mono : Silk Industry, p. 17.
- Gunyan and parkār** : gnomon and compasses. Cf. Pers. *parkār*, *-gār*, Platts, p. 250 and 252. Mono : Stone-carving, p. 3.
- Gurd** : silk of the first quality. Cf. *lā*, *landā*, *naik*. Mono : Silk Industry, p. 17.
- Gurdasa** : a chopper. Cf. *laka*. Mono : Wood Manufactures, p. 5.
- Halaila** : myrobalan. Mono : Leather Industry, p. 20.
- Halala** : *Terminalia chebula*. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 30.
- Hariāna** : a kind of cotton : probably same as Bāgar ; Delhi.
- Hath** : the handle of a plough. Mono : Wood Manufactures, p. 5.
- Hatheli** : a mallet. Contr. Hind. 'a handful,' etc., Platts, p. 1219. Mono : Leather Industry, p. 19.
- Hāthipaur** : elephant's-foot silver (so called from its shape) ; a soft silver used in wire-drawing. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 5.
- Hatiali** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Haweg** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Haweza-(chillam)** : a tobacco-holder. Mono : Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 11.
- Hāzārī** : a cloth containing 1,000 threads to $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. of a yard. Mono : Cotton Manufacture, p. 4.
- Honai** : a cheap paper. Mono : Fibrous Manufactures, p. 16.
- Henkal** : a necklace. Cf. *hamail*. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.
- Hiramji** : a coloured earth. Pers. *hirmiz*, Platts, p. 1226. Mono : Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 20.
- Hurr** : the dried fruit of *terminalia chebula*. Cf. *bahaira*. Mono : Leather Industry, p. 19.
- Imāmi** : a synonym for Nawābi silk. Cf. *chillājaidar*. Mono : Silk Industry, p. 15.
- Jakū** : dues paid to menials ; Kullū. Mono : Leather Industry, p. 3.
- Jāl** : a head ornament. Cf. *galāna*.
- Jalbist** : a kind of mould. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.

- Jalli** : a screen. Mono : Stone-carving, p. 3.
- Jāmawār** : a shawl fabric with a striped pattern. Mono : Woollen Manufactures, p. 9.
- Jand** : the turner's frame. Mono : Ivory-carving, p. 14.
- Janji** : the upright of a plough. Mono : Wood Manufactures, p. 5.
- Jānjru** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.
- Jarāhan** : the Himalayan nettle (*urtica heterophylla*) ; Kāngra. Mono : Fibrous Manufactures, p. 3.
- Jasla** : a shallow vessel, with a broad mouth, used for keeping pickles ; Kāngra. Mono : Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 9.
- Jasti** : an alloy of silver with zinc or pewter ; Ambāla, Siālkot, Jhelam, and Peshāwar. Cf. Hind. *jasti* (adj.), pewter, Platts, p. 581. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 5.
- Jat** : goat's hair. Mono : Woollen Manufactures, p. 11.
- Jaumāla** : a necklace. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.
- Jauri** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.
- Jhabī** : a pendant of a *bhawatta* (armlet). Cf. Hind. *jhabbi*, Platts, p. 402. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Jhallān** : bellows. Cf. *dhannī*.
- Jhamkāgan** : a small hollow bracelet with grains inside. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.
- Jhandra** : a stamper. Mono : Fibrous Manufactures, p. axlix.
- Jhannā** : a sieve. Cf. *channā*.
- Jhāicwā** : vitrified brick. Also Hind., see Platts, p. 401. Mono : Leather Industry, p. 17.
- Jhānwāla** : a large *chatti*. Mono : Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 9.
- Jharas** : perforated metal ; Hissār. Mono : Wood Manufactures, p. 8.
- Jhārī** : a large vessel, either round or flattened, with a narrow, low neck. Cf. Hind. Platts, p. 400. Mono : Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 8.
- Jhāwān karnewālā** : a cleaner of paper ; Siālkot. Mono : Fibrous Manufactures, p. 16.
- Jhirmil** : a variety of thin soft silk-work. Mono : Silk Industry, p. 20.
- Jhulanyas** : an ear ornament. Cf. *lachke* and *khatke*. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Jilaini** : an instrument for polishing minute silver work. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.
- Jilaurī** : an instrument with which finer ornaments are polished. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 26.
- Jilu** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.
- Joadri** : the *antheraea sivalika* silkworm. Cf. *kaustid*. Mono : Silk Industry, p. 2.
- Joch** : a rope made of hemp ; Kāngra. Mono : Fibrous Manufactures, p. 12.
- Joth** : an ornament similar to the *tik*, but smaller. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.
- Justa** : a kind of shoe ; Peshāwar. Mono : Leather Industry, p. 29.
- Jatā bokhāra** : a kind of gold ; Gurdāspur. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.
- Juva** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.

- Kabbal**; *cynodon dactylum*. Cf. *dáb*.
- Kabís**; a hexagonal mould. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.
- Kabíl**; a wooden scraper. Cf. *bedágra*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.
- Hachar**; silk of the third quality: Cf. *bánan*; *sáf*.
- Kachhû**; a rope made of hemp. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 12.
- Kachmâr**; the name of a tree; probably *kachnâr*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 18.
- Kadhayâ**; a man who lifts the pulp from the vats on to the air in paper factories; Siálkot. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 16.
- Kaddhi**; an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Kaddht**; a *thappa*, a kind of die. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.
- Kaffpai**; a heelless slipper; Delhi. Cf. *kaunsh*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 31.
- Kahi mitti**; an earth containing iron as a sulphate. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 22.
- Kahi shorâ kâ tesâb**; nitro-muriatic acid. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 23.
- Kai**; a kind of grass used for making ropes; Shâhpur. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 11.
- Kaindû**; a tree. Cf. Hind. *kendû*, a kind of ebony, Platts, p. 890. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 12.
- Kairi**; a gold-digger and washer. Cf. *sansoi*, *kambar* and *nydrya*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 10.
- Kaitûn**; a plain unflowered ribbon. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 28.
- Kakra**; a kind of silk imported from Hong Keng. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 17.
- Kâlbât**; a clay cone. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 24.
- Kâl'hata**; a wooden cylinder. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.
- Kallâwa**; a ladle. Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 5.
- Kalmî shera**; alum nitre. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 22.
- Kalyar**; the bark of the *banksia variegata*; Rawalpindi. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 5.
- Kamâna**; a bone. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 14.
- Kamar peti**; a waist ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 34.
- Kambar**; a gold-digger and washer. Cf. *kairi*.
- Kamelâ**; an unprepared hide. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 13.
- Kamr khîsa**; an elaborate belt. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 26.
- Kan**; an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Kanâr**; a toe-piece. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 29.
- Kanawâs**; a thick silk, woven from thread formed of an unusually large number of strands. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 19.
- Kanda**; an iron rod. Cf. *sabbal*. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 14.

- Kandāli or kandwālī** : a mould. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.
- Kanda saryānwāla** : a head ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.
- Kandhi** : an ornament : ? Hind. *kandhi*, necklace, Platts, p. 853. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Kandurai** : a basket like a barrel, used for clothes ; Kohān. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 14.
- Kanerna** : a chisel. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.
- Kangalola** : a mould. Mono. Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.
- Kanghi** : a heavy comb by which the threads of the woof are pressed home. Hind. *kānghi*, comb, Platts, p. 855. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 6.
- Kanghni-kā-hār** : a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.
- Kangi** : a kind of fork, with a wooden handle and iron teeth used for striking between the lines of the warp of a carpet. Cf. *panja*. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 2.
- Kangnu** : a thick silver wristlet. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 36.
- Kāngri** : a vessel used chiefly in the hills, which is filled with live charcoal and carried under the clothes for warmth. Hind. *kāngri*, brazier, Platts, p. 807. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 11.
- Kangri** : an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Kānh** : a fibre used for making ropes and string. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 4.
- Kāu-khalālī** : an ornament worn round the neck. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 30.
- Kanni or kinār** : a pure silk border made to stitch on to cotton fabrics. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 19.
- Kappar** : a light red clay; Derajāt. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 2.
- Kāral** : the Himalayan nettle. Cf. *shawnar*; Hill States.
- Karandī** : a flower basket ; Kāngra. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.
- Karchob** : a man who works gold or silver wire on cloth. Cf. *zardcz*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 28.
- Kārchobi** : an ornamental shoe. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.
- Kari** : a wooden platter. Cf. *phullī*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 2.
- Karidār** : an ornament. Cf. *tora* and *guthua*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Kariru** : a synonym for *konera*.
- Kāria** : the Himalayan nettle. Cf. *shawnar*.
- Karrelra thappa** : a die. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 25.
- Kashrāt** : a basket made of *masri*; Kohāt. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 14.
- Kasn** : a thick forked branch fixed in the ground. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 17.
- Kaswa** : a ladle used in washing sand *kaswā*, for gold. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 2.

- Kat**: a pair of scissors. Mono: Brass and Copperware, p. 2.
- Kataul**: an embroidering needle. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.
- Katārnī**: a coarse awl. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.
- Kath**: a goldsmith's scissors. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.
- Kathaurī**: a dark-green stone. Mono: Stone-carving, p. 4.
- Kath-kashī**: a tool used in perforation work. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 11.
- Kathla**: an ornament. Hind. *kaṭhla*, Platts, p. 816. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Kath māl**: a collection of 7 short *kaathīs* (necklace strings). Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 35.
- Katira**: bladed pincers. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.
- Katka killī**: a tapering wooden cylinder, round which wire is wound. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.
- Katnī**: a small instrument with a flab edge. Cf. *nahād*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 23.
- Kātra**: a wooden tray. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 26.
- Kattai**: a China silk, imported *via* Bombay. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.
- Kattar**: a Bengali silk. Cf. *dutāra*.
- Katwī**: a synonym for *hādī*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 8.
- Katyās**: bladed pincers. Cf. *katira*.
- Kaunsh**: a heelless slipper; Peshāwar. Cf. *kappai*.
- Kaunta**: a cocoon. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 17.
- Kaunta, kaintr**: the *antherza sivalika* silkworm. Cf. *joddri*.
- Kawa-changī**: a small crooked-bladed pincer. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 18.
- Kazak**: an instrument. Mono: Wood Manufactures, p. 9.
- Khāhīr (a)**: a wooden scraper. Cf. *kabīl*.
- Khaddī**: a loom. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 4.
- Khādir**: a kind of cotton; Delhi. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 2.
- Khal kī lot**: a paste of oilseed cake. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 28.
- Khal**: a threshing floor. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 5.
- Khālūnī**: a village leather-worker; Hazāra. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 5.
- Khambandī**: an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 15.
- Khap**: a wooden scraper used in removing hair from hides. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 19.
- Kharāwān**: wooden pattens. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 32.
- Kharcha, kharchī**: an iron spoon. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 24.

- Khari**: *antherium muricatum*. Cf. *dab*.
- Kharsana**: *saccharum spontaneum*. Cf. *kính*. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. A-i.
- Khâsdân**: a plate for *pân*. Mono: Brass and Copperware, A-c, p. 8.
- Khatke**: an ear ornament. Cf. *lachke* and *ghulanyas*. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Khatta**: a concave in a block of wood. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 24.
- Khattû**: a yellow-red stone. Mono: Stone-carving, p. 4.
- Kher**: a fine pointed chisel. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 19.
- Khera**: a leather sandal; Shâhpar. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 29.
- Kherâd**: an instrument. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 15.
- Kherî**: a leather sandal. Cf. *chapli*. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 6.
- Khilim**: a carpet with woollen warp and woof made in Dera Ghâzi Khân. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 8.
- Khingri**: a wavy ribbon (*gota*). Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 28.
- Khalandri**: an arm ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Khopra**: a concave rest. Cf. *arthra*.
- Khorîya**: a scraper shaped like a small cup or *katora*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.
- Khosa**: a leather muffler put by cattle-thieves on the feet of cattle to obliterate the tracks. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 26.
- Khosrâ**: an old shoe. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 33.
- Khujañdi**: a kind of silk imported from Bokhâra. Cf. *argausi*. Mono: Silk Industry, p. 14.
- Khumrû**: a small vessel used by Hindu milk-sellers for sending out milk. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 10.
- Khurdâ**: an instrument. Cf. *cholad*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 22.
- Khurnî**: a fine stapled cotton; Shâhpar. Mono: Cotton Manufactures, p. 2.
- Kilani**: a clamp. Cf. *châmp*.
- Kilta**: a basket; Kullû. Mono: Fibrous Manufactures, p. 13.
- Kimchi**: a kind of instrument. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.
- Kimukht-sâj**: a maker of shagreen from donkey hides. Fr. Pers. *kîmulât*, shagreen, Platts, p. 890. Mono: Leather Industry, p. 7.
- Kinti**: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 33.
- Kirmâni**: a kind of *pasham* imported from Persia. Mono: Woollen Manufactures, p. 2.
- Kirpana**: a tool used for smoothing ivory. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 15.

(To be continued.)

RICHARD FISCHEL.

BY STEN KONOW.

PROFESSOR RICHARD FISCHEL of Berlin, Germany, died in the Madras Hospital of blood-poisoning on the 26th of December last. He was on his way from Germany to Calcutta, where he had been asked by the University to give a series of lectures on the Prakrit dialects. He never reached his destination, but was taken ill in Madras in the beginning of December. His death is a very heavy loss to Indian scholarship and to German learning. Dr. Fischel was a Professor in the principal German university and a member of the German Academy. In both qualities he exercised an influence on the development of Indian studies in Germany and Europe on the whole which cannot easily be overrated. His learning and personal qualities made him eminently fitted for this position. His studies had taken him over the entire field of Indian philology, from the ancient literature of the Vēdas and down to the most debased forms of Indian speech, the dialects spoken by the Gipsies of Europe. Those who learnt to know him personally, very soon realised that the sharp criticism which sometimes appeared in his writings, was absolutely foreign to his character. He followed the studies of others, and especially those of his own pupils, with keen interest and sympathy, and he never got tired of assisting others with his advice.

Professor Fischel was born on the 18th January, 1849, in Breslau in Silesia. He was a pupil of Professor Stenzler in Breslau and of Professor Weber in Berlin, and took his degree of doctor in the Breslau University in 1870. Immediately afterwards he had to join the Prussian troops which were garrisoned in Paris. When he was able to return to his studies, he went to London and Oxford, where he examined the Indian manuscripts in the big libraries. In 1874 he returned to the Breslau University as reader of Sanskrit. In the following year appointed a Professor in the Kiel University, whence he was transferred to Halle in 1885. After Professor Weber's death he was finally called to the first chair of Sanskrit in Germany at the Berlin University, and shortly afterwards he was elected a member of the Berlin Academy. This shows his reputation in his own country, and Sanskrit scholars of other nationalities were agreed that the German Government had selected the right man to the most important Sanskrit position in its gift.

When Fischel published his first paper, a French critic wrote that his work exhibited a master's hand. He had chosen the thorny subject of the different recensions of Kālidāsa's *Sakuntalā*.¹ That famous play was originally made known in Europe in the form which is contained in Bengali manuscripts. *E.g.*, in William Jones' famous translation and in the edition prepared by the French scholar Chezy (Paris, 1830). After that time, however, European scholars generally preferred the so-called Dēvanāgarī recension, which was published by Bohtlingk (Bonn, 1842), Monier Williams (Hertford, 1853 and Oxford, 1876) and others. Only Stenzler protested against this view. Then Fischel stepped in. He unreservedly threw in his lot with those who considered the Bengali recension as, on the whole, the purest form of the play. And his principal argument was a linguistic one. He showed that the different Prakrit dialects used in the drama are confounded with each other in all recensions with the sole exception of the Bengali one, where the dialects are correctly distinguished. These studies induced him to undertake a critical examination of the Prakrit grammarians. It was a paper on them with which he introduced himself as a teacher of Sanskrit in the Breslau University.² Later on he showed how the Prakrit grammarians, and the practice in good manuscripts, such as the Bengali ones of the *Sakuntalā*, make it possible to reconstruct the chief features of the Saurasēni dialect.³ Then his masterly edition of the Bengali recension of the *Sakuntalā* (Kiel, 1877) showed the practical application of the laws he had been able to lay down. His editions of Hēmachandra's *Prākṛit Grammar*, in the original Sanskrit and in German translation (Halle, 1877-80) and of his *Dēśīndramāṇī* (Bombay, 1880) were the next

¹ *De Kālidāsa Sakuntalā recensionibus*. Breslau: 1870.² *De grammaticis prākṛitica*. Breslau: 1874.³ *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*, Vol. VIII, pp. 120 and ff.

steps. Pischel had now become universally recognized as the chief authority on the Prākṛits, and he was accordingly asked by the late Professor Bühler to write the *Prākṛit Grammar* for his *Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Research*. This Grammar, which appeared in Strassburg in 1900 and was awarded the Volney prize by the French Academy, will long remain the standard work on the Prākṛit dialects. The high estimation in which Pischel was held as a Prākṛit grammarian was also evidenced by the fact that he was, last year, requested by the Calcutta University to revive the study of the Prākṛits in India by a series of lectures.

In connection with these studies on the Prākṛits, I must also mention the editions of Pāli works, such as the *Assaḍḍyaṇṇa Sutta* (London, 1880) and the *Thérīgāthā* (London, 1883), and the various papers devoted to the investigation of the language and customs of the Gipsies of Europe. The edition of the *Sakuntalā* on the other hand led to extensive studies about the history of the Indian drama and into the system of the rhetoricians.⁴ The literary history of India, on the whole, was one of his favourite subjects, and Professor Pischel's lectures on this topic are the best lectures I ever heard in any university. He did not, however, publish them. But he showed, in his paper on the court-poets of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa (Göttingen, 1893), his capacity for making the subject interesting. His literary history of India⁵ was a different work, destined for a wider public.

When Pischel made his entrance in the learned world, the study of the *Vēdas* in Germany was under the spell of the school of Professor Roth, who tried to understand them out of themselves, without consulting the traditional explanation of Indian scholars. Pischel was of opinion that this method was essentially wrong. The Indian tradition, no doubt, contains a lot of valueless rubbish. There are, however, also traces of a good old tradition, mixed up with the phantastic speculations of later ages. In order to show how he thought it possible to exploit this tradition, Pischel in 1889 started a periodical publication *Vedic Studies* (Stuttgart 1889-1901), together with his friend Karl F. Geldner. These studies have not failed to exercise a great influence on the views now commonly held in Germany on the *Vēdas*.

After his transfer to Berlin, Professor Pischel was brought into contact with the rich finds brought home by the German expeditions from Central Asia. He took a very keen interest in them and published some fragments of the *Buddhist Canon* in the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy (1904, xiv and xxix). He was able to show that the *Sanskrit Canon* to which they belong, has not been entirely lost, and that it has not been translated from Pāli. Though the two often agree verbally, and though we can prove that the old Buddhist tradition was to a great extent homogeneous, the differences in arrangement and in details are considerable. It seems necessary to explain many of the instances of concurrence by the supposition of a common source handed down in Māgadhī Prākṛit.

I do not intend to give a full bibliography of Professor Pischel's papers. What I have mentioned is, I hope, sufficient to show how wide the field was over which he spanned. And in every branch where he has been working, he has left his mark. His solid learning and his wide horizon made him eminently fitted for his work. But the influence he exercised cannot be measured from a mere catalogue of his writings. He was an excellent teacher, and none of his pupils ever appealed to him in vain. Every mail, moreover, brought a heap of letters, from every quarter of the globe, with enquiries about the most different subjects connected with Indian lore, and he was a very conscientious letter-writer. His loss will therefore be widely felt, mostly, however, among his personal friends and pupils, who had learned to appreciate not only his learning, but also his kind heart and his sympathetic interest in everything concerning them. He was very happy when an opportunity at last offered itself of realising the dream of his youth, to visit India and see with his own eyes what had always interested him more than anything else. It is sad to think that his dream should end in the vast Nirvāṇa, and that he should not be permitted to return from India, enriched with fresh impressions of the actual life and existing conditions.

⁴ *Rudrāṭa's Śṛīgṛanthilaka and Ruyyaka's Sahasrayajñā*. Kiel : 1883 ; *Heimat des Puppenspiels*. Halle : 1900.

⁵ *Die orientalische Literatur*, I, 7.

THE CHUHAS, OR RAT-CHILDREN OF THE PANJAB, AND SHAH DAULA.

BY H. A. ROSE, C. S. AND MAJOR A. C. ELLIOTT.

The Chûhâs, by H. A. Rose.

THE Chûhâs or Rat-children are an institution in the Panjâb. They are microcephalous beings, devoid of all power of speech, idiots, and unable to protect themselves from danger, of filthy habits, but entirely without sexual instincts.¹ They are given names, but are usually known by the names of their attendants, whose voices they recognise and whose signs they understand. They have to be taught to eat and drink, but cannot be allowed to go about unguarded. Their natural instinct is to suck only, and, when they have been taught to eat and drink and can walk, they are made over to a faqir of the Shâh Daula Sect, who wanders about begging with his Shâh Daula's Rats.

The popular idea is that these unfortunate beings have been blessed by the saint, Shâh Daula Daryâi of Gujrât in the Panjâb, and that, though they are repulsive objects, no contempt of them must be shown, or the saint will make a Chûhâ of the next child born to one who despises one of his *protégés*. It is this fear which has brought about the prosperity of Shâh Daula's Shrine at Gujrât.

The common superstition as to the origin of the Chûhâs is this. Shâh Daula, like other saints, could procure the birth of a child for a couple desiring one, but the first child born in response to his intercession would be a Chûhâ — brainless, small-headed, long-eared and rat-faced. The custom used to be to leave the child, as soon as it was weaned, at Shâh Daula's *khdiqdâh*, as an offering to him. After the saint's death, the miracle continued, but in a modified form. Persons desiring children would go to the saint's shrine to pray for a child, and would make a vow either to present the child when born or to make an offering to the shrine. In some cases, when the child was duly born in response to the prayer, the parents neglected to make the promised gift. Upon this the spirit of the offended saint so worked on the parents that the next child born was a Chûhâ, and all subsequent children as well, until the original vow was fulfilled.

The tomb and shrine of Shâh Daula lie on the eastern side of Gujrât town, about 100 yards from the Shâh Daula Gate. His descendants dwell near and around the shrine, and their houses form a suburb known as Gaphi Shâh Daula. The shrine itself was built in the latter part of the seventeenth century by a 'saint' named Bhâwan Shâh and was rebuilt on a raised plinth in 1867. In 1898 it was put into thorough repair by the followers of Shâh Daula.

The cult of Shâh Daula offers few unusual features. No lands are attached to the shrine and its *pirs* are wholly dependant on the alms and offerings of the faithful. Three annual fairs are held at the shrine, one at each *îd* and a third at the *urs* on the 10th of Muharram. A weekly fair used to be held on Fridays, attended by dancing girls; but this has fallen into abeyance. There are no regular rules of succession to the shrine, and each member of the saint's family has a share in it. Three of them, however, have a special influence and one of these three is generally known as the *sijjâda-nâshîn*, or successor of the saint. The general income of the sect is divided into three main shares, each of which is divided into minor shares—a division *per stirpes* and *per capita*. The shareholders also each take in turn a week's income of the shrine.

¹ For medical opinion on the Chûhâs, see an article in the *Indian Medical Gazette* for May 1st, 1886, by E. J. Wilson Johnston, M. D., M. B. C. S. E. This article is reprinted in *Punjab Notes and Queries* 1887, III, §§ 117-118; see also II, §§ 69 and 172.

The principal *murids*, or devotees of the sect, are found in Jammū, Pūnch and the Frontier Districts, and in Swāt, Malākaud and Kāfiristān. Shāh Daula's *faqirs* visit each *murid* annually and exact an offering (*nazar*), usually a rupee, in return for which they profess to impart spiritual and occult knowledge. Some of these *faqirs* are strongly suspected of being concerned in the traffic in women that exists between the Panjāb and Pūnch and Jammū, and it is from these districts that the Chūhās are chiefly recruited.

There is a notable off-shoot of the Shāh Daula *faqirs* in an 'Order' of *faqirs*, who properly own allegiance to the Akhund of Swāt. A disciple of the Akhund, named Ghāzi Sultān Muḥammad, a native of Awān, a village in Gujrat District on the Jammū border, has established a considerable following. He lives now at Shāh Daula's shrine, but has built himself a large stone house at Awān.

The Legend of Shāh Daula, by Major A. C. Elliott.

Shāh Daula was born in A. D. 1581, during the reign of Akbar. His father was 'Abdu'r-Rahim Khān Lodi, a descendant of Sultān Ibrahim Lodi, grandson of Bahlol Shāh Lodi who died in A. H. 894 (A. D. 1488). This would make him a Pathān by descent, but he is nevertheless claimed by the Gūjars of Gujrat as belonging to their tribe. His mother was Niāmat Khātun, great-grand-daughter of Sultān Sārang Ghakhar.

In the reign of Sultān Salim, son of Sultān Sher Shāh (A. H. 952-960 or A. D. 1545-1553) a large force was sent to subdue Khawās Khān, who had rebelled in support of 'Adil Khān, Salim Shāh's elder brother. Khawās Khān met with a crushing defeat and sought refuge with the Ghakhars, who supported him, and a battle was fought near Rohtās in the Jhelam District, in which Sultān Sārang Ghakhar was killed, and all his family were afterwards made captives. A daughter of Ghāzi Khān, son of Sultān Sārang was among the captured, and she had at the time an infant daughter at the breast. This was Niāmat Khātun, who was taken with her brother to Delhi and in the first year of Akbar's reign (A. H. 963 or A. D. 1556), shortly after Humāyūn's death, she was married to 'Abdu'r-Rahim Lodi, then an officer of the imperial household. But Shāh Daula was not born of this marriage till the 25th year of Akbar's reign (A. H. 989 or A. D. 1581) which was also the year of his father's death.²

Where Shāh Daula was born is not known, but his widowed mother returned to her native country, Pathān, now represented by the Jhelum and Rawalpinḍi Districts. On her arrival, however, she found that, though she was the great-grand-daughter of Sultān Sārang, she was as much a stranger there as in Hindustān and that no one had any regard for herself or her fallen family. For five years she had to earn her living by grinding corn in the village of Sabhālā in the *pargana* of Phirhālat, whence she removed to Kalāh, where she died in A. H. 998 or A. D. 1590 after four more years of toil.

Shāh Daula, now left an orphan and friendless, determined to go a-begging. In the course of his wanderings he reached Sakhi Stālkoṭ, where met one Mahtā Kiman, a slave of the Qānūngos of that place, and a rich and generous, but childless man. Moved by pity and favourably improved by his looks, he adopted Shāh Daula and brought him up in luxury. Shāh Daula's intelligence attracted the notice of the Qānūngos, who gave him charge of their *tosha-khāna* or treasury, but so generous was Shāh Daula by nature that he could never turn a deaf ear to a beggar. The result was that not only all his own money, but also all the valuables, cash and furniture of the *tosha-khāna* disappeared! The Qānūngos refused to believe his story that he had given everything to mendicants and had him imprisoned and tortured.

² [This story reads like the familiar fictitious connection of local heroes in India with the great ones of the land.—Ed.]

In his extremity under torture Shāh Daula declared that he had buried the money and would dig it up again if released from prison. He was led to the *tosha-khāna* where he at once seized a dagger from a niche and plunged it into his belly. This act put the fear of the authorities into the Qānūngos who sent for a skillful physician, who bound up the wound, from which Shāh Daula recovered in three months.

The Qānūngos then set him free and he went to Sangrohi, a village near Siālkoṭ, where he became a disciple of the saint, Shāh Saidān Sarmast. Shāh Daula now ingratiated himself with one Mangū or Mokhū, the saint's favorite disciple, and spent his time as a mendicant. The scraps he secured as the proceeds of his begging were placed before the saint, who ate all he wanted and passed the remainder on to Mangū. After Mangū was satisfied, the small portion that remained was given to Shāh Daula, whose hunger was rarely appeased. But such poor earnings in kind failed to satisfy the saint, who set Shāh Daula to work and earn money, with which cooked food might be bought, as a substitute for the stale scraps received as alms.

At that time a new fort was being built at Siālkoṭ out of bricks from the foundation of some old buildings, and Shāh Daula was sent to dig as an ordinary labourer at a *takd* or two pice a square yard of brick work dug up. So hard was the material that most powerful men could not excavate more than two or three square yards in a day, but Shāh Daula worked with such amazing energy that he dug up seventy square yards on the first day and separated the bricks. The officials, recognising superhuman aid, offered him seventy *takds*, or full payment for his work, without demur, but he would only accept four.

With the four *takds* thus acquired, he bought a savoury dish of *khichrī*, which he presented to the saint, before whom he was inclined to boast of his powers. But the saint showed him his own hands, all blistered with the invisible aid he had been rendering to Shāh Daula. As a mark of favour, however, the saint gave him some of the *khichrī*, which produced such excruciating pain in the second finger of his right-hand on his commencing to eat it, that for days he could neither sleep nor rest, and at last asked the saint to relieve him. Mangū also interceded and at last the saint told Shāh Daula to go to the Butchers' Street and thrust his hand into the bowels of a freshly-slaughtered cow. As soon as he had done this there was immediate relief and he fell into a deep sleep for twenty-four hours; but on awakening he found that the finger had dropped off! He returned, however, to the saint and thanked him for his kindness, whereon the saint said:—

"Man, thus much of self-love hadst thou, but it has gone from thee now and love for others only remains. Be of good cheer. Thou art proven worthy of my favour, and of the knowledge of God."

For twelve years Shāh Daula remained in the service of the saint, Shāh Saidān Sarmast, who was a *faqīr* of the Soharwardī sect. At the end of the twelfth year the saint saw that his own end was approaching and asked who was near him. The reply was, "Daula," but the saint told him to go and fetch Mokhū, i.e., his favorite Mangū. But Mangū refused to come as it was night. Thrice Daula went and thrice Mangū refused. The saint then remained silent for a while, but towards morning he roused himself and said:—"God gives to whomever he will." He then made over his *dalg* (*faqīr's* coat) to Daula, and when the latter said that he knew Mangū would not let him keep it, the saint said:—"Let him keep it who can lift it." And so he gave the *dalg* into Shāh Daula's keeping, gave him his blessing also, and died.

When the day broke it became known that the saint was dead, and Mokhū and all the other disciples took their parts in the funeral ceremonies. They then attempted to seize the holy *dalg*, which fell to the ground. Each in turn tried to lift it and then they tried all together, but it would not move until Daula grasped it with one hand, shook it and put it on, thus proving his right to the name and title, by which he has always been known, of Shāh Daula.

Making his way out of Siālkoṭ, and leaving the jealous disciples, he hid himself for a while outside the town. For ten years after the death of Shāh Saidān Sarmast he remained in the neighbourhood, growing yearly in reputation and power. He built many buildings, mosques, tanks, bridges and wells, the most notable of which was the bridge over the Aik. After this Shāh Daula moved to Gujrāt and settled there permanently in obedience to divine instructions.

Faqirs believe that each city has its guardian saint, and Shāh Daula is looked on as the guardian of Gujrāt. During his life he devoted himself to works of public utility and the constructions of religious buildings. His principal works were the bridge in front of the eastern gate of the town of Gujrāt over the Shāh Daula Nālā, and the bridge over the Dik in the Gujrānwālā District. It is said that he never asked for money and that he paid his labourers promptly. He was also most successful in finding the sites of old ruins, whence he dug up all the materials he required for his buildings. He was liberal to the poor, irrespective of creed, and had a peculiar attraction for wild animals, keeping a large menagerie of all sorts of beasts and birds. His tolerance made him beloved of all classes and there were both Hindus and Musalmāns among his disciples. He became very famous for his miracles and received large gifts. The attraction towards him felt by wild animals largely contributed to the general belief in him.

The emperor Akbar died whilst Shāh Daula was still at Siālkoṭ, and it was in the seventh year of Jahāngīr that he went to Gujrāt in A. H. 1022 or A.D. 1612. No meeting between Shāh Daula and Akbar is recorded, but the following account is given of an encounter between him and the emperor Jahāngīr :—

Shāh Daula used to put helmets, with *raurīs* sewn over them, on the heads of his favourite animals. One day a deer thus arrayed strayed near the place where the king, i.e., Jahāngīr, was hunting at Shāhdarā near Lahore. The king saw the helmeted deer and enquired about it, and was told about Shāh Daula and his miracles. The deer was caught and two men were sent to fetch Shāh Daula who at that time was seated at his *khaḍgāh*. During the day he had remarked to his disciples :—What a strange thing has our deer, Darbakhta, done ! It has appeared before His Majesty and caused men to be sent to call me before him. They will come to-day. Cook a delicious *pilāo* and all manner of food for them." The astonished servants prepared the meal and towards evening the messengers arrived with His Majesty's order.

Placing the order on his head, Shāh Daula wished to start at once, but the hungry messengers had smelt the supper and so they stayed the night at the *khaḍgāh*, and did not take the Shāh to Shāhdarā till the next day. When he arrived, he called for ingredients and made a large cake, which he wrapped in a bed kerchief and offered to the king when summoned. The king was seated on his throne with Nūr Jahān Begam near by, and they were both much struck by his holy appearance. The king asked Shāh Daula where he had found the philosopher's stone, but he denied all knowledge of any such stone and said he lived on alms.

The king, however, saw in him a wealthy and influential person, capable of raising a revolt, and Nūr Jahān suggested that he should be made away with. At the king's order the imperial chamberlain produced a poisoned green robe, which Shāh Daula put on without receiving any harm. A robe smeared with a still more deadly poison was then put on him and again no injury resulted. Upon this the king ordered a cup of poisoned *sharbat* to be mixed, but his throne began to quake, the palace rocked violently, and faces of *faqirs* were seen everywhere. The king in his fear recognised the saintship of Shāh Daula and dismissed him with honour and two bags of *ashrafs*. Giving the king his blessing, Shāh Daula departed after distributing the *ashrafs* to the royal servants. Hearing of this the king summoned him again and asked him if he would accept a grant of 5,000 *bighās* of land. Shāh Daula replied that he did not want any land, but would avail himself of the offer later on, if necessary. Upon this the king allowed him to depart after showing him much reverence.

The building of the bridge over the Dik came about in this way. During one of the journeys of the emperor Shāhjahān into Kashmir, the private belongings of Dārā Shikoh and Hari Begam and many pack animals were lost in the Dik, which was in flood. The Faujdār of the District, Mirzā Badī Usmān, was accordingly ordered to have a large and permanent bridge ready by the time the royal party returned. The Faujdār set to work, but could get nothing but mud bricks and so he imprisoned all the brick-burners. The result was that when the emperor returned the bridge was not even commenced. On being severely reprimanded, the Faujdār remarked that only Shāh Daula could build the bridge. The emperor at once ordered him to fetch Shāh Daula. By a stratagem he was induced to enter a palanquin and was carried off, but he remarked:—"There is no need to force me to obey the emperor's orders. I know them and will carry them out."

Arrived at the Dik, Shāh Daula procured the release of the brick-burners and set about building the bridge. A wicked *gurā*, who inhabited the spot, destroyed the work as fast as it was done, but after a controversy, in which he was overcome, the *gurā* was lured into a lime-pit and buried up to his neck in lime and mortar by Shāh Daula.

Shāh Daula met with many other obstacles. Among them was one raised by Būtā, the land-owner of the neighbourhood, who made money out of the ford at that spot. Būtā cut the dam in order to drown the *faqirs* encamped underneath it, but Shāh Daula cleverly frustrated him by making a second dam below it. A *faqir* was sent to report on Būtā's behaviour to Shāhjahān, who ordered him to be sent to Lahore bound hand and foot, there to be beheaded and his head to be hung on a *wīm* tree. But Shāh Daula interceded for him and obtained his release. Būtā after this rendered every possible assistance, the bridge was duly built and Shāh Daula returned to Gujrāt.

About this time a *faqir*, named Saidān, came to Gujrāt and claimed the guardianship of the town by divine appointment in order to discredit Shāh Daula. By spiritual means Shāh Daula convinced the impostor that he was wrong, and the *faqir* disappeared and was never heard of again.

At that time female infanticide was rife in Rājaur, now a part of the Jammū State. Rājā Chattr Singh of Rājaur was a devoted follower of Shāh Daula, but he always killed his female children at birth. However, on the birth of one girl, Shāh Daula told him to let the child live, as she would be very fortunate and become the mother of kings. The child was therefore allowed to live and grew up a fair and lovely maiden, and when Shāhjahān was passing through Rājaur on one of his journeys to Kashmir, the Rājā presented her to him as a *nazar*. The girl was accepted and bestowed on Prince Aurangzeb, who married her.

Later on, the prince, being anxious to know whether he or one of his brothers, Dārā Shikoh and Murād, would succeed to the throne, went to see Shāh Daula and presented him with a *sar murgh* (golden pheasant), a foreign cat and wooden stick. If the saint accepted all but the stick it was to be an omen that the prince would succeed. But Shāh Daula, as soon as he saw the prince, arose saluted him as "Your Majesty," and giving him a cake, returned the stick and said:—"God has sent you this cake, and this stick is granted you as the sceptre of your authority. Be of good cheer." Aurangzeb told the tale to the Begam Bai, who confirmed him in his belief in it by relating Shāh Daula's prophecy that she herself would be the mother of kings. Her sons were Mu'azzim and Mahmūd, of whom the former became the emperor Bahādur Shāh.

At a later period, after he had become emperor, Aurangzeb again sent for Shāh Daula, who appeared before him in a miraculous manner. The emperor was dining by himself, but he saw that a hand was eating with him. Calling his attendants he told them of this, and said that the hand was the hand of an old man with the second finger missing. One of the attendants, named Bakhtāwar, said that the hand was probably Shāh Daula's. The emperor thereupon summoned the Saint to appear, when Shāh Daula at once stood revealed, and was dismissed, loaded with presents by the amazed sovereign.

Many other tales of his miracles are told of Shāh Daula, but that which is chiefly associated with his name is the miracle of the *Chūhās* or Rat-children, said to be born through his agency with minute heads, large ears, rat-like faces, and without understanding or the power of speech.

Shāh Daula lived to a great age, commonly stated to have been 150 years, and was contemporary with Akbar, Jahāngir, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzeb. He was born in the 25th year of Akbar, A.H. 989 or A.D. 1581 and died, according to the anagram of his death, *Khuddādest*, in A.H. 1087 or A.D. 1676. He was therefore really 95 years old at his death.

His usual title is Shāh Daula Daryāi, because of the numerous bridges that he built. To the end of his life, princes and nobles, rich and poor alike, sought his blessing. At last, when he saw his end approaching he sent for his disciple, Bhāwan Shāh, duly invested him with the *dalā*, and installed him as *siyāshla-nishān* and successor.

The existing members of the *Sect of Shāh Daula* claim that Bhāwan Shāh as the son of the saint, but whether he was a real, or an adopted son or *balkā*, the present Pirs are the descendants of Bhāwan Shāh.

Notes by the Editor.

There are some points worth noting in the stories of Shāh Daula's Rats and of Shāh Daula himself.

In the first place it seems pretty clear from what has been above recorded that the ascription of the *Chūhās* to the agency of the well-known saint of Gujrāt is posthumous. One suspects that Bhāwan Shāh of the Shāh Daula Shrine created the cult, much in the fashion that Ghāf Sultān Muhammad is creating one now out of the shrine which he has set up round the tomb of the great local saint. All the circumstances point to such a situation. There are the extreme modernness of the cult, the fact that a band or order of *fagirs* make a living out of a certain class of local microcephalous idiots, and the convenient existence of an important shrine. Then the absence of landed property in possession of the band, or of any recognized right to succession to the leadership, and the entire dependence on earnings, in turn dependent themselves on the gullibility of the 'faithful,' all make it almost certain that Bhāwan Shāh took the opportunity of the then recent decease of a well-known ancient and holy man to find a sacred origin for the unholy traffic of his followers. The division of the income thus earned is just such as one might expect of a body that had no other source of cohesion originally than profit out of a common means of livelihood.

As regards the legend of Shāh Daula himself, we have the usual ascription of a direct connection by birth of a local holy man with the great ones of the earth in his day, with the usual clear openings for doubt in the account thereof, and we have also the ascription of miraculous powers common to Panjābi saints. There is nothing in the story that could not have been picked up by the tellers out of the tales of other saints commonly current in the country. No doubt there did live, during the seventeenth century, a holy man in Gujrāt town, who died there at an advanced age and had a tomb erected to him, which became venerated. It is quite probable that he was instrumental in forwarding works of public utility in his neighbourhood, and was notorious for his charity to the poor and needy, led an excellent life, and was venerated by the nobility around him. Considering the situation of the town of Gujrāt, it is quite possible also that he attracted the attention of the emperor Shāhjahān and his suite, during their many journeys to and fro between Kashmir and their Indian Court. But all this affords no ground for supposing that he had anything to do personally with the poor idiots now exploited by the sect, band, or order of *fagirs* that have fastened themselves on to his name.

As regards the *Chūhās* themselves, it is quite possible that there is tendency to produce such idiots among the population of given districts, such as Pūneh and Jammū, but one cannot help suspecting that, owing to the necessity for a continuous supply being forthcoming for the well-being of those who live on them, some of these unfortunates are artificially produced after their birth as ordinary infants. It would be so easy to accomplish this on the part of the unscrupulous.

A TRIPLET OF PANJABI SONGS.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I.

Kāfi Ghulām Farid Chāchrah Sharif dā¹.A Kafi of Ghulām Farid of Chāchrah Sharif.²

Text.

Translation.

Refrain.

Hik dam hijar³ na sahndī,⁴ he !

O, the heart cannot bear separation for a moment !

Dil dilbar⁵ kārine⁶ māndī,⁷ he !

O, the heart grows sick for the beloved !

I.

I.

Soz gudār⁸ di tul wichhāwān.

The mattress of pain and sorrow I would spread.

Dukh duhāg⁹ di sējh bañrāwān.

The bed of sorrow and pain I would make.

Hār ghaman dā gal wich pāwān.

The garland of grief I would place around my neck.

Dard dī bañh¹⁰ sirandhī, he !

O, the arm of pain under my head !

Hik dam hijar, etc.

O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

II.

II.

Mahl beparwā milyose.¹¹

I have fallen in love with a careless lover.

Palrē¹² soz firaq piyose.

I have caught the pangs of separation in my skirt.

Hāl kanūn behāl theyose.

I have fallen from calmness upon evil days.

Jindri jhok¹³ ghaman dī, he !

O, my soul is the thirsty habitation of sorrow !

Hik dam hijar, etc.

O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

III.

III.

Deñh nibhāwān sarden baldeñ.¹⁴

I pass the day in grief and sorrow.

Rat wanjāwān galdeñ jaldeñ.¹⁴

I pass the night in sorrow and grief.

Sārī umar gal hath maldeñ.¹⁵

My whole life is passing in regret.

Hai, hai ! Maut nā andī, he !

Alas, alas ! O, the death does not come !

Hik dam hijar, etc.

O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

¹ A song of the Derā Ghāz Khān District.² The poet whose takhalles was Farid, and whose real name was Ghulām Farid, dwelt at Chāchrah Sharif, a town on the right bank of the Indus, opposite Kot Mithān, where he had charge of his ancestors' shrines. Nawāb Shāhī Muhammad Khān, of Bahāwalpur, was one of his murids or disciples. I am indebted to Sayyid Sher Shāh, a Munsif in the Pānjāb, for this song and its translation.³ Pers., used locally to mean 'separation from the beloved.'⁴ sahnd, to bear, endure; saī, dīl, the heart: 'the heart does not endure.'⁵ dilbar: Pers., 'one who takes the heart,' the beloved.⁶ kārine, postposition, 'for.'⁷ māndī, sick: Pers. mānda, wearied. ⁸ soz gudār: Pers., 'pain and sorrow'; lit., 'burning and melting.'⁹ dukh duhāg: local expression, 'pain and sorrow.'¹⁰ dard dī bañh: the sense is that 'arm of pain is under my head' while sleeping, instead of the arm of my mistress.¹¹ milyose, lit., 'we have met': 'I have fallen in love with.'¹² Allusion to the custom of beggars receiving alms in the skirt.¹³ jhok, local: an isolated habitation without a well of drinking water.¹⁴ sarden baldeñ, galdeñ jaldeñ: lit., 'rotting and burning,' 'melting and burning': both expressions mean, in grief and jealousy.¹⁵ hath maldeñ, lit., 'rubbing the hands': 'in regret.'

IV.

Sonhreh¹⁸ keti Kech¹⁷ tiyari.
 Ayâ bar birhen sir bhâri.
 Sengiah¹⁹ sartiân karî na kârî.
 Bewas pai kurlandi, he !
 Hik dam hijar, etc.

V.

Yâd karesân yar diân gahlî :
 Sonhriân ramzân moûhriân châlî.

Toreh meârhen dewî Siyali²⁰.
 Tang Farid na jandi, he !
 Hik dam hijar, etc.

Hâr Phulâ de.

Text.

Hâr phulâ de, nî,²¹ pâwâ hâr phulâ de.
Phul lede, bânkê yâr, pâwâ hâr phulâ de.²²

I. — Nâr.

Qissakhwânî de bâzâr dhup dopahar di, he !
 Tere table di fikor hai kais qahr di, he !
 Hâr phulâ de, etc.

II. — Mard.

Itthâ sambul dâ darakht, nî, guwâh rahûdâ.
 Terî nainâ de sawar channûkîdâr rahûdâ.
 Hâr phulâ de, etc.

III. — Nâr.

Qissakhwânî de bâzâr assâ jâ khalote:
 Uththe manggan panj rupai, sâûh pain gotê.

Hâr phulâ de, etc.

IV.

My love is ready to start for Kech.
 The burden of grief seems heavy on my head.
 Her companions and maids give me no help.
 O, I am become helpless and lamenting !
 O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

V.

I shall ever remember the talk of my friend :
 Her amusing questions and her charming
 gestures.
 What though the Siyâl women chide.
 O, the longing of Farid that departs not !
 O, the heart cannot bear, etc.

II.

The Garlands of Flowers.²³

Translation.

Refrain.

Garlands of flowers, love, garlands of flowers
will I wear.
Bring flowers, my gallant friend, and I will
wear garlands of flowers.

I. — Girl.

O, the noon-day sun is hot in the Qissakhwânî
 Bazâr !²³
 O, the power of thy note on the *tablâ* !
 Garlands of flowers, etc.

II. — Man.

The *sambul* tree here is our witness, love.
 It stands guardian of the beauty of thine eyes.
 Garlands of flowers, etc.

III. — Girl.

I went and stood in the Qissakhwânî Bazâr :
 And when they asked five rupees, I was
 plunged in care.
 Garlands of flowers, etc.

¹⁸ *Lit.*, 'beautiful'; used for 'the beloved.'

¹⁷ A place renowned for the beauty of its women. Hence 'going to Kech,' as applied poetically to a girl means 'going home.'

¹⁹ *Sengîâ*, girl companions of her own age.

²⁰ Allusion to the story of Hâr and Rânjhâ, a 'Romeo and Juliet' story of the Panjâb. Rânjhâ came from Takht Hashrâ and Hîr was of the Siyâl tribe and their mutual love was highly impolitic. Hence their remonstrances referred to in the text. But the allusion is more subtle than this. The poet is using the language of Hîr, and by the term 'Siyali' he means his own country-women.

²¹ My love, my darling: used by a man to a woman.

²² [A very popular Panjâbi song with references to the story of Mîrâ and Sâhibkâ. I suspect that this version is incomplete. — Ed.]

²³ Used as a refrain after each couplet. Here the man addresses the girl in the first line and she replies in the second.

²⁴ At Peshâwar.

IV. — *Mard.*

Lāke surkhī, tūn daūdāsā, mukh sawārde haiñ :

Karke qañl, tūn qarār, manū wisārde haiñ.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

V. — *Nār.*

Hath chitṭe, tūn changer wich phul kallāñ.

Koi sohñi sohñi hukā dendī wich gallāñ.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

VI. — *Mard.*

Kī kito, nī, garīb nūñ khwār karke ?

Main mohiyā pahli rāt, terā didār karke !

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

VII. — *Nār.*

Tūñ tūñ merā yār ; tere nāl marāñgī.

Hath pharke teri bāñh, Jhang-Siyāl warāñgī.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

VIII. — *Mard.*

Jutti teri mokli : pajāmā terā tañg.

Do annā sāde moṛ de, tū baithī tukre māñg.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

IX. — *Nār.*

Banhlāñ paññiāñ lakh hazār rat na tahrđī, he !

Terā husan dā gumāñ dhup dopahr dī, he !

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

X. — *Mard.*

Tūñ tūñ turnā turnā chāhyā raṭe ḍariye, nī.

Sāde hath jigar nūñ pāyā hañsārie, nī.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

IV. — *Man.*

They take vermillion and *daūdāsā* and adorn their faces :

They make vows and promises, but soon forget them.

Garlands of flowers, etc.

V. — *Girl.*

Their hands are fair and flowerbuds are in their baskets.

Many a beauty hawks her wares in the lanes.

Garlands of flowers, etc.

VI. — *Man.*

What dost thou gain, love, by troubling a poor man ?

I was thy lover from the first night I saw thee !

Garlands of flowers, etc.

VII. — *Girl.*

Thou art indeed, my love ; I will die with thee.

Clasping my hands on thy arm, I will go to Jhang-Siyāl.

Garlands of flowers, etc.

VIII. — *Man.*

Loose thy shoes : tight thy trousers.²⁴

Give me back the two annas and sit thou here and beg.

Garlands of flowers, etc.

IX. — *Girl.*

Alas, binding a *lakh* of bandages does not stay the blood !

O, thy beauty in its pride is as the noon-day sun !²⁵

Garlands of flowers, etc.

X. — *Man.*

Thou bringest the desire of love as thou goest, dear.

And my hand is on my side for laughter, love.

Garlands of flowers, etc.

²⁴ As worn by Panjābi women. The meaning is that she could not walk far.

²⁵ [In the story of Mirā and Sāhibāñ, which is connected with Jhang and the Siyāl, the pair eloped and were caught under a tree, and Mirā was murdered before the eyes of his paramour. — Ep.].

XI. — Nār.²⁶

Chall ājā chhamañ chhamañ, tuñ piyārī nī.
Zarā āṭakñā bāzār, naināñwāliye nī.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

XII. — Mard.

Pardesiāñ de nāl haske boliye, nī.

Nā kar hūsan dā gumāñ: pūrā toliye, nī.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

XIII. — Nār.

Asiñ tere liye parote hār chhoṭe chhoṭe, nī :

Kāhnūñ boldī haiñ bol sāññ moṭe moṭe, nī ?

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

XIV. — Mard.

Terī zulf kuñḍal pāyā, kali nag koloñ.

Terī gall hai mazedār, nī, gulāb koloñ.
Hār phulāñ de, etc.

XV. — Nār.

Terā rang hai mazedār mahtāb koloñ.
Terī dhunñ mazedār tung sharāb koloñ.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

XVI. — Mard.

Terī āñkh hai mazedār āmb anār koloñ :

Terā nāk hai khuñḍe dī dhār, nī, talwār koloñ.

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

XVII. — Nār.

Kāhenūñ baiṭhī tīr naināñ de chālāñ, he ?

Sine barchhiāñ tūñ mizhgāñ diāñ lañ, he ?

Hār phulāñ de, etc.

XI. — Girl.²⁷

Come with thy tinkling feet, thou dearest love.
Stay not a moment in the bazar, my love
with the (beautiful) eyes.

Garlands of flowers, etc.

XII. — Man.

Thou should speak graciously to strangers,
love.²⁸

Be not proud of thy beauty, love ; but be just
(to me).

Garlands of flowers, etc.

XIII. — Girl.²⁹

For thy sake I have made many little garlands
love :

Why dost thou speak to me with rough words,
love ?

Garlands of flowers, etc.

XIV. — Man.

Thy locks have fallen into curls like black
snakes.

Thy cheeks are fairer than the rose, love.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

XV. — Girl.

Thy colour is fairer than the moon.

Thy navel is more intoxicating than a flash of
wine.

Garlands of flowers, etc.

XVI. — Man.

Thine eyes are sweeter than the mango or the
pomegranate :

Thy nose more slender than the edge of
a sword, love.

Garlands of flowers, etc.

XVII. — Girl.

O, why dost thou sit and let loose the arrows
of thine eyes ?

O, why dost thou pierce my breast with the
spears of thy glances ?³⁰

Garlands of flowers, etc.

²⁶ [From this point something has gone wrong with the regular interchange of couplets between the man and the woman, and verses 11, 12, 13, 14, 16 and 18 should all be addressed to the woman, and only 15, 17 (doubtfully) and 19 to the man. This verse, No. 11, both forms its substance and its form, should not be spoken by but to, the woman. Such irregularities and obvious discrepancies are, however, characteristic of Panjābi bards. — Ed.]

²⁷ [But the man should speak this verse. I suspect that not only is this version incomplete, but also that the verses are given in any order, just as they occurred to the singer. — Ed.]

²⁸ [Mirzā was of a tribe hostile to that of Sāhibzādā. Hence the trouble. They were a Panjābi Romeo and Juliet. — Ed.]

²⁹ [Here again the man should be speaking. — Ed.]

³⁰ But all the expressions are feminine and apparently the man should be speaking. — Ed.]

XVIII. — *Mard.*

Teriān bhañwān goshadār, nī, kamān koloñ.
Tere nainān de nāl rahnde, nī, nishān koloñ.
Hār phulān de, etc.

XIX. — *Nār.*

Terī pañī dā singār mazedār rahūdā :
Terī āngī dā anār rasidār rahūdā.
Hār phulān de, etc.

XVIII. — *Man.*

Thine eyebrows are more curved than a bow,
love.
Thine eyes, love, are always on the mask.²¹
Garlands of flowers, etc.

XIX. — *Girl.*

The arrangement of thy hair is captivating :
The pomegranate of the *angī*²² is full of juice.
Garlands of flowers, etc.

III.

Sehriān.

A Wedding Song of the Jolyas of Multān Dist.

Text.

Sehrā I.

Sehriānwālā banarā jiwe !
Sehriānwālā banarā jiwe !

1.

Nām Farid Khān ! Zāt Lakhwerā !
Lākh salāmī thīwe !
Mahārājā, banarā jiwe !
Sehriānwālā, etc.

2.

Jitwal chapteñ, terī fatahī hameshā !
Jor bhāñā dā thīwe !
Mahārājā, banarā jiwe !
Sehriānwālā, etc.

3.

Banarā dī māt nūñ diyo mubārak.
Sharbat piyālā piwe.
Mahārājā, banarā jiwe !
Sehriānwālā, etc.

Sehriā II.

Sakhi Fīroz rangilā,
Jug jug jiwe !
Sagāl warī pahār,
Aise Joyā tūñ dātār !
Aphāñ nawāñ sūrāñ dā
Sarkop maditā !
Jug jug jiwe !
Sakhi Fīroz rangilā,
Jug jug jiwe !

The Garlands.

Translation.

Garland I.

Refrain.

Long live the bridegroom with the garlands !
Long live the bridegroom with the garlands !

1.

By name Farid Khān ! By tribe Lakhweri !²³
Lākh of men salute thee !
Mahārājā, may thy bridegroom live !
Long live, etc.

2.

Where thou dost attack, be victory ever thine !
Be thou united to thy kinsmen !
Mahārājā, may thy bridegroom live !
Long live, etc.

3.

Congratulate the bride's²⁴ mother.
Let her drink the cup of *sharbat*.
Mahārājā, may thy bridegroom live !
Long live, etc.

Garland II.

The generous and beautiful Fīroz,
May he live for ever !
Possessor of a mountain of wealth,
Be thou a creator of wealth like the Jolyās !
Of eight or nine friends
Be thou the great leader !
May he live for ever !
The generous and beautiful Fīroz,
May he live for ever !

²¹ Carrying on the metaphor of the eyes and the arrows.

²² [An under-garment covering the breasts. Here again apparently the man should be speaking. — Ed.]

²³ Lakhweri: one of the principal clans of the Jolyas, an interesting account of whom will be found in the forthcoming Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State. Lākh in the next line is simply placed punningly in juxtaposition.

²⁴ Note that the same term is used for bride and bridegroom.

*Shra III.**Lāmān tūn tī hane hai pahāy !*

1.

Tainūn sewan Jamwān de rāje,
Dasteñ ghorē pair piyāde !
Joiyā, kūtāñ de sardār !
Lāmān tūn, etc.

2.

Bareñ wich wanjārā sewe !
Bohar ghannāñ dātār !

Lāmān tūn, etc.

3.

Janak Khāñ sukhnāñdā pūrā !
Terā bachan na howe kūrā
Sāhib de darbār !
Lāmān tūn, etc.

4.

Jis wal chapheñ terī fatah hamesha ;
Fatah har darbar !
Lāmān tūn, etc.

5.

Sāre Joiyāñ dā sardār,
Rasūl Allah dā haiñ tūn yār !
Mubārak dewe sab sansār !
Lāmān tūn, etc.

*Shra IV.**Jise howeñ scharīfūddīñ baunah !*

Wadī Jānak samī dī marūt tangsāl gharāi.
Sone ghariāñ batrīñ galāñ sohnī dhal khindāi.
Sonā put soput rālāi.
Wich ghorē phireñ daryāl.
Jānak Joiyā atī Sidū Mīr dhuwānūñ jhik loī apāi.
Gharī taksāl ; banī badshāhī !

Garland III.

Refrain.

Es the ranks of thy army ranged like the hills !

1.

May the rājās of Jammū serve thee
Themselves on foot and their horses by the hand !
Joiyā, Lord of (many) forts !
Be the ranks, etc.

2.

Be thy enemy subdued on the battle-field !
Be thou a (very) *bohar*²² tree as a creator of
wealth !
Be the ranks, etc.

3.

As Janak Khāñ, fulfil thou thy promise !
Be thy word never false
Before the Court of God !
Be the ranks, etc.

4.

Where thou dost attack, be victory ever thine ;
Victory in every Court.
Be the ranks, etc.

5.

Lord of all the Joiyās,
Thou art the friend of the Prophet of God !
May all the world bless thee !
Be the ranks, etc.

*Garland IV.*Refrain.²³*Long live the bridegroom with the garlands !*

Jānak distributed at the wedding money coined
at the mint.
Golden coins he minted and gave them to the
servants and the poor.
He united a good bridegroom to a good bride.
River horses were used at the wedding.
Jānak Joiyā and Sidū Mīr were ashamed and
covered their faces with a cloth.
With gold coins at the mint he founded
a kingdom !

²² The banyan tree, or *ficus indica*.²³ Probably in practice repeated after every line.

THREE SONGS FROM THE PANJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I.

A Love Song.

Text.

Sājan, woh dīn kaun the tum bichhṛat¹ mohe
chain ?
Gile ban kī lakṛī sūlgat hai dīn rain.
Lakṛī jal koilā bahī, aur koilā jal bahī rākh :
Main pāpan aisi jalī, na koilā bahī, na rākh.
Sājan, woh dīn kaun the, jo tum gūriyā,² ham
dōr.
Chālī wā parem, kit gūriyā ? kit dōr ?
Sājan, woh dīn kaun the, jo bīch nī rakhte
hār ?
Karanhār ne aisi kī, jo paṛgayī bīch pahār.

Translation.

Which were the days, love, when I had
pleasure away from thee ?
The damp wood smoulders all the day.
Burnt wood makes charcoal, burnt charcoal
makes ashes :
But I, poor wretch, am so burnt up that there
is neither charcoal nor ashes.
Which were the days, love, when you were
the kite and I the string ?
When the wind of love blew, where was the
kite and where the string ?
Which were the days, love, when there was
not even a garland between us ?
Now the Creator has so made it that there is
a mountain between us.

II.

Rōg Larkīyōn kī.

Text.

Asān apnā charkā katnā :
Dūe dā muñh chāṭnā.³
Kīn dūe de kāran rōi ?
Bhed apne dīl dā khoi ?
Asān apne ghar⁴ de rājā ;
Dūe kane kuchh nahīn kājā.
Kīn jag mānas khush karnā ?
Paṛna Mālik de charnā.
Kīn kīl de sang asān hasnā ?
Kīn kīl de ghar jā basnā ?

Asān ant same marjānā ;
Dūe kīl sang nahīn jānā.
Kīn Duniyā de bāje bajānā.
Sukh ohhadke, dukh ko pānā.
Hān mīṭṭī, mīṭṭī meṅ mil jānā :
Kīn narm dūbhāle bichhānā ?

The Maidens' Spinning Song.

Translation.

Ours to ply the spinning-wheel :
Not to flatter another's face.
Why should we for another weep ?
Why let go the secret of our hearts ?
We are lords of our own house ;
We have no concern with another's.
Why should man take pleasure in the world ?
It is better to fall at the feet of the Master.
Why should we laugh with any one ?
Why should we go to dwell in any one's
house ?
In the end we have to die.
We may not go with any other.
Why should we play the music of the World ?
Ours to forego pleasure and endure pain.
Earth we are, to the earth we must return :
Why then spread soft shawls ?

¹ bichhṛat, separated.² gūriyā usually means a doll, but here = guṛṛī, a four-cornered kite.³ L.t., to lick ; to flatter.⁴ L.t., house : our own concerns.

III.

*Gāwan Timāh dā.**The Matrons' Spinning Song.*

Text.

Translation.

Asān apnā charkhā katnā:
Nāl dūc de kahnūn rahnā?
Kīnū dūc de koṭ jā roṭ?
Bharṇā¹ apne jī dā khoi?
Asān apne ghar dīn rānīn:
Kahnūn karnīn dūjān dī kahnūn?
Kīnū jag nihorā² sahiye?

Ours to ply the spinning wheel:
Why do we abide with another?
Why do we go and weep with another?
And let go the fullness of our hearts?
We are queens of our own house:
Why do we talk of others' doings?
Why do we endure the coquetries of the world?

Sahiye, apne nāl rach³ rahiye.

Matrons, we should keep the world to ourselves.

Kīnū kīā de chēt labhānā?
Kīnū jag nūn pāi hasānā?
Asān ōrak nūn mar jānā:
Kīā dūc de nāl nahīn jānā.
Kīnū jag vich dhūm machū?
Sakh chhūke, dukh nūn pā.
Sab mīṭhā, mīṭhī ho jānā:
Kīnū sejān te chaph sonā?

Why should we enthrall the heart of any one?
Why should we suffer ridicule in the world.
In the end we have to die:
We may not go with any other.
Why do we make a display in the world?
Ours to forego pleasure and endure pain.
All are of earth, to the earth we must return:
Why meant a bed to sleep?

MOHIYE KI HAR, OR DAR.

BY H. A. ROSE.

*The Chronicle of Rājā Mohī Parkāsh, Ruler of Nāhar (Śīmr) State.**(Continued from p. 208.)*

- | | |
|--|--|
| Sainjo rī seri dā, Rāje pālgī pherī. | On the plain of Sainj the Rājā turned his palanquin, |
| 210 Garh rahi-goā Nāgaṇe rā, saro pahājo rī shīrī ²⁴ ;
Mohiye rī fanjo, sab Nāgaṇe khe girī: | 210 (Fer) the fort of Nāgaṇ, the queen of all the hills, remained (untaken).
The army of Mohī Parkāsh all turned towards Nāgaṇ, |
| Kashe haṇde kamare, ²⁵ jāge-haṇde toṛe, | The horsemen, with leins girt and guns ready |
| Garho ghṛde Nāgaṇī re, gere chākre ghoṛo
Guṛī rowā meghūlā, jhūmī roṣo kōheṭo; ²⁶ | Round the fort of Nāgaṇ rode their horses,
As if it were thundering in the clouds and bombarding. |
| 215 Nāgaṇe re garho khe, garh Nāgaṇe chūṭo. ²⁷
Garh chūṭā Nāgaṇī rā, leo maskī ²⁸ Rāje, | 215 The fort of Nāgaṇ, Nāgaṇ Fort was taken.
The fort of Nāgaṇ fell, and they said:
'crush the Rājā.' |
| Bhāgi gūwe garhīle, rowe darwāze khūle; | Its garrison fled away and its gates were thrown open. |
| Nāgaṇī rī, O Kālkā, taaho khe dūhāt: | (The women cried:—) 'O Kālkā of Nāgaṇ,
to thee we make our moan, |
| Rāje tīṭe ²⁹ Mohiye, hāmeṇ gharī-ro khāf. | By that Rājā Mohī Parkāsh, we are brought to great distress. |

¹ Doubt, suspicion, error.² Begging, coaxing.³ rach, aration: rachnā. to be employed.²⁴ Shīrī: head. ²⁵ Kashe haṇde kamare: with leins girt; toṛe: the tow (used to fire the long Indian gun.)²⁶ Guṛī rowā: is roaring; jhūmī roṣo kōheṭo: the mist is spreading.²⁷ Chūṭo (Hindi jāṇā, to break): broken, i. e., the fortress gave in.²⁸ Leo maskī: crush to pieces.²⁹ Tīṭe: by that; hāmeṇ gharī-ro khāf: we are in sore distress (an idiom).

- 220 Garh phukā Nāggarā, hāmeñ khedi ro lāt,³⁰ 220 He has burnt the fort of Nāgañ and driven
us out of it.
Chūpt ro merie Kālikā,³¹ hāmeñ karmī
jammoñ;
Ubhe āwane de Deshū khe, lāmī māso rā
hūmoñ.³² Be still, O my Kālikā! we will bear the
blame;
Let them come up to Deshū, we will feed
the flames with human flesh.
Garho pānde Nāgū re, sūt chādro pherī,
Hañ fanjo Rājē ri, Sainjo ri serī;
On the fort of Nāgañ was unfurled the red flag.
The Rājā's army returned to the plain of
Sainj.
- 225 Sidhiē Koṭo rā jhākur, kindā roñ jāi? 225 (They asked: —) 'O Sidhā, Thākur of Koṭ
whither art thou going?
Deshū dhāro ri bāñri hāmīñ delā batāwi.
Pray show us the pathway to the ridge of
Deshū!'
Lāgi gowā boldā,³³ Bidhiyā bhāto,
Bidhiā Brahman replied:
Manj Phāgū ri rastā, Deshū dhāro ri bāto.
'Through Phāgū is the road, by the path-
way to Deshū ridge.'
Āi pāgi Rājē ri, Dhamāñdri re ghāto,
The Rājā's palanquin reached Dhamāñdri
ghāṭi.³⁴
- 230 Ghāto paṛo Dhamāñdri re, Mohiye re 230 At the ghāṭ of Dhamāñdri was pitched the
tāmbū;
Phāgū hāñi gowā Rāpe ra, ālo rā jyā lāmbū;
Rājā's tent,
And Phāgū of the Rāpā of Keonthal shook
like the stalk of a potato plant.
Chan ayāpe Phāgū re, Rājē khe mille:
Four elders of Phāgū met the Rājā,
Ghāto lyāe Dhamāñdri re, bathori re kille.
At the ghāṭ of Dhamāñdri they brought him
baskets of bathorā.
Phāgū re, O Phagyāpeo, tūse kanē qarē? (Said the Rājā: —) 'O men of Phāgū,³⁵
why are you afraid?
- 235 Kārā bhore Nahñi khe, base āppe gharē 235 Pay your revenue at Nāhan, and dwell in
your own homes.'
Āi pāgi Rājē ri, Kaithalo re ghāto,
The Rājā's palanquin came to the ghāṭ of
Kaithal,³⁶
Baro dittā bākra, Nālo re bhāto,
And the Brahmins of Nāl³⁷ village gave him
provisions and a goat.
Āi pāgi Rājē ri, Deshū ri dhāro,
The Rājā's palanquin came to Deshū ridge,
Deshū paṛo jubro³⁸ de, Mohiye re tāmbū,
And on the meadows on Deshū were pitched
the Rājā's tents.
- 240 Sārā hāñi gowā Keonthal, ālo rā jyā 240 All the land of Keonthal trembled like
lāmbū;
Tāmbū tañi ro chākri, ohhāñi rākhā
a potato stalk.
mūhālā:³⁹ When they had pitched the tents, they
bombarded to such an extent
Undi dharti jhulko,⁴⁰ ūbhā Indar hālā:
That the earth below and sky above shook.
Dhūweñ rie bēdālē, ūbhā sūrjo thāmo.
And clouds of smoke hid the sun above.
Deshūe gurī,⁴¹ Mohiye ri drāgi,
On Deshū sounded the music of Mohi
Parkash.

³⁰ Khedi-ro lāt: we have been hunted out.³¹ Chūpt ro merie Kālikā: O my Kālikā! Be still!; jammoñ: responsible.³² Lāmī māso rā hūmoñ: we will feed the flames with human flesh.³³ Dhamāñdri: a place in Theog territory below Phāgū.³⁴ Phagyāpā the inhabitants of Phāgū.³⁵ Nāl: a village in Chhabrot pargana, now in Patiala territory, but formerly owned by Keonthal.³⁶ Jubro: in the meadow or waste-land.³⁷ Chhāñi mūhālā, chhāñi rākhā = chhāñi mūhālā: the sound of firing, i. e., fired.³⁸ Jhulko: shaking.³⁹ Lāgi gowā boldā: began to say.⁴⁰ Kaithal: a ridge in Keonthal State.⁴¹ Mohiye ri drāgi: will roar; drāgi: music.

- 245 Dhol baje, ghera⁴² bānā, dhakūlī bājī ;
 Deshūe gūri⁴³ naubat, Koṭī shūno Rāṇā :
 Ishā lāgā boladā, Nūp Saino Rāṇā :
 Dhol baje, dhakūlī bājī, bājo gaihrā⁴⁴ bājā,
 Ke gurī rowā meghūlā,⁴⁵ ke āwī-gowā
 Rājā ;
- 250 Dewo, Rāṇe re hāzri, Manūne āṇā jāī :
 Deshū dhāro ri khabro, āwāṇā le-āl.
 Dewe Rāṇe re rigṛā Manūno ri dhāro,
 Manūno ri dhāro dā, pāṇde nā dewo ;
 Sārā rakhā jubro,⁴⁷ tāmbūe chhāl.
- 255 Deshū dī dhāro dī, nīrī⁴⁸ lag-rahī āgo,
 Būre dīsho badūko re, pāṅṅye ri pāgo ;⁴⁹
 Do Rāṇe re rigṛā, haṭī āwī-gowe Koṭī :
 Lāṅṅ, merco rigṛā, Deshū dhāro ri bāto.
 Deshū dhāro ri bāto, lāī nahīn jāndī,
- 260 Sārā rakhā jubro, tāmbūe chhāl ;
 Bolūndā nī, Rāṇā, tere sāhibā dare :
 Deshūe āyā bairī, koṭī Sāinjo gherī.
 Rāṇe tīṅṅye Nūp Saine, mat lāī kamāl,
 Koṭī dā Rāṇā sāhibe, ḍerā lowā aṭhāl ;
- 265 Koṭī dā Rāṇā Sāhib, gowā Jungo āī :
 Jungo re ranṇoi⁵⁰ dā, Rāṇā rowā gubbi,⁵¹
 Deshū āyā bairī, gowā mulko ḍobī.⁵²
 Jungo re pagiye dā, Rāṇā girdā giro,⁵³
 Nāṇū āṇī dewo Gumde, sabale phiro ;⁵⁴
- 245 The drums were beaten, the boundary was
 surrounded and the *dhakūlī* sounded.
 On Deshū the *naubat* resounded, and at Koṭī
 the Rāṇā heard it.
 Thus he spoke, the Rāṇā Nūp Sain :—
 'The drums are sounding and the *dhakūlī*,
 Either 'tis thundering in the clouds, or the
 Rājā has come,
- 250 Go, attendants of me the Rāṇā, go to Manūn,
 Go and bring me news of Deshū ridge.'
 The Rāṇā's messengers went to the ridge of
 Manūn,⁴⁶
 As far as the ridge of Manūn, but not up
 to it.
 All the waste-land was covered with tents.
- 255 On the ridge of Deshū everywhere fires were
 burning,
 The guns were seen to be terrible, and
 the turbans of the infantry.
 The Rāṇā's two messengers turned back and
 came to Koṭī,
 (Said the Rājā : —) 'Tell me, my messen-
 gers, the news from Deshū *dhār*.
 (They replied : —) 'The news from Deshū
 ridge is not to be told,
- 260 All the waste-land is covered with tents.
 We dare not speak, Rāṇā Sāhib, from fear of
 thee.
 The enemy has reached Deshū ridge, after
 taking the fort of Sainj.
 Then Rāṇā Nūp Sain made a wise resolve,
 The Rāṇā Sahib took his camp and came to
 Jungā.
- 265 The Rāṇā Sāhib from Koṭī came to Jungā.
 At the palace of Jungā the Rāṇā fell into
 anxiety.
 'The enemy has reached Deshū ridge, my
 kingdom has been overthrown.'
 In the verandah at Jungā the Rāṇā paced
 to and fro.
 (Giving his orders : —) 'Let Gumde⁵⁵
 come from Nāṇū and be loyal.'

⁴² *Gherā* : surrounded.⁴³ *Gūri* : roared or resounded.⁴⁴ *Gaihrā* : deep, and so (idiomatically), that which can be heard from afar.⁴⁵ *Gurī rowā meghūlā* : the clouds are roaring.⁴⁶ *Jubro* (see footnote 38.)⁴⁷ *Manūn* : a ridge in Patilāla territory ; also the name of the village deity who lives in Manūn village.⁴⁸ *Nīrī* : only, merely : nothing but.⁴⁹ *Būre* (bad), *dīsho* (are seen), *brīḷko re* (of the riflemen), *pāṅṅye ri pāgo* (the turbans) : i. e., the turbans of the riflemen were seen to be terrible.⁵⁰ *Ranṇoi* : in the courtyard.⁵¹ *Rāṇā rowā gubbi* : the Rāṇā was struck with grief, or plunged into anxiety.⁵² *Girdā giro* : walked round.⁵³ *Gowā mulko ḍobī* = *mulā ḍobā gayā* : i. e., the country is lost.⁵⁴ *Gumde* : the name of a man of Nāṇū.⁵⁵ *Sabale phiro* : turn the right way.

- 270 Rawālo āṇī dewo Bhagte, Rāṇe re waziro; 270 Let Bhagta, Rawāl,⁶⁶ the Rāṇā's wazir⁶⁷
come too.
Chapole āṇī dewo Chandre, Aitile āṇo
Fakiro.
Let Chandra the Chapol⁶⁷ come, and also
Faqira, the Aitilā.
Gille āṇī dewo Dhartā, sāthe hāṇḍe na
bāto,⁶⁸
Let Dhartā and Gillā too, come, but not
together by the same road.
Āndro dī Rāṇḍe, likhī ditio chīṛī;⁶⁹
From her palace the Rāṇī wrote a letter—
Gillā lyāwāṇā naṭe,⁶⁹ Dhartā lyāwāṇā
ṭīṛī:
That Gillā was to be brought by way of the
river, and Dhartā⁶⁹ across the hills.
- 275 Āe Rāṇe re rigṛū, Gille re Bhareche, 275 The Rāṇā's messengers arrived at
Bharech,⁶⁹ — Gillā's village,
Gille jāṇā⁶⁹ Chhibre, rākhe pūchhṇe lāe.
And Gillā knew that the Chhibar had sent
them to inquire.
Do Rāṇe re rigṛū, kanī joge āwe?
'O messengers twain of the Rāṇā, what has
brought you hither?'
Gillā bolūn, Chhibro, Rāṇe rākhe bolāe,
'O Chhibrā, I tell (thee) that the Rāṇā has
summoned Gillā!'
Āe Rāṇe re rigṛū Dharte re Koṭe;
Then the messengers came to the Fort of
Dhartā.
- 280 Bhalī⁶⁴ re jāṇī Dharte, rākhe pūchhṇe 280 Dhartā took it in good part and began to
lāe:
question them:—
Do Rāṇe re rigṛū, kanī khe tūabe āe?
'O messengers twain of the Rāṇā, for what
purpose have you come?'
Bhalī re bolūn, Dharteā, Rāṇe rākhe
(They replied:—) 'Tis the truth we tell
bolāe,
you, Dhartā, the Rāṇā has sent for you.'
(Gillā and Dhartā were brought to the
place at Jungā.)
Sabbā lāgi Rāṇe rī, dewṛī re chobhāle:⁶⁶
The Rāṇā's court was in session at the
terrace of the gateway.
- 285 Gillāe hor Dharte, Rāṇā ghālā jūhārī,⁶⁴ 285 Gilla and Dhartā too did obeisance to the
Rāṇā,
Bole Rāṇe sāhibā, kwai rākhe būlāī?
And said:— 'O Rāṇā Sāhib, why have we
been summoned?'
Jungo re raṇṇo da, Rāṇā rowā gubī,⁶⁷
In the court-yard at Jungā, the Rāṇā was
in great anxiety.
Deshū āyā bairī,⁶⁸ rohā muluk dūbī;
'The enemy has come to Deshū, and my
kingdom is likely to be lost,
Rājā āwī-gowā Mohiyā, gaiṇṇī⁶⁹ rā golā:
Mohī the Rājā has come like a thunder-bolt
from the sky.
- 290 Ṭake māṅgo dhūnwēh⁷⁰ khe, Deyī rā dōlā. 290 He has demanded ransom from every
hearth, and the hand of my daughter in
marriage.

⁶⁶ Rawāl: a clan of Kanets in Keonjhal.⁶⁷ Chapol and Aitilā: also the names of clans in Keonjhal.⁶⁸ Sāthe (together), hāṇḍe nā (do not walk), bāto (the way): do not walk together on the road.⁶⁹ Āndro dī: from the palace; chīṛī: a letter.⁶⁹ Lyāwāṇā naṭe: should be brought by the river; ṭīṛī by or over the peak of the hill.⁶⁹ Gillā and Dhartā: wazirs of the Rāṇā of Keonjhal who were not on good terms with each other.⁶⁹ Bharech: a village in Keonjhal.⁶⁹ Jāṇā (knew); rākhe pūchhṇe lāe: have been sent to enquire.⁶⁴ Bhalī: good.⁶⁶ Dewṛī re chobhāle: on the terrace of the main gate.⁶⁶ Ghālā jūhārī: paid his respects.⁶⁷ Gubī: plunged into anxiety.⁶⁸ Bairī: the enemy.⁶⁹ Gaiṇṇī: the sky (a thunderbolt from the sky).⁷⁰ Dhūnwēh: smoke (from every house in which fire burns).

- Gillā jāṇī Dhartā, choṛī deḷe jābābo.
 Phūlī karīā phūlīrū, phūle karīe āṇḍ,
 Bāṅgā kārī⁷¹ rākḥā Bāsū, Dharte dā
 dāṇḍ;
 Inoḥ bāto rī karī,⁷² rākheo Rāṅā ghāī:
 295 Bāṅgā kārī Bāsū, Rāṅā bharīe shāī.⁷³
 Jungo re raṅgo dī, mat lai kamāī,
 Dīwān jāṇī Pūjyālī rā, lowā bū-lāī;
 Jungo re raṅgo dā, deo rākḥā gharewī.⁷⁴
 Gille Dharteā, kā karī lowā thā tū?⁷⁵
 300 Dharte rā dāṅgrā,⁷⁶ kuṇḍo mūle lowe
 'thā tū,
 Ājo dā porkā⁷⁷ Gilleā, karīā nahīn māṅo;
 Ekse⁷⁸ rasole khyāwe pāyā khāṅo:
 Deshū āyā bairī, ebo chālī lāṅo.⁷⁹
 Mhāre bole nī dewandī,⁸⁰ dīṅgūlī rī māro,
 305 Kāre mānjhe dūbe, mhāre dāṅgrā tarāro;⁸¹
 Gilleā Chhibreā, pāre nā phārā:⁸²
 Kūt choṛī ro dhāno rī, sawāā kīyā kārā.⁸³
 Nāḥḍe bhāḡde Rāneā, pāṇī-oṇ bero,⁸⁴
 Sādhū chārā Ghentā,⁸⁵ dhāro re zero;
 310 Sādhū dā, Rāneā, lānde talwānā terā.
 Karāī Gilleā Chhibreā, tūshe apṇā goṇ.⁸⁶
 Talmān sādḥū dā londā, rākḥī demān boṇ;⁸⁷
- Gillā or perchance Dhartā will give him
 a proper answer.
 The flowers will be blooming and peaches be
 in blossom,
 It was wrong that Dhartā's pomegranate-
 tree should have been cut down by Bāsū.
 The Rānā made enquiry into the dispute
 between Gillā and Dhartā:
 295 (He decided:) that Bāsū had done
 a wrong.
 In the court-yard at Jungā they made a
 shrewd resolve.
 The *dīwān* was summoned from Pūjyālī
 village,
 In the court-yard at Jungā the god was
 consulted,
 (And the *dīwān* replied:) 'Gillā, what were
 you doing to Dhartā?
 300 You had taken axe in hand to kill Dhartā.
 Henceforth. O Gillā, bear not enmity to-
 wards him,
 Both of you have eaten food at one table.
 The enemy has come to Deshū, thither
 must you go.'
 'We cannot,' they replied, 'fight the enemy
 with sticks,
 305 Our axes and swords have been taken away
 for the land-revenue.'
 (The Rāṅā said:) 'O Gillā and Chhibar,
 I will remit you the rice revenue for a year.'
 (Gillā answered:)—'O Rāṅā, if we run
 away there will be delay.'
 (Said the Rāṅā:) 'Ghentā the saint lives
 near the ridge.'
 310 (Gillā replied:) 'We will summon the
 saint, O Rāṅā.'
 (Said the Rāṅā:) 'Do, Gillā and Chhib-
 ar, as seems best to you.'
 They answered that they would send for the
 saint and keep him below the tank.

⁷¹ Bāṅgā kārī: has been cut away.⁷² Bharīe shāī: the Rāṅā will give evidence.⁷³ Kā karī lowā thā tū: what wert thou doing?⁷⁴ Dāṅgrā: an axe; kuṇḍo mūle lowe thā tū: thou wert carrying under thy arm-pit.⁷⁵ Ājo dā porkā: from this date.⁷⁶ Ebo chālī lāṅo: now should we go.⁷⁷ Kāre mānjhe dūbe, mhāre dāṅgrā tarāro: our axes and swords have been swallowed up (lit. plunged) in the revenue.⁷⁸ Pāre nā phārā: do not make pretence (idiom). [The Chhibar is Dhartā].⁷⁹ Kūt choṛī ro dhāno rī: having remitted the revenue on rice; sawāā kīyā kārā: the revenue has been made up.⁸⁰ Pāṇī-oṇ bero: there will be delay; i. e. there will be no time to escape.⁸¹ Goṇ: pleasure, or one's own way.⁷¹ Inoḥ bāto rī karī: of these thing's doings.⁷² Deo rākḥī gharewī: the deity was moved to ask.⁷⁵ Ekse: in one; khāḍwe pāyā khāṅo: are fed on meal.⁷⁶ Dewandī: cannot be given.⁸² Chārā: fed or grazed.⁸³ Rākḥī demān: I will keep.

- Chhoṭī lāle ādri,⁹⁰ baṛe mārle gāon.
(Said the Rānā:) 'If you will do but a slight service for me, you will get a large village.'
- Deyī Rāṇe rī Sitlā, bhāt bhājio khāndī,
Sitlā, daughter of the Rānā,⁹¹ refused to eat in her anxiety.
- 315 Baṛe loko rī dhaiūṇī,⁹² dewī ro nī jāndī;
315 The daughters of great people do not go out by themselves.
- Thāri taylū Rāṇāiko,⁹³ āi ro ghālmeū būrī:
'O Rāṇāik!⁹⁴ when we return we will punish you!' (Said the Rānā:)
- Mūrī jāmeū Jungē rī, to lāl ghālmeū chhūri.
'When we return to Jungā, we will have your throats cut.'
- Thāri taylū Rāṇāiko,⁹⁵ lāl pāmeū sharāpo,⁹⁶ Ghare ghare paṛe⁹⁷ thāre, Deyī Sitlā ro pāpo;
O Rāṇāik! we shall have to curse you, The curse of Deyī Sitlā will fall on every house of yours.
- 320 Palāṇī beduo⁹⁸ Dharmā, durjī rā jhoṭo:
320 Dharmā, the Palānī, is known as the root of the feud:
- Chukhe bhulhe⁹⁹ khe chhūṇṇā, Jungo rā tharoṭo.
For being loyal you should touch the place of Jungā death.
- Bāhiū¹⁰⁰ chhūṇī ino khūndo rī, Haqūmāno rā nejā,
You should also touch the arms of these attendants and the spear of Haqūmān.
- Jo chuklā Iyoi¹⁰¹ gādī khe, tūlo tesrā bejā;
He who shall be disloyal to this throne, shall lose his offspring.
- Gillā delā Dhartā, Rāṇe khe dilāsā:
Gillā and Dhartā gave solace to the Rānā:
- 325 Koṭī beṭhe Rāṇā, mhārā dekhe tamāshā.
325 'Do you remain at Koṭī, Rāṇā, and witness our display.'
- Jungo re ranṇo dī, mat lai kamāl,
In the court-yard of Jungā, it was shrewdly resolved
- Pandā-hazāro¹⁰² thārā thākro rī, chheṛo gbālī chheṛāwl;
That a levy of all Keonthal, with its eighteen baronies, should be levied.
- Nālī khe ditte kāgto, thākūri khe chīṭhī:
An order was sent to Nālī,¹ and a letter to each barony.
- Dhol bāje dhākulī bājī, hor bājī saṇāl,
Drums, both large and small, and the pipes, resounded.
- 330 Phūlo lā phūlṛā, phūlo lī chhabārī,
330 Flowerets are blooming, and the Chhabārī plant is blooming.
- Thākur āyā Mahlogar, sāthī āyā Kūthārī;
The Thākur of Mahlog arrived, and with him he of Kūthār.
- Bājī loe bājang, saṇāl dā bārū:
Music was played: the pipes discoursed the Barwā mode.
- Morchā pūjā³ tūri rā, Rāi āyā Kuṇihārū.
Foremost were the tūris,³ then came the Raj of Kuṇihār.
- Dhārī bājī Simle rī, dhaphṛā rā bāṇā,
On the ridge of Simla, the kettledrums were sounded.

⁹⁰ *Adri*: respect or work.⁹¹ *Bhājio*: has denied.⁹² *Dhaiṇṇī*: the girls; *dewī*: escaped or went.⁹³ Of Keonthal.⁹⁴ *Rāṇāik*: the Rānā's officials.⁹⁵ *Thāri taylū Rāṇāiko*: O Rāṇāika, for your sake; *āi ro*: having come home.⁹⁶ *Sharāpo*: curses.⁹⁷ *Ghare ghare paṛe*: on every house will fall the curse.⁹⁸ *Beduo*: is known; *durjī rā jhoṭo*: the root of *durjī* = *do rāj*, i. e., two-sided, disloyal.⁹⁹ *Chukhe bhulhe*: for missing and falling; *tharoṭo*: the place of Jungā death.¹⁰⁰ *Bāhiū*: the arms.¹⁰¹ *Iyoi*: this or these; *tūlo* (may destroy), *tesrā* (his), *bejā* (seed or offspring).¹⁰² *Pandā-hazār*: a name for the Keonthal State, then said to possess a revenue of Rs. 15,000. *Chheṛo* (the war), *gbālī* (was), *chheṛāwl* (began).¹ The name of a pargana.³ *Morchā pūjā*: the vanguard arrived.³ Musicians.

- 335 Gaj bájá bañdúko dá, Rānā āyā Dhamyānā ; 335 The ramrods rattled in the guns, then came
Phúlo-lā phúlŕū, phulo le-álū ; the Rānā of Dhāmī.
Ál rayat Rāpe rī, thākuro Bhrālū. Flowerets will bloom and the potatoes will
Ál rayiyat Rāpe rī, thākuro Koterū.⁴ blossom.
Ghāpī dā bájl Kohāpī re, dhākult rā bāpā, Came the Rānā's subjects, and the Thākur
340 Thākur āyā Rajyāpe rā, Kumbhārañā of Bharāl,⁴
Rānā ; Came the Rānā's subjects, and the Thākur
Bāhū de lāe bālŕū,⁷ hor kāno de daroŕū : of Koŕī.
Ghūñdā āyā, Kharūñhū āyā, sāthī āyā On the pass above Kohāpī⁵ sounded the
Trochū. music called *dhākult* ;
Bāhū de lāe dhāgule,⁸ lāmbe loŕye wālo, 340 Came the Thākurs of Rajyāpe, and the
Thākur āyā Māllī rā, hor Sāngŕī re Rānā of Kumbhārañā.
Sañgrālo ; On their arms they wore gold bracelets and
345 Dhāro dā báji Manūno rī, qholo dā bāpā : in their ears gold ear-rings.
Thākur āyā Theogŕā, sāthī āyā Madhāpā, The Thākurs of Ghūñd and Kharūñh⁹
Sāthī āye thākuro, Khlāshī Dyūlŕhū came, and with them the Thākur of
Ghaŕeo, Tarhoeb.
Rāpe rī lāŕī rahī boñdī¹⁴ rayiyato ; On their arms they wore bracelets and
Rayiyat āl Rāpe rī, Bāshe re Bishāpe : long woollen cloaks.
350 Wāñde pāñde¹⁰ re Bhāore, Khūmāllī rā The Thākurs of Māllī¹⁰ and Sāngŕī¹¹ came.
syāñdā. 345 On the peak of Manūn¹² was beaten the
Rayiyat āl Rāpe rī, Shimle re Shimlālo, drum.
Pātō de lyāye dowaŕo,¹³ phar-ke dē ālo ; Came too the Thākur of Theog and with
Rayiyat āl Rāpe rī, Bāgrī re Bāgrālū. him he of Madhāpā.
Hātho dī lyāe dīngūllī,¹⁵ jāñt jhāŕe pālū. Together came the Thākurs of Khlāsh, Dyūlŕh and Ghaŕī ;¹³
The Rānā's subjects were pouring in,
Came the subjects of the Rānā, the Bishāñs
of Bishā,¹⁵
350 The Bhaoras of both sides, and the Shyā-
ñas of Khūmāllī,¹⁷
Came the subjects of the Rānā, the Shimlāls
of Simlā,
Carrying their food in leaves, and potatoes in
their waist-bands.
Came the subjects of the Rānā, the Bāgrāls
of Bāgrī,
Bringing in their hands long sticks, as if
to gather hill apples.

⁴ Bharāl: a pargana of Keonjhal.⁵ Kohāpī: a village near Jungā.⁶ Kharūñh: a pargana of Keonjhal.⁷ Now in Patikā territory.⁸ Dhāgule: bracelet; wālo = wāle = having.⁹ Manūn is the name of a ridge on which the boundaries of Patikā, Keonjhal and Koŕ meet, near the temple

of Hanūmān of Munja.

¹⁰ Khlāsh or Nakhāsh, Dyūlŕh and Ghaŕī are now villages in Keonjhal territory.¹¹ Lāŕī rahī boñdī: continued pouring or marching.¹² Bishā: a village in Keonjhal, the people of which are called Bishāpā.¹³ Wāñdī pāñdī, trans- and cis-: here and there; syāñd, lit., a wizard; also a village official.¹⁴ Bhaorī and Khūmāllī: both villages in Keonjhal State.¹⁵ Dowaŕo: a kind of food; phar-ke de: in the waist-band.¹⁶ Dīngūllī: a stick; jāñt = as if; pālū: a kind of hill apple.

- 355 Rayiyat āi Rāṇa ri, Kaimale Kaljūṇe,
 Dhaṇḍā re lyāye bāwape,²¹ shemlū re
 ḍūṇe;
 Rayiyat āi Rāṇa ri, ūṇde re tarāi :²²
 Hātho dī lyāe barchhi,²³ jāṇi jhāṅṅe
 shāl.
 Rayiyat āi Rāṇa ri, ūṇde re Tarāṇḍe.
- 360 Hātho dī lyāe ḍiṅḍūllī, āe aṅṅū²⁴ bāṇḍhe;
 Rayiyat āi Rāṇa ri, ūṇde re Baṭerū :
 Terhī bāṇḍho pāṅarī, āde re jye sherū.²⁵
 Rayiyat āi Rāṇa ri, Chhibro hor Bhalir,
 Piṭhī bāṇḍhe targashī, bhoṇro jye²⁶ giro;
- 365 Rayiyat āi Rāṇa ri, Nāṇ Khanogū Kiro :
 Phaṭ paro mūṇ-ṇū-de,²⁷ pāchhū nā giro.
 Rayiyat āi Rāṇa ri, Jāi re Jayāṇe,
 Ghāṭī ghāṭī karo khumī,²⁸ sabai ayāṇe
 ayāṇe;
 Rāṇa rie rayite, bharī rūwe nālū :
- 370 Koṭerū āwi-goā Koṭi rā, Rhawālthī rē
 Rohālū.
 Tārbā Debi Tārbā rie, mat laī kamāl,
 Haṇḍmānā bhāyiyā, āmeṇ Jungo khe jāi;
 Rāṇa chālā Deshū khe, shikh āū-meṇ
 lāl.²⁹
 Haṇḍmāno pī chaunkī,³⁰ laī bāhar biṭhāl.
- 355 Came the subjects of the Rāṇā from Kai-
 mali and Kaljūn,²²
 Carrying strings for their bows and vessels
 made of tree-leaves.
 Came the subjects of the Rāṇā from the
 lower country.
 Bringing in their hands spears, as if to kill
 porcupines.
 Came the subjects of the Rāṇā from below
 Tarāṇḍa,
- 360 Carrying in their hands sticks, and short
 cloaks tied tight round the waist.
 Came the subjects of the Rāṇā, from
 Baṭerā²³ below,
 With their *pagris* tied awry, like the roots
 of ginger,
 Came the subjects of the Rāṇā, the Chhi-
 bars and Bhalirs²⁷
 With quivers tied on their backs, they
 swarmed like bees.
- 365 Came the subjects of the Rāṇā, from Nāṇ,
 Khanog and Kīr.
 Even when wounded in the face, they did
 not turn their backs.
 Came the subjects of the Rāṇā, the Jayāṇas
 of Jāi,
 On every pass they held a council and every-
 one was as wise as could be.
 With the Rāṇā's subjects every ravine was
 filled.
- 370 The Koṭers of Koṭī and the Rohālūs of
 Rhawālthī came.³¹
 Tārbā, goddess of Tārbā, made a shrewd
 resolve,
 (Saying :) 'O brother Haṇḍmān, let us
 come and go to Jungā,
 The Rāṇa is going to Deshū, we will give
 him good counsel.'
 Outside was kept the watch of Haṇḍmān.

²¹ Kaimāl and Kaljūn were *perjannas* of Keonjhal, but are now in Patilāla territory.

²² Bāwape, strings; shemlū re ḍūṇe : cups made of leaves of the silk-cotton tree.

²³ Ūṇde re tarāi : of the lower valley.

²⁴ Aṅṅū : small cloaks (Hindi *anjā* or *angarkha*).

²⁵ Ade re jye sherū : like the fruit or roots of ginger.

²⁶ Chhibar and Bhalir : clans of Kanets. The former give their name to the Chhibrot *perjannas*.

²⁷ Jye : like.

²⁸ Khumī : committee.

²⁹ Shāh dāmeṇ lāl : we will give them a lesson.

³⁰ Barchhi : spear; jhāṅṅe = to kill.

³¹ Baṭerū : the people of Baṭerā village.

³² Phaṭ paro mūṇ : they get blows on the mouth.

³³ Rhawālthī : a village whose people are called Rohālūs.

³⁴ Chaunkī : a mat, watch or guard.

- 375 Dhāre āwo Gāḍmān re, chhatre jamāṇe,³¹
 Dhāre ebaṇho khayki, chhilo re labāṇe,³²
 Jungo re roṇṇon dī, hoi rahi bahāro:³³
 Thāro pūji thākūri, pandrā hazāro.
 Rāṇe jāṇi Nūp Saine, rākhā mehnā lāi,³⁷
 380 Āwl-rūwe dhiṇḍhile,³⁸ khālī rūwe āi.
 Dāse tiṇṇyei:³⁹ Jānkī, mat lai kamāl,
 Bāweñ bātho dī āṅ,⁴¹ shūl roṇ-ṇon dī pāt;
 Rāṇe tiṇṇye Nūp Saine, mūñ heñ aṅguli
 lāi:
 Nahīñ āithi⁴² dhiṇḍhile, Koṭī rākhe āṇī,
 385 Jungo re roṇ-ṇon dī, mat lai kamāl,
 Mhāre jāṇo thā⁴³ raṇāiko, bhāt le khāt;
 Palāyā Dharmaṇ, āwo Deshū jāi:
 Chan pāṇjo dino khe, Rāṇe rākhai bhūlāi,
 Hādī lālā⁴⁴ Dharmā, badre re khōje,
 390 Deshū jāṇū Dhāro khe, kañ re oje⁴⁵
 Bahi āṇo bhaṇḍāro dā, paṭko dī pālā,⁴⁶
 Japeñ chhāro galo dā, lāmbā tilko lālā;
 Pāṇḍā Balgo rā beduo,⁴⁷ Deshū Dhāro khe
 chālā:
 Hāthe lelā Dharmā, raṅgūlā dīṅṭi:⁴⁸
- 375 On the ridge of Gājamu was pitched
 a great canopy
 Climbing the ranges, the *kāḍ/kā* trees were
 lopped by the muleteers,
 In the court-yard of Jungā there was much
 rejoicing.
 The eighteen *thākurs* arrived, and all the
 Keonthal people.
 Rāṇā Nūp Sain of Keonthal said ironically:
 380 'These rascals have come, but they come
 empty-handed.'
 Jānkī Pās⁴⁰ gave shrewd advice,
 In his left-hand he took a huge stone and
 cast it into the court-yard.
 Seeing this Rāṇā Nūp Sain bit his finger,
 (saying):
 'No, they are not rascals, who live at Koṭi.'
 385 In the court-yard at Jungā he made a
 shrewd resolve:
 (Said the Rāṇā:) 'Our officials only know
 how to eat,
 'O Dharmā Palāni, get thee to Deshū:
 For four or five days keep the Rājā beguiled.'
 Dharmā will speak like a great man,
 390 'What excuse shall I make for going to
 Deshū dhār?'
 'Bring a book from the treasury, Dharmā
 will place it in his waist belt,
 He will put a sacred thread round his neck,
 and mark a long *tilak* on his forehead'
 (said the Rāṇā).
 'In the guise of a *pāṇḍā* of Balg, Dharmā
 will go to Deshū dhār,
 In his hand he will carry a painted staff.'

(To be continued.)

³¹ Jamāṇe: palanquin; *chhatre jamāṇe* (idiomatically), with great pomp.³² Labāṇe: a muleteer, (a caste in the plains).³³ Rāṇā mehnā lāi: began to speak ironically.³⁴ Tiṇṇyei: by that man (Jānkī Dās).³⁵ Āṅ: having brought; shūl: a huge stone; roṇṇon dī pāt: cast it on the court-yard.³⁶ Āithi: is or are; rākhe dāṇe: have been brought.³⁷ Hādī lālā: will hold a conversation; badre re khōje: in the manner of a great man.³⁸ Kañ re oje: of what pretension?³⁹ Beduo: known as. Cf. line, *myra*.⁴⁰ Bahāro: enjoyment or pleasure.⁴¹ Dhiṇḍhile: mendicants, chiefly Vaishnavas.⁴² Mahant of Kothālā.⁴³ Jāṇo thā: was aware.⁴⁴ Pālā: will put or keep; lālā: will apply.⁴⁵ Raṅgūlā dīṅṭi: a coloured stick.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI:
BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(Communicated by H. A. Ross.)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullā Subdivision of the Kāngrā District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904.

I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.¹

If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khāṭa* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lima* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lima* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal.

If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation.

If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry.

A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

Divorce.

A son-in-law who has been adopted cannot be divorced by his wife as in Ladākh.

There is no custom in Spiti of a widow divorcing herself from her dead husband.

Unfaithfulness and refusal to cohabit are reasons for divorce, but incompatibility of temper is not.

In cases of divorce both parties go to the Nono.

If the woman is in fault, her jewels and *perik* (head ornament) and a pony are given to the husband. If the man is in fault, a field is given to the woman for her maintenance, but she can only retain it so long as she does not marry again. The man may re-marry.

A wife's adultery is usually condoned by the present of a few rupees to the injured husband. A husband's unfaithfulness usually only results in a quarrel. A single lapse is not ground for a divorce, and only cohabitation with his paramour can give his wife right to a divorce.

Pregnancy.

A married woman wears white breeches till she is pregnant, when she wears red or black. Unmarried girls wear white breeches up to twelve and afterwards red or black.

Naming.

The name of a child is selected by a *lima* after reference to the Sacred Books, who receives for the service a *khāṭa*, or piece of cloth, such as is given by visitors to a monastery.

When naming the child, the *lima* places a little bit of cloth upon it, or, if the child be not present, sends the cloth to its parents.

In every monastery *besar*, or green, water is kept; i.e., water in which *kāsar*, saffron, has been placed. And sometimes, but not always, when naming a child, the *lima* sprinkles it with *kāsar* water.

¹ In Tibetan, *sPiti*.² A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write, is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lāma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lāma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lāma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lāma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

It must be remembered that in a land where only the eldest son marries and all the younger sons are celibate, a sonless land-owner naturally has no relations in the male line to adopt.

d.—Where there is a childless widow.

If a man dies childless, his widow first marries his younger brother. Failing him, she may marry any man of her husband's *got*. But the land is considered her property till she has borne a son, who, on attaining his majority, steps into the *khang chhen*.

Cremation.

Coffins are not used in Spiti for want of wood. Corpses are carried in a sitting posture to the burning-ground either on a man's shoulder or in a blanket held by four men.

II.

Social Ideas.

Asceticism.

Hermits exist and are said to subsist on nothing but tea and one morning meal.

Excommunication.

A man can be excommunicated for eating with a man or cohabiting with a woman of lower caste than himself. The decision is announced by public proclamation.

The *lāmas* taking no part in this, but they turn out a *lāma* who misbehaves himself and he is never taken back in any circumstances.

An excommunicated layman can be received back into caste after ceremonies. He has to read a book on *shakpa* or penitential offerings, burn a lamp in front of a *deota*, feast the *lāmas*, and may be ordered to make 100 or 1,000 prostrations before some *deota* in a monastery.

Leprosy.

Leprosy is found in one village in Spiti, ascribed to the water of a spring, wherein lives a devil, Chutalwā.

If a man passes the spring on a day when the devil happens to be present, he is liable to get leprosy.

A leper is not allowed to marry, but if married, he is not separated from his wife. He feeds by himself in a separate room and the villagers will not eat with him.

Dancing

All the people dance on occasions of merriment, — girls and men. At Kaling, while the Bushans were dancing six or eight girls joined in.

Professional dancing women are looked down and the peasant-proprietors will not eat with them. They are not usually prostitutes, though the unmarried ones may be.

III.

Objects connected with Religion.

Genotaphs.

Strictly speaking, the chorten is an object of worship; the dungten is a bone receptacle. The chorten, usually made of wood, is the substitute for the *dagtes*, which contains the bones of some abbot or saint and is situated too far away for practical worship.

Such is the origin, but in modern usage the chorten is merely a Buddhist symbol, and like a brass *desa*, may have no relation to any special dungten or to the bones of any particular saint.

Altars.

Heaps of stones are erected to local spirits—to the *lha* of the pass or ravine and so on,—and every passer-by adds a stone or a horn. Horns are more acceptable to the *lha* than stones and the most acceptable gift is a *lungta* (cloth with prayers printed on it).

Every traveller adds a stone, even if in a strange place, where he does not know to which *lha* the altar has been erected. A white stone is the best. Black stones are from the evil spirits and are never placed on the heap. Usually a fallen stone is replaced and only when there are no fallen stones is a fresh one sought for.

A *lungta* is only added on special occasions. Thus, when a merchant sets out on a trading venture, he leaves a *lungta* containing a prayer for his success, his name and the name of the year.

IV.

Superstitions.

Magic Dagger.

The *dorja phurpa* or magic dagger is used by the *choda*, attendant on the sick, and by the

Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhok shun* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; e. g., starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lamas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *lama* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ribong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.



CHAITRA-PAVITRA.

THE above expression is often met with in inscriptions which register grants to temples. Special provision is made in the records for the due performance of the Chaitra-pavitra. What does this expression mean?

Dr. Fleet has translated it "the purificatory rites of (the month) Chaitra,"¹ and, in another place, "the purificatory ceremony of the month Chaitra."² Dr. Hultzsch has rendered it "purificatory rites in Chaitra."³ Mr. Rice's translation has been "Chaitra purification."⁴ I venture to think that none of the above scholars has properly understood the meaning of the expression in question. They have all taken it to be a *tatpuruṣa* compound and interpreted it accordingly. They have moreover taken the word *pavitra* in its general sense, not knowing that it is used here in a technical sense.

I now proceed to give my own interpretation of the expression Chaitra-pavitra. To begin with, it is a *dvandva* compound, the two words which make it up being quite independent of each other. Further, the word *pavitra* is here used in the special sense of "a sacred thread." In most temples, at any rate of Southern India, a festival known as *pavitrōtsava* is celebrated every year between the full-moon day in the month of Āshāḍha and the full-moon day in the month of Kārttika, or, according to other authorities, in any of the four months beginning with Jyēṣṭha, when garlands of sacred thread made of cotton or silk are put on the necks and other parts of the body of the holy images. From this it is clear that the *pavitra* festival has no manner of connection with the month Chaitra. It is nowhere celebrated in that month, though what is known as the Chaitra festival is always celebrated in that month. Consequently, the expression *Chaitra-pavitra* constitutes what is called a *saṁāhāra-dvandva* compound and means "the Chaitra and the *pavitra* (festivals)."

In the Pāṇcharātra works, whole chapters are devoted to an exposition of the rites to be performed preparatory to the celebration of the *pavitra* festival and of other details about it. For instance, in the *Īśvara-Saṁhitā* the whole of the 14th chapter, with the heading *pavitrōtsava-vidhīḥ*, is devoted to this subject. Similarly, the 14th chapter in the *Charyāpāda* of the Pādma-Tantra, which bears the heading

pavitrōdyotsava-vidhīḥ, treats of the same subject. I give below a few brief quotations from three Pāṇcharātra works in support of the statement made above. They explain the term *pavitra* and tell us when and why the *pavitra* festival is to be celebrated. I may add here that the festival is also known as *pavitrārōpaṇa* or *pavitrārōhaṇa*.⁵

tatra māsa-chatuskasya madhye kuryāch
chhubhē dinē ।

Āshāḍha-pañchadaśyās tu yāvad vai Kārtikasya
cha ॥

chāturmāsye tv anyatame māsē vai śukla-
pakṣhakē ।

dvādaśyām dēva-dēvasya pavitrārōpam ācharēt ॥

saṁvatsara-kṛitākṛitya-dōshas samaya-pūrvakah ।

nāsam āyāti vai kṣhipraṁ pavitrārōhaṇam munē ॥

pāti yasmāt-sa-dōsham hi patanāt parirakṣati ।

viśēṣeṇa dvijaṁ trāti pūrṇa-karma karōti cha ॥

sādhakē cha kriyā-hinē tasmād uktō mayā
mahān ।

yāga ēsha Pavitrākhyā ukta-lakṣaṇa-lakṣitaḥ ॥

Īśvara-Saṁhitā, Adhyāya 14.

prati-saṁvatsaram māsi Śrāvṇē tantu-nirmi-
taḥ ।

pavitra-bhūṣaṇam Viśṇōr ārōpyam bahu-
mālyavat ॥

ārādhyā vidhivā Bhādrapadē vāsvayujē'pi vā ।

mantra-lōpādinaḥ karma patitam vihitam
punaḥ ॥

prīyāśchittēna yat karma kartāraṁ trāyatē
punaḥ ॥

tat pavitraṁ phalaḥ bhūyō rōhaty ēva
saṁahitaḥ ॥

iti nirvachanāt tad-jñānī Pavitrārōhaṇam
mataḥ ।

Pādma-Tantra, Charyāpāda, Adhyāya 14

saṁvatsarōpachārāṇām nyūnādhikyōpaśāntayē ।

chāturasrama-dharmāṇām tad-vad dōṣhapanu-
tayē ॥

Jyēṣṭhādiśu chatur-māsen pavitrōtsavam
ācharēt ।

śukla-pakṣbē'tha dvādaśyām pañcāmāsyām
athāpi vā ॥

Śrāvṇē Hasta-nakṣatrē pavitrārōpaṇam ma-
taḥ ।

kauśēya-tantūn athavā karpāsēyān saṁaharēt ॥

Brī-Viṣṇuṭṭīka, Adhyāya 2.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, V, 22.

² *Ibid.*, 229.

³ *Ibid.*, VII, 123.

⁴ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, 158 and 172.

⁵ *Ep. Car.*, V, B&Hr 176, line 15; A&Ker, 124, line 39, 130, lines 24-25; *Ibid.*, XII, Chiknaikanba]]], 2, line 51.

The Kannada equivalent of the *pavitra* festival is *nāla parba*, i.e., 'the festival (para or parba) of the thread (nāli)'; and this expression occurs in many inscriptions.⁶ The expression *Āshāḍha-māsada nāla parba* used in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, VI, Kaḍur, 49, line 57, gives us the information that the festival in question was usually celebrated in the temple to which the inscription refers in the month of *Āshāḍha*.

Though the expression *Chaitra-pavitra* often occurs as a *samāhāra-dvandva* compound with the singular case suffix ⁷, which apparently led the scholars mentioned above to translate the expression as they have done, still there are not wanting inscriptions in which it has the plural case-suffix, thus shewing that two different things are meant.⁸ If further evidence is deemed necessary on this point, it is indisputably furnished by several inscriptions in which, not only is separate mention made of *Chaitra* and *pavitra*, but also separate provision is made for the celebration of each.⁹ *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, Arsikere 198, line 50, for instance, tells us that provision was made *Chaitra-śrī-pavitra-deitayad-edege*¹⁰, that is, "for the two, namely, *Chaitra* and *pavitra*". The word *utsava*, festival, is understood after each of these words: and the full expression *pavitrotsava* occurs in several inscriptions¹¹. In the translation of the expression *Chaitra-pavitra-vasantotsav-ōḍi-parvagaliḡa* (*Ep. Ind.*, V, 259), the word *utsava* which ought to have been taken with each one of the three words preceding it is taken only with one word, *vasanta*, which immediately precedes it.

I hope the evidence adduced above is sufficient to convince the reader that the expression *Chaitra-pavitra* does not mean a purificatory ceremony performed in the month of *Chaitra*, but that it means the *Chaitra* and the *pavi-*

tra festivals which are annually celebrated in most of the temples of Southern India.

R. NARASIMHACHARI.

A MYSTERIOUS FIRE-PIT.

A writer signing himself 'Nearchus,' in *Calcutta Review* for 1875, p. 333, describes an old channel of the Sutlaj 'near Pākpatan, which is on the north side of the present stream, and was the principal ferry at that point in the thirteenth century,'¹ and proceeds to say that 'there are two ancient mounds on the old river bank, of which no tradition remains. One is called Mūnda Shabid (Muhammad the Martyr). This hillock was taken possession of by the Muhammadans—it holds a shrine and is covered with graves.

The other mound is known as Tibbā Rāi-kā (the place of the ruler). It is situated above 50 miles north-east of Bahāwalpur. This mound has been excavated to the depth of thirty-five feet. A foundation wall of large sun-dried bricks has been found at thirty-two feet below the surface. Other walls of fire-burnt bricks were found just below the surface and extending to fifteen feet. These walls indicate builders who lived at periods remote from each other. The chief feature of the place is a large pit, seventy feet in diameter and eight feet deep, dug out of the highest point of the mound, which is filled with calcined human bones.'

The writer seems to have copied this notice from a report by the Political Agent at Bahāwalpur.

Is anything more known about the pit with its terrible secret, or is anything similar known elsewhere?

VINCENT A. SMITH.

26th December, 1908.

⁶ *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr, 115, line 22; *ibid.*, VI, Kaḍur, 49, line 57, 68, line 57.

⁷ *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr, 193, line 115, 194, line 101, *Chaitra-pavitramum*; *ibid.*, Bēlūr, 197, line 38, Arsikere 22, line 31, 90, line 58, 93, line 49, *Chaitra-pavitrakham*.

⁸ *Ep. Car.*, V, Manjarābād, 16, line 45, *Chaitra-pavitraṣajam*; *Ep. Ind.*, VII, 131, *Chaitra-pavitraṣajakka*.

⁹ *Ep. Car.*, VI, Tarkere, 45, line 113, *Chaitrakke pāḡa pavitrakke pāḡa*; *ibid.*, V, Bēlūr, 115, line 22, *Chaitrakke ga 4 nāla porbakke ga 7*; *ibid.*, VII, Shikārpur, 111, line 24, *pavitrakke kofa pāḡa*.

¹⁰ This has been wrongly translated thus :—"for two *Chaitra* purifications;" *Ep. Car.*, V, 155.

¹¹ *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr, 8, line 114; *ibid.*, Arsikere, 71, line 61.

¹ Raverty (*J.A.S.B.*, 1899, Part I, p. 399) denies that Pāk Pattan (the holy town) ever was the site of a ferry. It is also called Ajāḍḍhan (vulgo Ajodhan). It is now in the Montgomery District. The *Imperial Gazetteer* (1903), s. v. 'Pāk pattan Town,' repeats the story about the ferry which Raverty denounces as baseless. He held that there was a confusion between *pattan* = town, and *paḡan* = ferry, and gave details in support of his view, mentioning the high mound with the Mussalmān mint's tomb, but not the other one.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INSCRIPTIONS NEAR KODAIKĀNAL.

SIR, —It came to my notice some time back that there was a Malayalam Inscription in the Pāmbārai temple, eight miles to the west of Kodaikānal, and I expected another at Kavunji, eight miles further west, because I had formerly noticed there a number of well-dressed stone pillars which looked like the remnants of a ruined temple.

On the 26th December 1908, I went with a friend to those villages to see if the inscriptions really existed and if anything could be made out of them. At Pāmbārai there are traces of writing on stone walls in two different parts of the temple. One of them appears to be in Tamil and the other either in Grantha or Malayalam. But it is almost hopeless to make anything of either.

The ruins at Kavunji, we found to represent, not a deserted temple, but the former residence of a local chieftain styled *Tambirān* (Zamorin). There was no inscription at that site, but there was one close by cut on a rock in an open place. This was in slightly better condition than those at Pāmbārai. The writing is in Tamil and we were able to make out a few words here and there. But it has become much obliterated owing, mainly, to the action of the weather. It seems to be possible, however, to get something out of it if close attention were paid to it for some length of time.

The legend of the inscription, as narrated to us by several old men of the place, is that once upon a time, the village was the headquarters of a *tambirān*. The last *tambirān* who lived there had a controversy with a local artisan, in the course of which he agreed to give up his seat at Kavunji if his opponent made a wooden cock which could crow like a living one. The artisan succeeded and so the *tambirān* had to leave Kavunji for good and settled himself at Pūnaiyār in Travancore territory. The people of Kavunji believe that the details and result of this controversy are related in the inscription.

The inscription occupies 4½ feet by 3 feet and contains 20 lines of varying lengths. The letters, too, are of various sizes. The whole is enclosed by lines and below the line at the lower end there is the word "*tambirān*" showing that the inscription purports to be in his name. We tried to get impressions on paper but failed.

We were told that in an adjoining village there is a similar inscription and also a copper-plate grant in private possession, both of which are believed to refer to the abovementioned controversy. But we had to return without going there.

Can any of your readers let me know if their existence is known to the Epigraphists?

S. SITARAMAIA.

31st December, 1908.

THE OBSERVATORY,
KODAIKĀNAL.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

TABUS IN THE PANJAB.

IN continuation of the instances of *tabus* in the Panjab already noted the following cases of *tabus* among particular families or sections of a caste, or confined to the people of a certain locality, are worth recording. The subject of general *tabus*, binding upon a whole religious community or a whole sect, is a very wide one and no attempt is made to deal with it here.

The Ahirs of the Chorā got, who live in Kalwāri, a village in *taluk* Nuh (District Gurgaon), do not burn the wood of a *ban* tree. They cut it down and worship it as long as it remains green and covered with leaves, but may not touch it with impure hands. Their tradition about it is as follows: — The village was once attacked and

entirely destroyed, only a pregnant woman escaping. She took refuge in the trunk of a *ban* tree and vowed that if she was safely delivered of her child, her descendants should worship it for ever.

Rājputrs of the Jokhar got in the same District do not eat mutton and they worship no god. Their tradition about this is as follows: — In the old times a man, in order to test the powers of a saint, tied an iron pan on to a woman's stomach and brought her to the saint, asking if she would bear a boy or a girl. The saint said: "*chhu!*" (touch), and the result was that the pan stuck to the woman and could not be removed, so she was compelled to file it off, and the filings were thrown into the Jamnā. Some time after the Rājputrs went to bathe in that sacred river and saw that a tree had sprung up at the spot where

the filings had been thrown in. After they had bathed, a dispute arose and they were all killed with the exception of one pregnant woman. She put a lamb in her lap and went to the saint to ask whether she would have a boy or a girl. As before he exclaimed, "chhu!", and on this she asked whether the child in her womb would be stuck or the lamb in her lap. The saint replied that the lamb would be attached to her body, and accordingly it died, so the people of this *got* have given up eating mutton ever since.

Among the Qāndūgo Mahājans of Jind town the ears of both male and female children are not bored until the *parejan* ceremony has been performed, i. e., the *kan chhedan* or 'boring the ears' ceremony follows the *parejan*; their females do not wear bracelets (*churis*) made of lac; and on the marriage of a man's sister's son, the members of his family do not take the *bhat*¹ to the wedding party themselves, but send it by a Brahman or barber. As regards the two latter customs, they say that one of their ancestors who did not observe them, met with misfortune, and so they have always observed them.

The Maghān Mahājans of Jind neither curd nor churn milk on the *chāndai dudhai* or 12th of the bright fortnight of every month, but they may use it for drinking. They say that Ātmā Rām, one of their ancestors, had great faith in Bābā Sandar Dās Brahmachāri of Bārāh Kalān, the village which is also called Sundarpur after him. The saint told Ātmā Rām not to curd or churn milk on the 12th *sadi* or light fortnight of each lunar month, and the injunction has been observed ever since.

In connection with *sati* worship, certain families have some peculiar *tabus*, or restrictions on the use of certain articles and so on, which commemorate events connected with a *sati* of the family. For instance, among the Mahājans of the Bhojān family of Jind, no female is allowed to wash her head with warm water after the *pherā* ceremony at her wedding, till her child's *parejan* ceremony has been performed, because a woman of the family once took a hot bath when she became a *sati*².

Among the Mahājans of the Kakrotiā and Narwāna families of Jind, no woman may drink fresh milk after her marriage till her death. This custom is a very old one. [Of the next para. but one.]

Among the Lālān Mahājans of Jind town no woman, after the birth of her first son, until his *parejan* ceremony has been performed, may eat wheat, drink fresh milk or use vegetables taken from a *khari* or basket, though she may eat vegetables obtained from a garden. This, also, is an ancient rule.

The Mahājans of the Singal *got*, in Julānā Mūlwi and Deorār villages allow no Brahman or sweeper to enter their houses on the 15th of Bhādon or Kātik, on which days they worship their *satis*. The tradition is that one of their forefathers went to fetch his wife from her parents' house. He was accompanied by a Brahman and a sweeper, who on the way back were tempted to rob him of his ornaments, and killed him. His wife, when about to burn herself with his body, told his heirs that as he had been killed by a Brahman and a sweeper, they should not allow any man of either of those castes to enter their houses at the time of her worship. This being so, everything offered to the *sati*, at their worship, is given to a virgin girl of the *birdasī*. Further, their women do not drink fresh milk after giving birth to a child, because the wife, who as described became *sati*, had drunk milk before starting from her father's house.

Among the Bājṛā Brahmans of Jind town no members of the family of any age, male or female, may eat anything prepared by a barber. A boy of this family once went to play in the bazar on the very day he had returned home after his marriage, and there he was bitten by a snake and died. His wife became *sati* with him, and the female barber, who had accompanied him, also became *sati*, as she was at a loss to know what tale she should tell to the boy's relatives.

The Mahājans of the Singal *got* in Kanānā village do not use the wood of a *kim* tree for making roofs, or burn it or spit on it, because they consider it a *dev* and worship it at the *parejan* ceremony.

The Jāṭs of the Amlāwat *got* in Rūpgarh and Jitgarh do not cut or burn the *kim* tree, because they consider it a *dev*. If any one fails to observe this *tabu*, he is afflicted with ring-worm, and in order to recover must give a feast to a virgin girl under the *kim* tree.

The people of Narānā in the Jind *ildga* never irrigate³ their fields from a *johar* or pond by breaking its embankments, because hundreds of years ago, their forefathers made

¹ Dower presented by the boy's maternal grandfather.

² Channel.

a *khāl* from a *johar* and irrigated their fields with its water. It thus became dry, the frogs and fish therein died, and the cattle returned thirsty from the pond. The people then assembled and took an oath by throwing salt in an *ower* of water (*lofe nān gālnā*), declaring that in future whoever irrigated his fields from it should be dissolved like salt.

Women of the Muhammadan Sakkā or Water-carrier caste in Jind town are not allowed to wear a gold *nāth*, *balāq* or *laung* (nose-ring) given them by their husbands, but they may wear such ornaments if given by their fathers. They may not make any sort of pickles of mangoes, lemons, etc., but may make *baris*, i. e., small balls of ground pulse. These customs are very ancient among them, and whoever does not observe them sustains loss.

Vermicelli (*seviyān*) is never used by a section of Brahmans at Thanesar, because it is said that long ago one of the family died on the Salono day when preparing *seviyān*. (Hindus eat *seviyān* on the Salono, Muhammadans at the 'Id).

The Jāts of Jātwār, a village in Naraingarh *tahsil* of Ambāla do not keep a *kharās*, or mill, for grinding corn driven by bullocks, because it is regarded as a sign of extreme poverty.

The Rājputs of Patar Heri in this same *tahsil* do not put up a thatch or make pickles in the house within a year of a marriage.

Among certain sections of Brahmans in Thanesar, ivory bangles are never presented to a bride, because once a newly-married girl lost her husband after wearing them.

The people of Lawaghar in the Kohat District neither cut nor use of the wood of the fig tree for domestic purposes. The reason assigned is that when Adam and Eve wanted to hide themselves from the Almighty, and asked for protection from the trees, none but the fig tree came forward with its branches and leaves.

The Muhammadzai Pathāns of the same District do not climb a mulberry tree, as the tradition runs that one of their ancestors fell from one and died.

The Hindus of Jāmpur in Dera Ghāzi Khān do not use *kikar* wood for building, considering it unholy.

Some sections of the Aroras in Ferozepur, do not use anything new or celebrate a marriage in the month of Sāwan, but a new garment

may be given to some one else and having been once put on by him, they may wear it.

In Amritsar, Khatri females do not use a spinning wheel on Tuesday or Thursday, the former being considered the day of the goddess and the latter the Pir's day. Among Khatri of the Najaf *got* milk is never churned, because one of their ancestors died of drinking whey in which a snake had got churned. The Khatri of the Marwāhā *got* never use the spinning wheel, because this section was once very rich and did not do such menial work.

Among Hindus generally women consider it unlucky to wash the head on a Tuesday or Saturday, but among the Mallāns (boatmen) it is considered unlucky for a virgin to do so on a Sunday.

Like all those Hindus who are followers of Keshab Dev, whose temple is at Mathrā, the Jāts of Hassanpur in *tahsil* Nuh (District Gurgaon) do not use tobacco.

The people of the Gurgaon District think it unlucky to put a *manjhā* or *bhanjā*² near an earthen pitcher, because these two things are used together when a corpse has to be washed. Indeed, all Hindus in general think it unlucky to bring these two things together from the bazar.

Not only are various articles tabued by particular sects and families, but any misfortune which has befallen a family, a section, or even a whole caste will often cause its members to tabu, a certain day, month or season in fear of a recurrence of the catastrophe.

Thus the Shāmepotra *got* of the Brahmans in Dera Ismāil Khān District, do not begin any new work in Phāgan, as one of their ancestors went in that month to exhibit miracles at the court of Aurangzeb, but was thrown into prison and only released in Chet.

The Bhojepotra *got* of the Brahmans in this District do not wear anything new in Jeth, because one of their ancestors forbade his son to do anything new in that month. The son disobeyed his father and disaster ensued.

The Narang, Khandujā and Tanejā *gots* of the Aroras usually refrain from eating anything new which they have not eaten on the 1st of Baisākh, and from wearing anything new, or marrying, in the month of Jeth.

The family of Chaudhri Jattā Rām Chhabra in Danūd village, *tahsil* Sanghar, Dera Ghāzi Khān, do not shave, change their clothes or wear new ones, or begin any new work in Māgh.

H. A. ROSE.

² These words are not traceable in the dictionaries, but both are said to mean an earthen plate.

TEN ANCIENT HISTORICAL SONGS FROM WESTERN TIBET.

BY A. H. FRANCKE.

No I. — King Nyima-mgon.

Text.	Translation.
1. Aba Nyima-mgon khyirala ma phebs.	1. O father Nyima-mgon, do not go a-hunting.
2. Dering mthsanni snyilampo.	2. To-night [I had] a dream.
3. snyilam nganpa rig mthong.	3. To night I had (saw) a bad dream.
4. butsa ngarangla barchodeig yong yin.	4. To me, a boy, an accident will occur.
5. yerri sgala khraggi thaespa rig mthong.	5. I saw the colour of blood on my golden saddle.
6. dung dang rgya glünggi nangna,	6. At [the sound of] shells and trumpets,
7. butsa ngarangla rtaespa re min.	7. To me, the boy, there will be no [more] dancing.
8. rgyalpo nyerang lingsla ma skyed.	8. O king, do not go a-hunting.
9. sras Zlaba-mgonla barched rig yong yin.	9. To thy son Zlaba-mgon will occur an accident.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

The Epic of king Nyima-mgon, whose son was killed by a *lama*, is known among a Dard family at Da, who do not sing the song in Dardi, but in Tibetan. The epic is said to be rather long. As, however, I could not get at a member of this particular family, I had to be satisfied with the nine lines of the epic given above:—

v. 1. — The name *nyima mgon* means 'sun-lord.'

vv. 2, 3. — *snyilam*, dream, is the classical word *rmilam*. The Endere relics have *rmylam*. This is one of the instances of the better preservation of the more ancient form of a word in Ladakhi than in classical Tibetan; *rmylam* may be pronounced *snyilam*.

v. 9. — The name *zlaba mgon* means 'moon-lord.'

Notes on the English Translation.

The song appears at first sight to be a hymn of nature-mythology; for it treats of a king and his son whose names are in English 'Sun-lord' and 'Moon-lord.' There is, however, some possibility that the song contains a few historical elements. A king of the name Nyima-mgon actually existed. He was the conqueror of Western Tibet as far as Gilgit and the first king of that country. He reigned from c. 975 to c. 1000 A. D. Whether he had a son called Zlaba-mgon, who did or did not survive him, we do not know. The name is not among those of the three known surviving sons.

Nyima-mgon was a direct descendant of Langdarma, the Tibetan king who was killed by a *lama*. It is possible that in course of time Nyima-mgon's ancestor was mixed up with his descendant and the original story that Nyima-mgon was the descendant of a king who was killed by a *lama* became changed into a tale of Nyima-mgon's son being so killed. At any rate, it is interesting that the name of the great Tibetan conqueror turns up in the folklore of the Dards of Da.

No. II. — King Jo-dpal.

Text.	Translation.
1. dponpo bzangpoi duspo :— la menna la yadopa ?—	1. In the time of the good master : Isn't it so, O [my] comrades ?
2. Jo-dpal-rnam-rgyalli duspo, la mnyampari jamadkun,	2. In the time of Jo-dpal-rnam-rgyal, O [my] comrades around me,
3. ngatang theangkala yser rkyangngi thoda : menna la yado kun ?	3. We all had nothing but hate of gold : Isn't it so, O [my] comrades ?
4. zhaba phyi la theangkala thodabai lagsmo, mnyampari jamad kun.	4. All the servants had beautiful hats, O [my] comrades around me.
5. kha dena ja chang 'abral med ; menna la yado kun ?	5. [Our] months never became separated from tea and beer ; Isn't it so, O [my] comrades ?
6. kha dena ja chang 'abral med. dponpo bzangpoi thugs rje.	6. [Our] months never became separated from tea and beer. [It was through] the mercy of our good master.
7. ngatang theangka ci yyangsnayang gang yyangs, menna la yado theangka ?	7. Whatever pleasure there is, we enjoyed it. Isn't it so, O [my] comrades ?
8. zhaba phyi theangka ci skyidnsyang gang skyid, mnyampari jamad kun.	8. Whatever happiness there is, all the ser- vants enjoyed it, O [my] comrades around me.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

This song was dictated by the 'Mon' of Khatatse and written down by Munshi Yeshe-rig-'adzin.

v. 1.—*La*, is the Lower Ladakhi exclamation, corresponding to ordinary *wa*.

vv. 2, 4, 8.—*mnyampari* stands for *mnyampoyi* or *mnyamporanggi*; *jamad* is the Urdu word *jama'at*, company.

vv. 3, 4.—*thoda*, hat, is probably related to *thod*, skull.

v. 7. *yyangs*, is the same as classical *yyang*; but in Western Tibet it is used more commonly to express 'pleasure, entertainment.' The inclusive pronoun *ngatang* is used in the song to denote that the singers include all persons present when the recollections of the old times are sung.

Notes on the English Translation.

King Jo-dpal belongs to the First or Lha-chen Dynasty of Western Tibet and reigned according to my chronology from 1275-1300 A. D.; but possibly a little earlier. The *rGyal-rabs* (Marx' translation) has the following note on him:—'This king performed royal as well as clerical duties to such perfection that he reached Nirvana.' This song confirms that statement.

In the song, the name of the king is erroneously furnished with the addition *rnam-rgal*, which belongs to the Second Dynasty. My explanation of the error is that in the days of the *rNam-rgyal* Dynasty all the royal names ended in *rnam-rgal*, and so the people came to believe that royal names must have this addition to them, and thus this old name came to be furnished with a modern royal suffix.

No. III. — Prince Rinchen.

Text.	Translation.
1. dbu'i rtse lha snyanpo gongmai phyag dang ldan byung.	1. The famous god of the summit Has arisen through the hand of the highest.
2. gongmayi rgyalbu gar skyodnayang, lhas sku srungs rig mdzad lo.	2. Wherever the high prince may go, O god, protect his body.
3. Rinchen-dongrub-rnam-rgyalla thseyi sku srungs rig mdzad lo.	3. To Rinchen-dongrub-rnam-rgyal Give (make) protection to his life.
4. kha btags undonpa gangla rimo bkrashis rtags bgyal.	4. [The vow of Prince Rinchen's servants] :— On a 'scarf of salutation' of the full length of one fathom There are the pictures of the eight happy signs.
5. kha btagsla drima ma phogpar, dponpola zhabstog rig phul yin.	5. That no dirt may soil the scarf of salutation, We will serve our master.
6. kha btagsla drima ma phogpar, mi dbang brtan srangla zhabstog phul yin.	6. That no dirt may soil the scarf of salutation, We will serve the lord of men to keep him safe.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

The song was obtained from the Mons at Khalatse, and does not contain any unusual words or formations.

It speaks of the departure of a certain **Prince Rinchen**, and the servants promise to take as much care of him as of the 'scarf of blessing.' This scarf is furnished with the eight signs of happiness: a shell, an umbrella, etc. Such scarves are exchanged continually between the Tibetans as a matter of courtesy.

v. 1.—*ldan byungas*, is used in the sense of 'come into existence, arise.'

Notes on the English Translation.

The name given in the text of the song is that of the last king of Zangskar, who was transported by the Dogras to Jammu, where his life ended. I am convinced, however, that the song was not composed in remembrance of him, but of another namesake. In the first place, he was not transported to Jammu as a prince, but as king. In the second place, it is very unlikely that any Ladakhi servants were allowed to accompany him to the place of his captivity.

My belief is that the song speaks of the departure of **Prince Rinchen**, who conquered Kashmir in about 1318 A. D. In favour of this view it may be said, that according to the song, the title of the prince is the old form **rGyalbu**, as we find it in the *rGal-rabs*, and not the modern one **rGyalbras**. In the *rGal-rabs*, this particular prince is called **Lha-chen-rgyalbu-rinchen**, and, according to the Kashmiri *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, **Rinchen** left Western Tibet with a great retinue of followers. It is therefore probable that, until the time of the Dogra War, the words of v. 3, were '*Lha-chen-rgyalbu Rinchenla*,' and that it was after that war that the present words crept in, because the king of Zangskar had become so famous in Ladakh through his tragic fate that his name superseded that of all other **Rinchens**. It may be added that the name **Rinchen-dongrub-rnam-rgyal** does not occur twice in Ladakhi history. Thus we have good reason to suppose that the song was composed in honour of the departure of the old Prince Rinchen to Kashmir.

No. IV. — Defeat of the Lādakhis by the Baltis.

Text.	Translation.
1. Theo Mondurri nithsoyi kharu,	1. On Lake Mondur,
2. Stobsyabgopa stangs shig byasse binglugs bed.	2. Stobsyabgopa shows some strategy and comes out in some way.
3. Skar-rdoi lha dmag kun la pholaddi ljagspa yod.	3. The godly army of Skardo has lassos of steel.
4. Ladvags si lha dmag kun la sman nang saza yod.	4. The godly army of Ladakh is getting a beating as a compensation.
5. ata nang apobai kale zlog lugs bed.	5. In return they (the Baltis) revenge their fathers and forefathers.
6. Shigarri jo phrug kun khong dang rgyal lugs bed.	6. The children of the lord of Shigar gain a victory.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 3.—*ljagspa*, perhaps related to *ljags*, tongue, said to mean 'lasso.'

v. 4.—*sman*, said to mean 'compensation, saza, chastisement,' Urdu.

v. 5.—*kale*, revenge.

vv. 1, 5, 6. — *bed*, the same as *byed*, make.

Notes on the English Translation.

v. 1.—Lake Mondur : I have not yet been able to trace on a map.

v. 2.—The name Stobsyabgopa is a pure Tibetan name ; *stobs* means 'power,' *yaś* 'father,' *gopa* 'headman.' Names of this kind are never found among the Baltis nowadays. Their present names are ordinary Muhammadan words such as occur in all Muhammadan countries. The song must therefore go back to an event, which took place before the Baltis became Muhammadans, i. e., before the year 1400 A. D. The Lādākhī Chronicles do not contain any mention about wars with the Baltis before 1400, and it is only through folklore like this song, and perhaps the account of Rinchana Bhoti in the *Chronicles of Kashmir* that we hear of such occurrences.

No. V.—King Sodnams Pambar of Baltistān.

Text.	Translation.
1. Thale La mgona gLingpai dماغeig shagsse.	1. On the top of the Thale Pass there arrives an army of gLing.
2. sharri nang lha dماغ kun 'habas shig.'	2. O godly armies inside the town, shout 'bravo.'
3. Thale La mgona gLingpai dماغeig shagsse.	3. On the top of the Thale Pass, there arrives an army of gLing.
4. sharri nang lha dماغ kun 'habas shig.'	4. O godly armies inside the town, shout 'bravo.'

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|--|--|
| 5. bdaggi dponbo gLingpai khraba sang stangcan yod. | 5. Our Lord is more clever in strategy than the falcon of gLing. |
| 6. Horri nang Hor dmag kunla srungshig. | 6. Beware of all the armies of Hor. |
| 7. bSodnams Pambar jo gLingpai khra sang rtsalcan yod. | 7. bSodnams Pambar our lord, is more adroit than the falcon of gLing. |
| 8. sharri lha dmag kunla srungshig. | 8. Beware of the godly army of the town. |
| 9. spangbu chungagi nangdu lha dmag kunla ci dgossug zer. | 9. Tell me what is needed by the godly army in the little meadow. |
| 10. ngari dponbo nang bzangpo pholaddi ego ytan yod. | 10. Our good lord is [like] a door-bolt of steel. |
| 11. subesarag nang Thale La ngola thenned. | 11. Quickly he is coming out (emerging from) at the top of the Thale Pass. |
| 12. nyima nang anga shar Shikar mKhargyi rtse nonned. | 12. Take command of the summit of the Castle of Shigar at the early rising of the sun. |
| 13. bdaggi dponbo kun yserpo yser khri kha bzhuga. | 13. [There] my lord is sitting on a golden throne. |
| 14. bSodnams Pambar kun yserpo yser khri kha bzhugs. | 14. bSodnams Pambar is sitting on a golden throne. |
| 15. shar lha cheuni skun mdunla nono kun mdzessi mentog. | 15. Before the whole nobility of the town the prince is [like] an all-pleasing flower. |
| 16. bSod-nams Pambar joi skun mdunla dBang-rgyal kun mdzessi mentog. | 16. Before the lord bSodnams Pambar, dBang-rgyal is an all-pleasing flower. |
| 17. sdugs shig rang medla cang phikyir med. | 17. There is no misfortune, there is no sorrow (among us). |
| 18. Shikar Skar rdoi dmag kun non le. | 18. Take command of the armies of Shigar and Skardo. |
| 19. sdugs shig rang med cang phikyir rig med. | 19. There is no misfortune, there is no sorrow. |
| 20. Shikar Skar rdoi mkhar kun non le. | 20. Take command of the castles of Shigar and Skardo. |

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

- v. 1.—The Thale Pass is not known to me.
- vv. 2, 4, 8, 15.—*shar* said to be *shahr*, town, Urdu.
- vv. 2, 4.—*habas shig*, related to *habbāzā*, bravo, Arabic through Urdu. It is used, but not commonly, in the same way as Pers. *shābāsh*.
- v. 9.—*dgossug*, contraction of *dgos 'adug*, must.
- v. 11.—*subesarag*, said to mean 'very quickly'; *sa rak*, *sarak* in Urdu.
- v. 12, 18, 22.—*Shikar*, the well-known village of Shigar.
- vv. 18, 20.—*nonpa* or *nanpa*, is used in Western Tibetan in the sense of 'give commands.'
- v. 17, 19.—*phikyir*, sorrow is the Urdu *fil*.

Notes on the English Translation.

This song also goes back to the Buddhist times in Baltistān. The account it gives of the wars of those days seems to be rather confused. The enemies mentioned in it are Hōrs, who were either Mongolians or Turks, but it is very interesting to find there the names of two ancient Buddhist kings of Baltistān (Skardo and Shigar), viz., bSodnams Pambar and his son dBang-rgyal, who must have reigned some time before Muhammadanism entered the country. Stobayabgopa (see Song No. IV.) may be another king of this line.

As the Baltis, after becoming Musulmans c. 1400 A. D., destroyed their ancient historical accounts, it will be hardly ever possible to get exact historical information about their Buddhist times, and we shall have to be satisfied with a few names gathered from folklore or inscriptions. From inscriptions two names may be adduced: Lagchen, 'great arm,' Longimanus, Mahābāhu, occurs in Miss Duncan's Sadpur inscriptions, No. 2. (See her *Summer-ride*, p. 300), and Lho-nub-mdā-mdzad-rgyalpo, king 'South-west-arrow-thrower,' is found on an inscription at Rongdo. (See my *Collection of Historical Inscriptions*, No. 9).

The present pedigrees of the Balti chiefs all date from Muhammadan times, and contain only partly reliable matter. To arrive at a trustworthy point of chronology, a note in the *rgyal-rabs of Ladākh* may prove useful. It is there stated that Ali Mir Sher Khān, who was apparently master of all Baltistān, invaded Ladākh. This Ali Mir Sher Khān is generally called only by one or two of his names and can be traced in all the Balti pedigrees, which were collected by Cunningham in his *Ladak*.¹ On p. 30 where the dukes of Kapulu are given, we find as No. 38 a Sultān Mir Khān. On p. 31, among the dukes of Kyaris, as No. 3, there occurs a Rāja Ali Mir Sher. On p. 32, among the dukes of Parkutta, we find an Ali Sher Khān as No. 4. On p. 33, among the dukes of Shigar, as No. 15, an Ali Mir is found. On p. 35, among the dukes of Balti-Skardo, as No. 1, the name Ali Sher can be read. On p. 37, among the dukes of Rongdo, the name Ali Sher occurs as No. 1. Thus we see that the same duke is found in the genealogies eight, nine or ten generations before the year 1830. Only in the case of Shigar are there 13 names before 1830. Here a younger brother may have occasionally followed an elder brother. My belief is that all the present lines of Balti chiefs are descended from Ali Mir Sher Khān, who was master of the country from about 1550 to 1580, and that there is no certainty about the names preceding him. I do not by this mean to say that the rest of the genealogies do not contain several interesting items. For instance that Sikander is placed at the head of the dukes of Kapulu, may, as Cunningham suggests, very well point to Sikander Butshikan of Kashmir, the possible introducer of one type of Muhammadanism into Baltistān. A Sultān Yāgu may very well have been among the ancestors of Ali Mir Sher Khān. Also the Dard word *them* (king), in the names of the dukes of Shigar is interesting, as pointing to the Dard origin of the Balti princes.

The legend of the Fakir origin of the princes of Skardo, given by Cunningham, seems to occur also at Chigtan, where the first founder of the dynasty, who came from Gilgit, is called Ltsang-mkhan-(beggar)-malig; and as the old Buddhist inscription at Chigtan shows (see my *First Collection of Inscriptions*, No. 43), the word *ltsang-mkhan*, beggar, seems to have been used almost as a dynastic title of the princes of Chigtan.

¹ An inscription possibly containing his name in the form Khān Ali in Arabic letters was photographed by Miss Duncan.

Ali Mir Sher Khān's son and successor was Ahmed Khān, who suffered a defeat by the Ladākhis under bDel-ldan-rnam-rgyal. The *Ladāks rGyal-rabs* says that the Baltis made a unanimous application for help to the Nawāb (of Kashmīr) who induced the Turks to invade Ladākh. They were defeated as well as the Baltis. Cunningham says that according to the *Chronicles of Skardo*, this application was made during the reign of Jehāngir (probably about 1625). Bernier also speaks of assistance rendered to one of the Balti chiefs by the Mughals, but he places it in the reign of Shāh Jahān. At any rate, the Bāltis became true friends of the Mughals, and Baltistān was, as is also attested by Bernier, a province of the Moghal empire.

Much more we do not yet know of Balti history. As regards the pre-Muhammadan times in Baltistān, folklore furnishes three, and archaeology two royal Buddhist names. We also know the name of one Balti-Buddhist *lama* of importance. It is found in the *Ren mi*, translated by S. Ch. Das. There we read that the saint of Baltistān, aBalte-dgra-bgompa, was born in 1128 A. D., and died in 1214 A. D.

No. VI. — Old 'aBumbha.

Text.	Translation.
1. Zhagpo nang skarmabo 'adzombari zhag yod : menna wa yado kun ?	1. [This] is a day when the stars assemble : Isn't [it so]. O companions ?
2. skarmai nang rgya stod po sharbari zhag yod, mnyambari jamad kun.	2. [It] is the day of the rising of the chief constellation among the stars, O assembled comrades.
3. rGyal-'abum bhai jo nyerang rgaspa phangpa yod : menna wa yado kun ?	3. O Lord rGyal-'abumbha, thou art old and forsaken : Isn't [it so], O companions ?
4. rgaspai rgan ylam po mila mi zug : menna wa yado kun ?	4. The old speech of an old man does not seize the people : Isn't [it so], O companions ?
5. rgaspai rgan berpo sala yang mi zug, mnyambari jamadkun.	5. The old stick of an old man does not take root in the ground, O assembled comrades.
6. rGyal-'abum-bhai jo nyerangla bran ma khor : menna wa yado kun ?	6. O Lord rGyal-'abumbha, do not let the servants work around you : Isn't [it so], O companions ?
7. ama[nang] zan medmola bu ma khor rGyal-'abum-bhai joi zhabshi kun le.	7. If a mother has no food she must not let the children [work] around her, O servants of Lord rGyal-'abumbha.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 1.—'adzombari instead of 'adzompai. The *r* was inserted on account of the metre, to create one more syllable.

v. 2.—*sharbari* instead *sharbai* for the same reason.

vv. 2, 5.—*jamad*, company, is an Urdu word.

v. 4, 5.—*zug* is Ladākhī for 'adzugpa, take hold of.

v. 7.—*zhabshi*, the same as *zhabs phyi*, servant.

Notes on the English Translation.

The personality of rGyal-'abumbha can be ascertained with some amount of certainty. A person with a very similar name occurs in two inscriptions. (See my *First Collection of Tibetan Historical Inscriptions*, No. 38 and No. 77). The former inscription mentions Lha-dbang-rnam-rgyal (c. 1500-1530 A.D.) as "father-king," and Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal (c. 1530-80) as "reigning king," and also mentions a minister 'aBum-lde, as a person in authority. The latter inscription speaks of the construction of a bridge under Thse-dbang-rnam-rgyal I, and gives the name of a minister 'aBum-bha-lde as the authority who apparently had to superintend the work. The full name of the minister was possibly rGyal-'abum-bha-lde, but here, as in the case of other persons, the full name is given only in rare cases in Western Tibet. Thus, the song and the inscriptions all contain different portions of the same name. The hero of the song probably had to superintend forced labour and made ample use of the stick. When he grew old, people were no more afraid of him and composed the song in mockery of him.

No. VII.—Thsering-malig of Chigtan.

Text.	Translation.
1. Lha yul nang mi yulli mthsamena,	1. On the boundary of heaven and earth,
2. seongges bzhangspai mkhar zbig yod.	2. There is a castle raised by [a] lion.
3. debo garise garise zerrugna.	3. If you ask where that is, where that is.
4. ngati lha yul nang barmai sharpa kun yin.	4. It is the youths of middle age in our godly land.
5. debo garise garise zerrugna.	5. If you ask where that is, where that is.
6. senmo Shag-mkharri shag thang kun yin.	6. It is all the gravel-plains of the beautiful [castle] Shag-mkhar.
7. ngatang rtsees shig rgod shig yado kun.	7. Let us dance, let us laugh, O companions.
8. ngati jo lags joi skun mdunla habas shig.	8. Cry out 'bravo' before our good lord.
9. Thsering-nang-malig joi skun mdunla habas shig.	9. Call out 'bravo' before our good Lord Thsering-malig.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 3.—*Garise*, where! *Purig*; *zerrugna*, instead of *zerna*, if you say, *Purig*.

v. 6.—*senmo*, beautiful, *Purig*; perhaps related to *senmo*, white; *Shag-mkhar* was once a famous castle of the chiefs of Chigtan.

v. 9. *Thsering-malig* is the name of a *Purig* chief; *nang* is inserted between the two parts of the name only for the sake of the metre.

Notes on the English Translation.

The castle between heaven and earth, raised by the lion, would make us think first of all of the glacier, where the 'white lioness with the blue locks' lives according to popular belief. But the answer given in the song takes us down to Chigtan. Perhaps the town of Chigtan is compared with the glacier.

The chief of Chigtan, Thsering-malig, who is mentioned in the song, is a well-known historical personality. He reigned about 1550-1580 A. D. and was the first chief of Chigtan who became a Muhammadan.

I was told that the Chigtan princes were in possession of a Chronicle, and to get a copy of it, I sent my munshi, Yeshe-rig-'adzin of Khalatse, to the present ex-chief, who is residing at Kargil. The ex-chief said that the book had been lost only a few years ago, but that he knew it by heart and was ready to recite it. According to the ex-chief's recital, my munshi wrote down the story afresh and brought me a copy. The Chronicle thus obtained, reminds one of the Balti Chronicles, as we find them in Cunningham's *Ladak*. The first or mythological part clusters round the figure of Ltsang-mkhan-(fakir)-malig and tells of the emigration from Gilgit in prehistorical times. The second or historical part contains all the Muhammadan chiefs of Chigtan, beginning with Thsering-malig. All the Buddhist chiefs, who reigned after Ltsang-mkhan-malig and before Thsering-malig, are ignored.

That Thsering-malig's ancestors were Lamaist Buddhists, we know from an inscription by several of them in the Chigtan monastery. It is found in my *First Collection of Tibetan Inscriptions*, No. 43.

Of one of Thsering-malig's descendants, Adam Khan, who reigned in the eighteenth century, the Chronicles say that during his time the Musalman religion was adhered to. This can only mean that Adam Khan used his influence to make it the religion of all his subjects.

A copy of the Chronicles of Chigtan has been deposited at the library of the *Maçica Serbska*, Bautzen, Germany.

No. VIII.—mDzes-ldan rnam-rgyal and Thsering-malig.

Text.	Translation.
1. 'aDiring nyididi snyilampo bzangpo rig mthong.	1. To-night [I] had (saw) a good dream.
2. zhag bzang nyididi snyilampo bzangpo rig mthong.	2. I had a good dream of a good day.
3. gongma alam bdagpo nang mjalba rig mthong.	3. I dreamt that I met with the high owner of the world.
4. rgyalpo mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal nang mjalba mthong.	4. I dreamt that I met with king mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal.
5. gongma alam bdagpo yser khri kha bzhuspa mthong.	5. I saw the high owner of the world sit on a golden throne.
6. rgyalpo mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal yser khri kha bzhuspa mthong.	6. I saw king mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal sit on a golden throne.
7. butsa ngarang langste phyag ysum phal'a mthong.	7. I dreamt that I, a boy, rose and bowed three times [before him].
8. dKarmo butsa langste phyag jaum phulba mthong.	8. I dreamt that I, the boy dKarmo, rose and bowed three times.
9. gongma alam bdagpoi phyag ryassi phyag phrangpo.	9. The high owner of the world has a rosary in his right-hand.
10. rgyalpo mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal'i phyag ryassi phyag phrangpo.	10. King mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal has a rosary in his right-hand.

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| <p>11. rinpoche don 'adzinpo bdaggi dponpo bzangpo.</p> <p>12. rinpoche don 'adsinpo gagai Thsering-malig jo.</p> <p>13. Stogpa nang buthsa ngarungla aba rig med lo.</p> <p>14. dGā-dgā buthsala ama rig mi 'adug lo.</p> <p>15. ababai dodpo gongma alammi bdagpo.</p> <p>16. amabai dodpo rgyalpo mDzes ldan-rnam-rgyal.</p> <p>17. Stog nang Mā-sprobai barla gyang rta agorigmi 'dug.</p> <p>18. Stog nang Mā-sprobai barla chula zamba mi 'adug.</p> <p>19. gyang nang rta sgoi dodpo gongma alam bdagpo bzahga.</p> <p>20. chu nang zambai dodpo rgyalpo mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal bzahga.</p> | <p>11. The precious first pearl (of the rosary) is my good lord.</p> <p>12. The precious first pearl is the noble lord Thsering-malig.</p> <p>13. I, a boy, do not possess a father in Stog.</p> <p>14. dGā-dgā, the boy, does not possess a mother.</p> <p>15. In the place of a father, [I have] the high lord of all.</p> <p>16. In the place of a mother, [I have] king mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal.</p> <p>17. In the wall between Stog and Māspro there is no door.</p> <p>18. Between Stog and Māspro, there is no bridge across the water.</p> <p>19. In the place of a door in the wall, there is the high owner of the world.</p> <p>20. In the place of a bridge across the water, there is a king mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal.</p> |
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Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 1.—*nyilam*, is classical *milam*, pre-classical *myilam*, dream.

v. 3.—*alam*, is the Urdu *alam*, world.

v. 8.—*dKarmo*, the name of the boy-poet, means 'the white one.'

v. 9.—*phrag phrang*, rosary, respectful (classical *phrengba*).

vv. 11, 12. *don 'adsinpo*, 'beginner of the meaning,' name of the first large bead of the rosary. The meaning of these two lines is that the rosary is chanted over twice. When doing it for the first time, it is for the benefit of mDzes-ldan-rnam-rgyal; when doing it for the second time, it is for the benefit of Thsering-malig.

v. 14. Here another name of the boy-poet occurs. It is dGa-dga, 'joy-joy.' Or possibly it is incorrect spelling for *gaga*, nobleman? Stog and Māspro are the names of two villages on the left bank of the Indus.

Notes on the English Translation.

A king mDzes ldan-rnam-rgyal is not known at all; but as Thsering-malig of Chigtan is mentioned together with him, the title mDzes-ldan 'possessing beauty' can only be taken as an epithet given to 'aZam-dbyangs-rnam-rgyal whose date is about 1550-1580 A. D.

The song is of no particular importance. It was probably composed in commemoration of the alliance which 'aZam-dbyangs-rnam-rgyal of Ladakh formed with Thsering-malig of Chigtan.

No. IX. — Defeat of the Baltis.

Text.	Translation.
1. Sagling nang Mentog-mkharla jopa bzhugssa stsalld.	1. The lord is residing at the Flower-castle of Sagling.
2. dbyar nang khodas yangla thes minned le.	2. God is gracious to thee [this] summer.
3. Sagling nang mentog mkharla rgyalpo bzhugssa stsalld.	3. The king is residing at the Flower-castle of Sagling.
4. yTsangma nang bdagpos yangla thes minned.	4. The 'Owner of purity' is gracious to thee.
5. Skar rdol Hor dmagpo Daltong Lala logse stsalld.	5. Thou turnest back the Turki army of Skardo on the Daltong Pass.
6. dbyar nang khodas yangla thes mineig.	6. God is gracious to thee [this] summer.
7. mi thesla mi thugpai kamrgya nanna stsalld.	7. Thou dictatest a treaty to them to last longer than a life-time.
8. bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyallisanamralla klog barred.	8. Lightning flashes out of king bDe- skyong-rnam-rgyal's sword.

Notes on the Tibetan Text.

v. 2.—*yang*, contraction of *nyidrang*, you; *minned*, contraction of *minba yod*, *minba* means 'to give' in Balti; *thes minba*, 'give a lifetime,' used in the sense of 'be gracious.'

v. 4.—*tsangma nang bdagpo*, 'owner in (of) purity,' 'Lord of purity,' a Balti name of God.

v. 7.—*mi thesla mi thugpa*, 'not touching a life-time,' together with *nanna*, *nante*, has the sense of 'exceeding a life-time.' *Kam rgya* (*bkā rgya*) said to mean 'a treaty.'

v. 8.—*snam-ral*, respectful for *ralgri*, sword.

Notes on the English Translation.

The royal name given in the song is apparently wrong. King bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal never went to any war, as far as we know. The king mentioned in the song was probably bDe-ldan-rnam-rgyal (c. 1620-1640 A. D.), who beat the Baltis. The mention of a Turki (Hor) army in v. 5 points directly to this king, as the *Ladakhi Chronicles* say that when the Baltis were beaten, they received the assistance of the Nawāb (of Kashmir), who induced the Turks to overrun Ladakh, but they were driven back. The Balti king who suffered the defeat was Ahmad Khān. See Notes on Song No. V, *ante*.

No. X. — The Siege of Basgo.

Text.	Translation.
1. rGyalma Basgoi'yyas phyogsnaas ltaspa,—	1. Looking towards the right from the capital of Basgo,—
2. thugaa Basgoi yyas phyogsnaas ltaspa,	2. Looking towards the right from the caravanserai of Basgo,
3. rgyalpoi ysaug zhingpo Pangkatse stengna,—	3. On the field, (called) Pangkatse, of the king,—
4. mi dbanggi ysaug zhingpo Pangkatse stengna,	4. On the field, (called) Pangkatse, of the potentate,
5. shaa yaum stong lnga brgya zam yod lo,	5. There are about three thousand five hun- dred little beds.

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| 6. bkag rdoba ysum brgya drug bcu zam yod
lo:—
7. dendarig Yodtsug wa Hor ngangyi
sogpo:—
8. dendarig Yodtsug wa dgra ngangyi sogpo. | 6. And about three hundred and sixty irrigation stones:—
7. As far as that [reached] the Mongol, the bad Hor:—
8. As far as that [reached] the Mongol, the bad enemy. |
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Notes on the Tibetan Text.

The original song, as received from the Mons at K halatse (like the rest of the songs with the exception of No. 1), has eight more lines prefixed to the above text. These additional lines have nothing to do with Basgo, or the siege, and correspond very closely to Ladākhī Songs No. VI. (See *ante*, Vol. XXXI, p. 94.) It is probable that two different songs have become mixed up, because both had the same tune.

vv. 3, 4. — *yang zhing*, honorific term for *zhing*, field.

v. 5. — *shau, shagu*, a little bed in a field, in which the irrigation water is gathered.

v. 6. — *bkag rdoba*, 'hindering-stone,' one of the stones with which the irrigation water is regulated.

vv. 7, 8. — *dendarig*, 'as far as that.'

Notes on the English Translation.

'To the right' of Basgo does not necessarily mean 'to the east' of Basgo, though it does in this case. The united army of Central Tibetans and Mongolians had their camp on the Ja-rgyal (? Bya-rgyal) Plain, between Basgo and Nyemo, and there a great battle with the soldiers of the Mughal emperor took place, c. 1647 A.D.

Concluding Remarks.

In conclusion, I may say that my *Collection of Ladākhī Songs*, published *ante* Vol. XXXI, pp. 87-311 contained several historical songs of later times, as I have since discovered, among which are the following:—

No. I is a hymn in honor of *Thse-dpal-dongrub-rdorje-rnam-rgyal*, the last independent king, c. 1790-1841 A. D.

No. II is a hymn in honor of the same king, and besides the king's name it contains the names of his eldest son, *Thse-dbang-rab-bstan-rnam-rgyal*, of the queen, *dPal-mdzes-dbangmo*, and of the first minister, *Thse-dbang-dongrub*.

No. III, the Polo Song, contains the name of the first minister of Chigtan, who was tortured during the Dogra wars, because he was the instigator of an insurrection. (See my *History of Western Tibet*, p. 158).

No. XIV, the Girl of Sheh, contains a passage referring to little prince *bDe-skyong-rnam-rgyal*, c. 1720-1740, who had lost his mother.

No. XVIII is a wedding congratulation addressed to the Leh minister, *dNgos-grub-bstan-'adzin*, who became vassal king of Ladākh during the Dogra wars. See my *History of Western Tibet*.

Besides those published already, I am in possession of an extensive collection of historical songs dating from about 1600 to 1900 A. D., and as several of them are of considerable historical value, I may publish a list of them in a future paper.

MOHIYE KI HAR OR BAR.

BY H. A. ROSE.

*The Chronicle of Rājā Mohl Parkūsh, Ruler of Nāhan (Sirmūr) State.**(Concluded from p. 56.)*

- 395 Palānt jāṇī⁴⁹ Dharmā, Deshū Dhāro khe
gowā riṅgi.
Tāmbū gān-nūkā⁵⁰ Rāje rā, nadri dā parā.
"Kēttārā⁵¹ khobṛā, tāmbū gān-nūkā
kharā?"
"Khobṛā nā bolqā, ān-un Balgo rā Pāṇḍā,
Tān thalde⁵², Rājeā, desh mulko dā
hāṇḍā."
400 Palānt delā Dharmā, nāchpe rā gerā;
"Pāṇḍā Rājeā Balgo rā, terā jamkrā⁵³ terā."
"Sehi Pāṇḍā Balgo rā, jāṇā bhūin de
beṭhi.⁵⁴
Koṭi jāṇā ke Jange, deṇi sāt dekhi⁵⁵."
Palānt jāṇī Dharmā, gūwā bhūin dā beṭhi
405 Baht kholl pateṛi⁵⁶ gūwā bānch dā lāgi.
Japi lai Dharma, Saiṇjo ri karesū.⁵⁷
"Nahīṇī dā āwage rā, dittā kunīe desū?⁵⁸
Shire baiṭhā Saṇcharo, pairo rā Keto.
Grō ri, Rājeā, pūjā, karṇi to lāgo.⁵⁹
410 Bāgā lāgo tano rā, pairo rā joṛā:
Pāg lāgo shiro ri, chaṇe rā ghorā.
He Rājā sāhibā, kadī nahlū māṅgā,
Bāgā kholl de tano rā, Pāṇḍā jāi ruwa
nāṅgā!"
Rājā khole bastaro, Gulerie khe āen.
- 395 In such guise Dharmā Palānt went to Deshū
dhār.
He saw before him the Rājā's tent.
(The Rājā said:) "Who is that fool,
standing before my tent?"
(Said Dharma:) "Call me not fool, for
I am come from Balg. and am a *pāṇḍā*.
In search of thee, O Rājā, have I wandered
thro' the land."
400 Dharmā Palānt danced a turn (and said:)
"O Rājā, I am a *pāṇḍā* of Balg and
a subject indeed of thine."
(Said the Rājā:) "Indeed, thou art
a *pāṇḍā* of Balg, be seated on the ground,
And give me an augury, whether I should
go to Koṭi or to Janga."
Dharmā Palānt sat down upon the earth,
405 Opened his book and began to read.
Dharmā began to talk of the proceedings of
Saiṇj,
(Saying:) "For leaving Nāhan, who gave
thee the auspicious moment?
On thy head sits Saturn, at thy feet is Ketu.
Thou, O Rājā, must perform worship of the
nine (planets).
410 The clothes on thy body and the shoes on
thy feet.
The turban on thy head, and the horse
from under thee, thou must give away.
O Rājā Sāhib, these I have never asked for.
Unfasten the dress on thy body, thy *paṇḍā*
hath remained naked!"
The Rājā doffed his robes, and Dharmā
went to the Rājā of Guler.

⁴⁹ Jāṇī: perhaps; gone riṅgi: went, or has gone.⁵⁰ Gān nūkā: in front of, or opposite to; nadri dā parā: came in sight; nahī (from Persian *nāhar*): sight.⁵¹ Kēttārā: of which place?⁵² Thalde: in seeking; hāṇḍā: walked or wandered.⁵³ Jamkrā: subject (born in the territory).⁵⁴ Jāṇā bhūin de beṭhi: you may sit on the earth.⁵⁵ Deṇi sāt dekhi: pray divine an auspicious day for going.⁵⁶ Pateṛi: a small almanack.⁵⁷ Karesū: proceedings.⁵⁸ Desū: an auspicious day (syn. *shūl*).⁵⁹ Karṇi to lāgo: it is necessary to do.

- 415 Nānge kiye Deshūc, dūnē shōrā jawānē.
 Japī lāi Dharmēn, sab hādī khoṭī.⁶⁰
 "Sahī lāi⁶¹ de Pāṇḍēā, Rāṇā Jungo ko
 Koṭī?"
 Palāṇī karīā Dharmā, Mohiye rī sewā,
 "Āyā shūṇī⁶² Deshūc, Rāṇā Sukheto khe
 dewā.
 420 Kāṭī ghālī⁶³ tīṇiyēn, tumṛī rī shīrī.
 Tere ḍare, Rāṇā sāhibā, lāi ghālī fakīrī.
 Shunā chhāṛī Jungā, shūnī Rā ṇe rī Koṭī.
 Mbāre karṇī Deshū dhāro, basṇe rī
 tharṇī.⁶⁴
 Palāṇī re Dharmā, ḍere ḍere luwā jāī.⁶⁵
 425 Ḍere ḍere hāzī dā, dāno lūwe garāī.⁶⁶
 Palāṇī Rāne rā Dharmā, ḍere ḍere dā
 hāṇḍo,
 Kīryā re jye bugche,⁶⁷ bānī lāo phāṇḍo.
 Palāṇī re Dharma, Jungo khe jolī:—
 "Shale paṛī rūwe bairī, dārū karo gollī."
 430 Nau sau maṇ misrī Rāṇe, roṇ-ṇoṇ khe pāī,
 Misrī chūṇḡo roṇ-ṇoṇ dī, nūhe bāṇḍhlo
 māṭhe.
 Ādhe khe pūḡī misrī, ādhe bishke hāṭhe.⁶⁸
 Chaṛhī āyā kaṭak, garjī rowī dhāro.
 Chālī rahī fanjo, lekḥā ruwā nī gaṇo.
 415 On the ridge of Deshū, both father-in-law
 and son-in-law were stripped by him.
 Dharmā repeatedly said all he could of evil
 (against the Rāṇā of Jungā).
 "Tell me true, O Pāṇḍā, whether the Rāṇā
 be at Jungā or at Koṭī."
 (But) Dharmā the Palāṇī wished to serve
 Mohī Parkāsh (and said:—)
 "Hearing of thy arrival at Deshū, the
 Rāṇā went to Suket.
 420 He has cut off the head of a gourd,
 In fear of thee, the Rāṇā Sāhib hath become
 a mendicant.
 Desolate hath he left Jungā and Koṭī of the
 Rāṇā.
 On the Deshū ridge we must make a house
 to dwell in."
 Dharmā the Palāṇī went to each tent.
 425 At each tent of the retinue he realised
 offerings.
 Dharmā, the Rāṇā's Palāṇī, goes to every
 tent;
 And ties together his bundles, like the
 bundles gifted at the death-rite.
 Dharmā the Palāṇī turns his face to Jungā,
 saying:—
 "Idle lies the enemy, get powder and ball
 ready."
 430 Nine hundred maunds of sugar the Rāṇā
 bade throw into the court-yard.
 In the court-yard the people pick up the
 sugar and salute the Rāṇā as he stands
 above.
 Half of the army got the sugar, but the
 other half went empty-handed.
 The array ascended the hills which re-
 sounded with the din.
 The army marched away, and no account of
 it could be kept.

⁶⁰ Hādī khoṭī: spoke against (the Rāṇā.) Hādī=word, abuse; khoṭī, evil.

⁶¹ Sahī lāi: let me know.

⁶² Āyā shūṇī: having heard of your arrival.

⁶³ Kāṭī ghālī: has cut off; tīṇiyēn: by him; tumṛī rī shīrī: the head of a gourd-fruit (meaning he has become a mendicant).

⁶⁴ Ḍere ḍere luwā jāī: visited each tent.

⁶⁵ Dāno lūwe garāī: is collecting the gifts.

⁶⁶ Kīryā re jye, bugche: like the bags of the last duties after cremation. Bānī lāo phāṇḍo: is binding the parcels; Jolī: sent word; shale paṛī rūwe bairī: the enemy is cold.

⁶⁷ Bishke hāṭhe: empty handed.

- 435 Duñgi seri Koṭi ri, paṛi ruwā ḍero. 435 In the low-lying field of Koṭi the camp was pitched:
- Duñgi seri Koṭi ri, pujje Jānki ro Nāthū. In the low field of Koṭi arrived Jānki and Nāthū:
- Ghen ne pando²³ lai chādro, bhūji lowā bāthū. On the bonfire they put the iron plates, and began to cook the potherb.
- Koṭi ri paull di, bāji rākhio ghāñḍi. In the gate of Koṭi the bell began to be rung,
- Bāthū bhūji chādro dā, lai shirai bāñḍi. The potherb being roasted on the plates, they began to divide it.
- 440 Jānki ro Nāthū, kari rākhā sākā. 440 Jānki and Nāthū had formed a relationship between them:
- Sawā khāri bāthū rā, keke pūjā phākā. One and a quarter *khāris* were divided, but each man only got a mouthful.
- Mhāreo Rāgā : — "Jāñde nahin sāro. Said the Rāgā: — "Our officials are all ignorant of business.
- Esi chūlo Thāñḍi ri, deṛi dāñgrū di pāṇo."²⁴ Go this way to Thāñḍi's, and have our hatchets sharpened."
- Koṭi ri paull dā, lāgi rūwā baro. At the gate of Koṭi, rations are distributed.
- 445 Pāṇo ditti dāñgrū di, mireho jye charo. 445 They so sharpened the hatchets as if pepper were put on them.
- Koṭi de gāñḍe, diho bāmpari baṇi. Opposite Koṭi is seen the Brahmans' small forest.
- "Āge lāṇi mhāre Deshū khe, Haṇḍmāno ri aṇi." "On our march to Deshū we must place Haṇḍmān's flag foremost."
- Āge baithā pāṇi dā, Haṇḍmāno rā Mahanto. First of all in the palanquin sat the monk of Haṇḍmān.
- Pichhe chāli fañjo, rūwā nahin aito. After him marched the army, which was without end.
- 450 Dhāri churhe Manūno ri. Haṇḍmāni chele :— 450 Up the ridge of Manūn climbed Haṇḍmān's devotees (saying: —)
- "Moṭi kāto mūsli, mahū re gele." "Cut thick clubs of oakwood."
- Dhāro pūjā Manūno ri, Rāṇe rā thāto. The Rānā's array reached the ridge of Manūn.
- Rāje Mohiye ri fañjo re, kālje phāto. The army of Mohi Parkāsh lost all heart.
- Gille ro Dharate, mat lai kamāl, Gilla and Dhartā made a shrewd plan,

²³ *Ghenne pando* : on the great fire.²⁴ *Deṛi pāṇo* : to sharpen. Thāñḍi, the name of an iron-smith.

- 455 Bāro bāro bikhan di, kāṭi leṇi khāi.
 Dhāro pūje Manūno ri, chhāṭi luwā
 mūhālā.⁷⁹
 Mohiye ri fanjo rā, pāṭi jeyā hālā.
 Dārū dhūweṇi bādli, shirī-sūrjo thāmbā.
 Sūtā thā Rājā pāṭi dā, tabe thurni
 kāmbā :—
- 460 "Ke gūṭi rūwā meghūlā, ke chaṭhī āyā
 Rājā."
 "Nahūn gūṭi rūwā meghūlā, nahūn chaṭhī
 āyā Rājā."
 Dharmā Palāṇi dītā, Rāje khe dhiro :—
 "Tere Rāje sāhibā, mukhte aso biro.
 Tū jūṇḍā nahūn sāhibā, bhole pahāṭi rā
 bheto.
- 465 Chhāṭi gūwā Rājā Jungo, naṭhī ro dēwā
 Sūkheto.
 Dekhe nahūn, Rājā sāhibā, Keoṭhaliā
 bholā.
 Take le chawwe mukhte, sāthī deyi rā
 dola."
 Rāje tūṇiyeṇ Nup Saine, lāwe kīgato
 lkhāe :—
 "Rājē Mohiyā abe, Muṇḍe melo kheāwe."
- 470 Rāje re kīgato, Rāje āge pūjāwe :
 Rāje tūṇiyeṇ Mohiye, tabe baṭchhe lāwe.
 Rāje rā āyā hukam, ke Muṇḍe melo khe
 āwe.
 Rāje ri fanjo ri, hoī goī tayārī,
 Deshū dhāro ri Kālīkā, phirī goīyo gerī.
- 475 "Rāje ri fanjo pāchhū, nahūn haṭhe mere
 deṇi."
 Āyī fanjo Rāje ri, Muṇḍeri ghāṭi.
 Gillā ro Dhartā, Rāje khe tālmī dele :—
 "Sadā khāyā nikrā inēn, Haṇūmānīe chele.
 Pahī pahalo rā māmālā, Haṇūmānīe
 dele."
- 455 That at every twelve paces should be dug a
 ditch.
 When they reached the ridge of Manūn the
 rattle of the guns began.
 The army of Mohi Parkāsh trembled like
 water.
 In the smoke of the clouds of gunpowder
 the Sun God was hidden.
 The Rājā was sleeping in his palanquin,
 — but then he shook and shivered
 (saying :—)
- 460 "Either it is thundering in the sky, or the
 Rājā has attacked us."
 (They answered :—) "Neither is it thun-
 dering, nor has the Rājā attacked."
 Dharmā the Palāṇi gave comfort to the Rājā
 (saying :—)
 "O Rājā Sāhib, many are thy warriors.
 Thou dost not know, Sire, the secret of these
 simple hillmen.
- 465 The Rājā has abandoned Jungā and fled to
 Suket.
 Thou hast not seen, Sir Rājā, the simple
 people of Keoṭhal.
 Take as much of his money as thou may'st
 choose as well as his daughter to wife."
 Then Rājā Nūp Sain bade them write a
 letter (saying :—)
 "O Rājā Mohi, come and meet me at
 Muṇḍā."
- 470 The Rājā's letter was despatched to the
 Rājā:
 And Rājā Mohi began to read it.
 The Rājā's order is to come to meet him at
 Muṇḍā.
 The Rājā's army made ready,
 And Kālīkā of Deshū Ridge became
 favourable in turn to him.
- 475 (Saying :—) "Never will I allow the
 Rājā's army to return again."
 The Rājā's army reached the ghāṭ of Muṇḍā.
 Gillā and Dhartā gave counsel to the Rājā
 (saying :—)
 "These devotees of Haṇūmān have always
 enjoyed a free grant.
 They should be in the forefront of the
 battle."

⁷⁹ Chhāṭi luwā mūhālā : bombarded.

480 Jānki Dās mahanāte, Munḍe chādri tāṇi;

Dittī deotī rī kāro,⁷¹ hor boli "Jai jai
bāṇi."

Čro dhauli gijo, baiṭhā kālā kīgā.

Dhāro pānde Deshūe, jadī māmā lāgā.

Beṛā lāgā tarārī rā, nūḍī jhamko dūṇo.

485 Beṛā lāgā kamāṇī rā, jau jyā pūṇo.

Beṛā lāgā Rāmchaṅgi rā, meghūlā jyā
garjo.

Golā chhūṭo Rāmchaṅgi rā, bājo pāṇḍī
bhito.

Haṇūmānī chele māro, mushlī rī choṭo;

Liṇḍe klye ghoṛlū, tūṇḍī nakṭī baīdūko;

490 Sidhiā Koṭo rā thākur, Rāje klyā nāṅā.

Mūṇḍo re lāge ghoṛ, baḥl lohū rī gāṅā.

Deo bhīṛā Jungo rā, Tārā bhīṛī Dehl.

Tap bhīṛā Nūp Saino rā, chele Haṇūmānī.

Gillā ro Dhartā dele, Mohiye khe
mehṇerī.⁷²

495 Poro dā bolā Rāje khe, Nālo rā Mlūn:—

"Orī de liṇḍī ghoṛī, mere gāḥṇā gehūn."

Rāṇā Nūp Saino Jungo khe kīgato dīto:—

"Āwl goī Deyle, Keonṭhalo khe jīto."

Lāgi rūwā bōladā, Dharmā Palāṇī:

500 Rāje khe dewo mehṇe, būri bolo bāṇī:—

"Tū Rājā Mohiyā, sawlū dūṇī dā hīllā,⁷³

Dhāri jhīṛī Habāṇo rā, lohe rā jyā kīllā."

480 The monk Jānki Dās stretched a sheet or
cloth at Munḍā,

And drew the *deotas*' lines, and said "Be
victorious."

The white vultures flew, and the black crow
perched.

On the ridge of Deshū the battle was joined.

When the turn of the swordsmen came, the
flashes of their swords reached down-
wards to the valleys.

485 When the turn of the archers came, the
arrows fell like barley chaff.

When the turn of the Rāmchaṅgi gun
came, it thundered like a cloud.

The ball of Rāmchaṅgi flew, its echo struck
the other side.

Haṇūmān's devotees smote with their maces,
And struck off the horses' tails and made
the guns useless.

490 Sidhiā Thākur of Koṭ was put to shame by
the Rājā.

A heap of heads was piled up, and a river
of blood flowed.

The Deo of Jungā fought and so did the
goddess Tārā.

The star of Nūp Sain fought, and so did
Haṇūmān's devotees.

Gillā and Dhartā taunted Rājā Mohī.

495 Mlūn of Nāl from the other side said to the
Rājā:—

"Give me hither your tailless mare, to thresh
my wheat."

Rāṇā bade write a letter to Jungā, (to
say:—)

"Daughter, victory has come to Keon-
ṭhal."

Dharmā Palāṇī began to taunt the Rājā

500 With ironical words and evil speeches:—

"O Rājā Mohī, thou art accustomed to the
level valleys,

On the ridge of Habāṇ, thou art dragged
like an iron basket."

Finis.

⁷¹ Dittī deotī rī kāro: drew a circle in the name of Haṇūmān.

⁷² Mehṇerī: ironical speeches. ⁷³ Sawlū dūṇī dā hīllā: art accustomed to the plain valleys.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES I.

Industrial Technicalities.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Continued from p. 24.)

- Kirro** : see *jangli lāna*. Mono : Fibrous Manufactures, p. 4.
- Kishta** : a vegetable acid. Cf. *khatta*.
- Kobā** : a wooden bottle-shaped mallet. Cf. *kubbā*. Mono : Leather Industry, p. 23.
- Koda** : a head ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 32.
- Koda** : an anklet. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 37.
- Kokhāni** : a kind of silk imported from Central Asia. Cf. *akhchā*.
- Konarā or koneri** : a convex piece of clay or stone fitted with a handle, used to beat out clay vessels. Mono : Pottery and Glass Industries, p. 5.
- Konta** : an earring. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 36.
- Kora** : a pure gold ; Hoshiārpur. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 4.
- Kora** : tinsel. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 27.
- Koterā** : a wooden shoe extender. Cf. *pachar*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 24.
- Kubā** : a wooden bottle-shaped mallet. Cf. *mogrd*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Kuchhar** : a round-headed hammer. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Kulābhā** : a drainage pipe. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 11.
- Kular** : a small vessel used by milkmen. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 10.
- Kūn** : a vat. Cf. *nānd* and *malai*. Mono. Leather Ind., p. 17.
- Kūnā, kuni** : synonyms for *hāndi*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 8.
- Kūnda** : a cow-dung cake. Cf. *oplā*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 6.
- Kunda** : a ring. Cf. Hind *kūṇḍ*, Platts, p. 865. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 24.
- Kundan** : the purest gold (Platts, p. 853) ; -sār : a setter of precious stones. Cf. *murasakār*. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 4.

- Kander**: *Typha angustifolia*; the bulrush Bannū cf. *era*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., App. I, p. i.
- Kundi**: a bodkin awl. Cf. *ār kundiwāld*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Kundiwālā**: a bodkin awl. Cf. *giriḥ keshād*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Kundūzi**: a synonym for Nawābi silk. Cf. *chilla jāidar*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Kūni**: see *kund*.
- Kunkshi**: a silver hook. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.
- Kuntla**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Kur**: bar-silver. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 1.
- Kuria**: a piece of wood shaped like a lead pencil. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 19.
- Kurs**: breadloaf silver. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.
- Kurumo**: a round receptacle for cotton; Kohāt. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 14.
- Kūti**: a kind of paste formed from the fat, etc., scraped off hides. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 25.
- Kūtni**: a wooden bottle-shaped mallet. Cf. *āpī*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Kyir-byir-tea**: a small saucer-shaped silver ornament; Spiti. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.
- Lā**: first quality. Cf. *lāwān, gurd, nāik*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.
- Lab-i-ābi**: a kind of silk produced in the country bordering on the Oxus and in Samarkand. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Lachehe**: a bracelet. Hind. *lachchhā*, Platts, p. 254. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Lachchhā**: a skein of beaten-up fibre. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.
- Lachke**: an ear ornament. Cf. *jhulanyas*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Ladwā**: an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Lagān**: a vessel. Mono: Brass and Copper Ware, p. 2.
- Lagdā**: an alloy with copper and silver. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.
- Laka**: a chopper. Cf. *gurdasa*. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 5.
- Lambibandi**: an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Laminmāla**: a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.

- Lammi** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Lammi-jiwan-māla** : a necklace. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Langri** : an anklet. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 36.
- Lani** : a Bengali silk. Cf. *dutāra*. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Lani chapper** : an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Lani maktāl** : an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Lar** : an ornament. Hind. *lay*, a string, Platts, p. 955. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Larhāna** : a tool used for marking off bracelets on a piece of ivory. Mono : Ivory Carving, p. 15.
- Lasūra** : the bark of the *Cordia myxa*; Siwāliks and Himalayas. Mono : Fibrous Mann., p. 6.
- Laswāra** : the *Cordia myxa*. Hind. *lasorā*, Platts, p. 957. Cf. *lasidra* and *lasūra*. Mono : Fibrous Mann., App. I, p. ii.
- Lath** : a thick strong cotton rope on each side of a carpet. Mono : Carpet-making, p. 13.
- Lavāyā** : a man who pastes the wet sheets of paper on to a wall; Siālkoṭ. Mono : Fibrous Mann., p. 16.
- Lawin** : ? *lx. areolin*, first, of first quality. Cf. *id.*
- Leh** : paste made of flour and water. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 33.
- Lishnā** : a small piece of cane, used as a hand-guard; Kullū. Mono : Fibrous Mann., p. 13.
- Litki** : a small silver ring with ball-shaped pendants; Kāngra. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 35.
- Lochka** : a *gold*, two *ungals* wide. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 28.
- Lohā rach** : a pointed chisel. Mono : Ivory-carving, p. 14.
- Long** : gold alloyed with copper; Hoshiārpur. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 4.
- Lota** : an earthen vessel tied into the *māhl* or rope of a Persian wheel Cf. *ind.* Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 10.
- Lūkh** : powdered bulrush; Peshāwar. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 3, also the bulrush : Trans-Indus.; cf. *era*.
- Lundhi** : a large skein. Mono : Fibrous Mann., p. 12.
- Lurta** : a chisel. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Mad** : lime and water. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 33.
- Madar** : a fibre used for making ropes and string; Shāhpar. Mono : Fibrous Mann., p. 11.

- Madār** : a juice. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 15.
- Magarbāns** : a female bamboo ; Simla. Cf. *bushāra*. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 4.
- Magar chaudāni** : an ear ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Mahawar** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Māl** : a kind of China silk. Cf. *phul*. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 14.
- Main** : a head ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Maithrā** : a Hong-Kong silk. Mono : Silk Ind., 15.
- Majid** : a dyeing material. Hind *majith*, madder, Platts, p. 1004. Mono : Carpet-making p. 9.
- Majmā** : a salver, cf. *patnā*. Mono : Brass and Copper, App. C, p. 8.
- Makhawajī māl** : a necklace. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 35.
- Makkāl** : a collection of moulds. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 19.
- Maktūl** : a Bengali silk. Cf. *datāra*. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Mala** : a narrow iron bar. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 24.
- Mali** : a synonym for *chūni* ; Kangra.
- Malla** : *Zizyphus nummularia* ; Rāwalpindi. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 18.
- Mallas** : camel's hair. Cf. *milā*, *masal*. Mono : Woollen Manu., p. 11.
- Malni** : a vat. Cf. *kūn*.
- Manchu** : a Hong-Kong silk. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Mandha** : a wheat-straw basket ; Hazāra. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 14.
- Mandri** : a mat made of rice-straw or grass ; Kullū. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 11.
- Māngtika** : a kind of *phulkārī*. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 20.
- Maniār** : a person who ornaments *churī*. Cf. *bangiār*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 26.
- Manj** : lattice or pinjra work, similar to that seen in Cairene moucharabiehs. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 10.
- Maroridār** : a kind of mould. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 19.
- Masān** : a twisting wheel, a form of the *dherā*. Mono : Woollen Manu., p. 5.
- Mat** : a large earthen vessel. Cf. *matfi*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 6.

Matherā : a man who turns parts of ornaments into an oval or round shape after preliminary preparation by the *sundā*. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 24.

Mathnā : a light chisel. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 11.

Mathni : (i) a broad chisel for smoothing ivory. Mono : Ivory-carving, p. 15; (ii) a round mould. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 19.

Matkāna : a small deep pot with a rim. Cf. *ābhārd*. Mono : Pottery and Glass Ind., p. 8.

Matloha : a synonym for *mat*; *Kāngṛā*.

Mātra : see *chakkī*.

Mattan : a vessel larger than the *mat*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 6.

Mattianī : clay deposits; *Kāngṛā*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 2.

Matūra : a large earthen vessel. Cf. *mathā*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 7.

Māyā : water in which rice, wheat or quince seeds have been boiled. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 20.

Mayī : a kind of China silk. Cf. *māt*.

Māyā lagānewālā : a starcher, of paper, *Siālkot*. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 16.

Mazri : a fibre used for making ropes and string. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 2.

Mehndi : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Meshā : a sheep-skin. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 15.

Miangī : an instrument. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 9.

Milsi : masal, camel's hair. Cf. *mallas*. Mono : Woollen Manu., p. 11.

Mina : scraps of coloured glass. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 26.

Miqrāzi : a cotton pill carpet made at Hassanpur in the Gurgaon District. Mono : Carpet-making, p. 6.

Mirgang : a medicinal preparation of pure gold. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 30.

Misri : the dwarf palm or its leaves (Pashto) *nasri*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 6.

Mochha : a block of wood which is to be turned. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 11.

Mogha : a crucible. Cf. *mus*. Mono : Brass and Copper, p. 4.

Mogrā, mogri : a wooden bottle-shaped mallet. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 23.

Mohari : a rubber of agate or cornelian. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 26.

- Mohr** : a *deotā's* face. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 31.
- Moli** : a wooden instrument. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 24.
- Mor phunwar** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Mot** : a mould. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 19.
- Much** : a forehead ornament. Cf. *tahitī*. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Mudha** : a spindleful of thread. Cf. *challi*.
- Muga** : a silk yielded by *Antheraea Assam* or *māga* worm. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 1.
- Muhim-shāhi** : a kind of silver ; Kullū. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 6.
- Muhnāl** : a silver *hugga* mouth-piece. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 30.
- Mukat** : a semi-religious ornament worn by the the bridegroom at a marriage. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 36.
- Mukesh** : wavy tinsel. Cf. *sulma*. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 27.
- Mukh-kā-sāh** : a forehead ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Mukra** : a bow-like object on a loom. Mono : Carpet making, p. 12.
- Mundā** : a kind of shoe (*gurgdī*) ; Gargāon. Cf. *mundā*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 31.
- Mundla** : a kind of shoe (*gurgdī*) ; Ambāla. Cf. *mundā*.
- Mungli** : a wooden bottle-shaped mallet. Cf. *musti*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Murabba nil** : sulphate of indigo. Mono : Carpet, making, p. 10.
- Murassakār** : a setter of precious stones. Cf. *kundanadā*.
- Mushka** : a variety of coarse silk. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 20.
- Musli** : a wooden bottle-shaped mallet. Cf. *tālad*. Cf. Hind. Platts, p. 1090. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Mutka** : a variety of coarse silk. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 20.
- Nahian** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Nahnā** : a small instrument with a flat edge. Cf. *kataf*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Nāk** : of first quality. Cf. *id*.
- Nakahai** : a carpet or rug ; Kohāt and Bannā. Mono : Woollen Manu., p. 7.
- Nakhra** : a kind of silk. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 20.

Nakli : imitation :—daryāī, a plain fine stuff supposed to be like real *daryāī*. Mono : Cotton Manu., p. 8.

Nakyu : an ear-pendant ; Spiti. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 36.

Nāl : a tall blue-stemmed variety of the *jangli bāns* ; Hoshiārpur. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 4.

Nām : a gold necklace worn by Hindu males. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 25.

Namkāni : a Central Asian silk. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 15.

Nān : a heavy chisel for rough-clearing wood. Cf. *nihān*. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 11.

Nānd : a vat ; Rohtak. Cf. *baingar*.

Nār : a net. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 4.

Nārā : a person who procures silver from the sweepings of a goldsmith's shop. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 6.

Nārī : a generic term for sheep and goat skins. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 15.

Nārma : a kind of cotton : of the Rāwalpindi and neighbouring tracts. H. D., p. 1133. Mono : Cotton Manu., p. 2.

Nasa : the bark of the *dāk* tree. Cf. *paldh* and *palds*. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 5.

Nashi : an ear ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MATHURA, A MINT OF AKBAR FOR COPPER COINAGE.

'As an indication of importance, it may be mentioned that in Akbar's time there was a mint at Mathura, though only for copper coinage,' (Growse, 'The City of Mathura', *Calcutta Rev.*, 1873, p. 5, note).

Neither Wright (*Catal. Coins, I. M.*, Vol. III) nor Lane-Poole (*B. M. Catal.*) gives Mathurā as a mint of Akbar's. Are any copper coins of Akbar from the Mathurā mint known?

VINCENT A. SMITH.

18th December, 1908.

UNPUBLISHED ASOKA INSCRIPTION AT GIERNAP.

When reading old numbers of the *Calcutta Review*, I came upon an interesting descriptive article, signed by C. M. and entitled 'Saurāshtra

and the Hill of Sorath,' in the volume for 1878. The writer, when dealing with localities near the shrine of 'Nimnāth' (Nēmināth'), records a note at the foot of p. 618, which states that 'another longish oval stone, about 10 feet by 12, inscribed with characters apparently resembling those of Aśoka's edicts, is to be seen near the Bhīmkund. But the letters of this inscription also have been much injured by exposure.'

Burgess (*Kāthiāwād and Kachh*, p. 169) briefly describes the Bhīmakundā, but makes no allusion to the inscription mentioned by C. M., nor can I find any mention of it anywhere. Can anybody give information concerning it, or still better publish a copy?

VINCENT A. SMITH.

18th December, 1908.

LEGENDS FROM THE PANJAB.

BY SIR E. C. TEMPLE AND H. A. ROSE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVII., p. 155.)

III.

THE WAR OF AURANGZEB WITH GURU GOBIND SINGH.

WHEN the people told the emperor Aurangzeb that Guru Gobind Singh intended to take Delhi, the emperor became anxious and asked his nobles and ministers, "Is this a true report?" And they replied: "Save the king, it must be a true report." On this the king gave an order, "write a letter to Guru Gobind Singh."

Nām.

Likhā Aurangzeb na Dillīon parwāna:
"Merā hukm Qandahār vich Kābul Kā āsāna.

Rājē Dakhan Pahār de sab karān salāmān.

Ek haqiqat sun Kashmīr dī, jo varti paṇḍit,
sur, nar gyānā.

Maiā chhorān us nuā, jo paṛhe nāmāz rozānā:

Oh chhorenge dharm nuā, vichānā swan imānā.

Fatwā²¹ merā parhīdā vich dohān jehānā.
Maiā ekā bhejānā bās nuā, khā chiqdā tāmā."

Verse.

Wrote Aurangzeb a letter from Delhi:

"My writ (runs) in Qandahār and Kābul and Khurāsān.

The kings of the South and of the (Northern) Hills, all make obeisance.

Hear about Kashmīr, what happened to the paṇḍits, the gods, the heroes and the wise men.

I cherish him, who daily repeats the (Muhammadan) prayers:

Who will give up his (Hindu) faith to come within the (Muhammadan) faith.

My judgment is read in both worlds.

I have only to send one hawk to eat up all the birds."

To this the Guru Gobind Singh sent a reply:—

Nām.

Satgur sachche bādshāh paṛhīyā parwāna²²:

Likh jawāb bhējīd jo sachchā nāmā.

"Likhānā sab hikāyatān: sun samajh, nāddānā!

Tū²³ qasm jo kīt dāge dī; maiā tere dīl dī jānā.

Tū²⁴ kar haākār bolo, nāpāk sabānā!
Takabbur kiḡd Iblis²⁵ ne, gall la'nat jāma.

Dat-sirwargē²⁶ kai daint māre haḡmānā.

Verse.

The true gurū, the true king has read the letter:

He writes the reply and sends a true document:—

"All admonitions are written: listen and understand, blockhead!

Thou hast taken an oath of treachery: I know thy mind.

Thou bawlest boastfully, O impure of tongue! Iblis was arrogant, his speech was all impurity.

Many a ten-headed demon has been destroyed by pride.

²¹ For khushā, to read which in any man's name is to proclaim him king.

²² Parwānā, a letter to an inferior: nāmā an authoritative document, a letter-patent. The terms used are peculiarly insolent. So is the use of *id*, thou, further on.

²³ The Arabic turn of phrase when speaking of Iblis is noteworthy.

²⁴ Dahīzar, i. e., Rāvapa.

<i>Main pakṛī o! Akāl dī: koī hor nā jānd.</i>	I have secured the aid of the Eternal: I know no other.
<i>Mainuā dyā hukm Hazār thīn; hath badhā gānd.</i>	The order of the (divine) Majesty has come to me; the thread is round my wrist. ³⁵
<i>Main pantā karūn Khālā vich dōhān jāhāndā.</i>	I will proclaim the Khālā ³⁶ in the two worlds.
<i>Chivīdā mīran bāz nūn kar khāwan tōwā."</i>	(Remember) the birds killed the hawk and ate him all."

When the emperor read the letter of Guru Gobind, he called his ministers.

<i>Nazm.</i>	<i>Verse.</i>
<i>Likhiā payhiā Bādshāh, wazīr bāldē;</i>	The emperor read the writing and called his ministers;
<i>'Arab Shārd' de sadhke qāst bulandē:</i>	And sent for the doctors of the Arab Law:
<i>"Main roz jāvān vich Haj de Dargāh Khudde.</i>	"I go daily on a pilgrimage to the Court of God.
<i>Main aisd ghā na sah sulāp; mardā vich khde.</i>	I cannot brook such language; I will take poison and die.
<i>Jo koī hove sūr līr, bīrā³⁷ āphde;</i>	Whosoever is a hero and a warrior, let him take up the betel-leaves;
<i>Jā jong kare nāl Gūrū de, mat bhānj na khde,</i>	And go and war with the gūrū and not turn back,
<i>Main dūnd mansab karūngā, jo fatāh karde."</i>	And I will give him double rank, if he gain the victory."

The ministers and doctors replied:—

<i>Wazīr te qāst ākhde: "Sun, Shāh sīna,</i>	The ministers and doctors said: "Hear O wise king,
<i>Aisd chit na rakhīye, dīl rakh phikāna,</i>	Be not so anxious, keep a steadfast heart.
<i>Kar Sāhib dī bandagī, namās rōzāna.</i>	Do service to the Lord, pray daily.
<i>De tōpā rekle aur khareh khazāna.</i>	Give (us) cannons and guns and money from the treasury.
<i>Dund paū vich mulk de, hī āp bigāna.</i>	Tumult will arise in the kingdom, be thou calm.
<i>An dago gole āphānge, mār Mughal Pathāna.</i>	The Mughals and the Pathāns will raise the standard of treachery.
<i>Asī pakar lāe gūrū nūn, sūr ek damāma."</i>	We will seize the gūrū with beating of drums."

Guru Gobind Singh was on his way to the Court of God, and Zēbu'n-nissā, the emperor's daughter, was also going to the Court, and she said to her father:

<i>Zēbu'n-nissān hath jor, ek sukhan sūndī:</i>	Zēbu'n-nissā joined her hands, and spake a word:
<i>"Jis dīn dā baīhoṁ takht te kyā 'amal kamāid?</i>	"From the day thou sittest on the throne, what justice hast thou done?

³⁵ Allusion to the bridal bracelet of goat's hair worn to keep off evil spirits. The gūrū wears the "order of the Eternal" as a bride has wedding bracelets.

³⁶ The fraternity of the Sikhs.

³⁷ Bīrā is a preparation wrapped up in a betel-leaf and used as a token or pledge at marriages, betrothals, and among Rajputs sometimes as a challenge.

Shāhjahān ko qaid kar, Dārā marwāid.

Thou didst imprison Shāhjahān and slay Dārā.²⁸

Tuā Tegh Bahādur Gurā nāl dākh kamāid.
'Adal kiya Naushirwān, jas jag rich pāid.

Thou didst treachery to Gurm Tegh Bahādur.²⁹
Naushirwān did justice and obtained honour in the world.

Tūn zahr dā phal bīd, hun khānā āyā."

Thou hast sown the seeds of poison, now thou must eat them."

The emperor replied to his daughter:—

Aurangzēb farmāyā: "Sun, jān hamārī.
Main bhi Shāh Aurangzēb, badā balakārī.

Said Aurangzēb: "Hear, my life.
I am also king Aurangzēb, the great and mighty.

Main pirthī dūdi pair het, jo kot bankārī.

I grind to the earth under my feet whosoever is proud.

Mainūn rājwāṛe sab mānde, Mughal, Pathān,
Qandahārī.

All the kings obey me, Mughal, Pathān, Qandahārī.

Main jis wal karūn muṁh, chahānā pae jāe
ghubārī.

Whichever way I turn my face, there comes confusion.

Māithon machh, kachh sab kānpṭe bālan sansārī.

The crocodile, tortoise, alligator and shark all tremble at me.

Main ekū bhōjān sārā, mīre talwārī."

I will send but one warrior and he will slay (them) with the sword."

Replied Zēbu'n-nissā to the king:—

Zēbu'n-nissā farmāyā: "Sun, bāp hamāre.
Eh āyā gurū, Hazār thūn le mansab bhāre.

Said Zēbu'n-nissā: "Hear, my father.
This gurū has come, bringing from the hand of Majesty (God) a great dignity.

Tū karān 'addwat nāl gurū de mat, bāji hāre.

Do not make enmity with the gurū, lest thou lose the game.

Charnī jā lag gurū di, lage Darbāre.

Fall at the gurū's feet, be one of the Court.

Terā burj Shāh' dā dekh pagā, hun kon āsāre? "

The tower of thy Law hath fallen, who will now raise it up?"

The emperor answered to his daughter:—

Aurangzēb farmāyā: "Sun, bachchā nālanī.
Main ghallān Bahādur Shāh nuā, jo nāghmānī.

Said Aurangzēb: "Listen, foolish daughter.
I will send Bahādur Shāh, who is a serpent for wisdom.

Main rāje ghallān Pahār de, sab 'agāl hānī.
Pakār lāwān gurū nuā; muk dākh tawāmī."

I will send the Hill chiefs, all full of sagacity.
They will seize the gurū, and all this world shall see."

Bādshāh ne bēji ko kahānā na mānā.

The king would not hear the council of his daughter.

She greatly argued with him. In the end he made war and attacked Gurm Gobind Singh, and killed the gurū and conquered his country.

[So far our present text, but a Gurmukhi text differs slightly and is about as long again.]

²⁸ Shāhjahān was the father, and Dārā Shikoh, the elder brother of Aurangzēb. He deposed the former and slew the latter. He also brought the Gurm Tegh Bahādur to an untimely end.

²⁹ Naushirwān is the legendary hero of justice in Indian and Persian story.

ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE NELLORE DISTRICT.

BY V. VENKAYYA, M. A., RAI BAHADUR.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII, p. 11.)

The period of about 30 years commencing from A. D. 1250 to 1280 is but poorly represented in the inscriptions of the southern tálukas of the Nellore district. There are no records from Rápúr, Sólúrpet, and Venútagiri, which can be referred to this period while there are only a few from the Nellore and Gúđúr tálukas. The Pāṇḍya invasion which took place during this period⁷² must have caused considerable confusion in the southern portion of the district.⁷³ The Chōḍa chiefs were probably crippled on this account. Bhujabala⁷⁴-Manmasiddhayadēva-Chōḍamahārāja (KR. 60, 61 and 63) who had one or more Pallava feudatories and whose dates range from Saka-Saṁvat 1179 to 1183 = A. D. 1256-57 to 1260-61 and [I]mmaḍi-Gaṇḍagōpāla-Vijayādityadēva-Mahārāja (KR. 62) who had also a Pallava feudatory and whose date is A. D. 1260-61 belong to this period. But their inscriptions have all been found at Peṇṭrāla in the Kandukūr táluka, and

consequently it is doubtful if they belonged to the Nellore

The Telugu-Chōḍas of Peṇṭrāla.

Telugu-Chōḍas or if their influence extended beyond that village.

The same remark applies to the following three chiefs whose records have also been found in the same village :—(1) Bijjirāju-Siddhayadēva-Chōḍamahārāju whose date is A. D. 1267-68 (KR. 64); (2) Gaḍidēvarāju, son of Perumūḍidēva-Chōḍamahārāju whose date is A. D. 1268-69 (KR. 65); and Siddhayadēva-Mahārāju, (son of) Bhimarāju, whose date is A. D. 1269-70 (KR. 66). According to the Telugu *Siddhāvaracharitam* and *Sōmadēvarājīyam*, extracts from which are published by Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu Garu in his *Lives of the Telugu Poets*, Manmasiddha, the ruler of Nellore, had been deprived of his kingdom by his cousins, Akkana and Bayyana. Tikkana Sōmayājin, the court poet of the former, is said to have gone to Anamkoṇḍa and persuaded the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati to take up the cause of his patron. Records assignable without doubt to this Manmasiddha have not been found.⁷⁵

⁷² Above Vol. XXXVII., p. 353.

⁷³ A number of inscriptions dated during the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Gaṇḍagōpādēva or Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpādēva have been found in the Tamil country. One of them seems to have been a contemporary of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati (No. 47 of 1893) and another of the Chōḍa king Kulōttuṅga III. (No. 44 of 1893 and *South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III, p. 207 f.). In the *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, para. 51, I remarked that the Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpādēva, whose initial date is A. D. 1250 and who must have reigned until at least A. D. 1263, must have been a Telugu-Chōḍa. In the first place, it is not certain if there was only one chief with this name or more than one. In the Nellore district, records of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla are found in the Gúđúr, Nellore, and Sólúrpet tálukas. They are all in Tamil. In case the latter is identical with the former, his dates seem to show that he might have taken part in the attempt to drive out Jajāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. from Nellore, if any such been had made. In the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍya king, it is Vira (not Vijaya)-Gaṇḍagōpāla that figures as one of his enemies (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 121). A Tamil epigraph of Tribhuvanachakravartin Vira-Gaṇḍagōpāla has been found at Rāmāgiri in the Chingleput district (No. 650 of 1904) and another at Mallam in the Gúđúr táluka (G. 97).

⁷⁴ At Ayyavāripalli and Nandipet, in the Udayagiri táluka, have been found inscriptions of Bhujabala-Chōḍa Tiruk[ā]ḍidēva-Mahārāju, dated in A. D. 1244-45 (U. 3) and A. D. 1245-46 (U. 14). He was the lord of Uḡatūr and Kāṣēhi and belonged to the family of Karikāla. If he was related to the Peṇṭrāla Chōḍas, he must have been one of their ancestors. Neither the *Mahācōḍaśekhara* Manmasiddhayadēva-Chōḍamahārāju of KV. 43 nor the Manmasiddharas of G. 39 could have had anything to do with the Peṇṭrāla Chōḍas.

⁷⁵ Manmagāṇḍagōpāla, a later prince of the Nellore Chōḍas, was also deprived of his kingdom, but was reinstated at Vikramasimhapura by a Kākatīya feudatory (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, para. 44). It is not impossible that the Manmasiddha reinstated by Gaṇapati is identical with the Bhujabala-vira-Manmasiddha-Chōḍamahārāju mentioned above. Perhaps he took refuge at Peṇṭrāla in the Kandukūr táluka before he was reinstated by Gaṇapati. His opponents, Akkana and Bayyana, are, however, not mentioned in any of the Nellore inscriptions. It does not seem likely that the two above-mentioned Telugu works call Manmagāṇḍagōpāla, Manmasiddha, and mistake Rudradēva-Mahārāju for Gaṇapati.

The earlier part of this article has shown what an important part the Pallavas had played in the history of the district. There were evidently some reminiscences of their dominion and a few families claiming connection with them. Later Pallavas. On the first signs of weakness of the Chôla empire in the Telugu country, the Pallavas must also have attempted to regain their dominion. Some of the chiefs belonging to the Pallava family seem to have enjoyed considerable power, though most of them were only feudatories. As early as A. D. 1102-3, while Kulottunga I. was still alive, the *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvara* Nandivarma-Mahārāja alias Ammarāja of the family of Kāḍuveṭṭi was ruling with Podatūru (i. e., Prodatūru in the Cuddapah district) as his capital. He was one of the sons of Doraparāju by his queen Duggidēvi. His territory extended apparently into the Udayagiri tāluka of the Nellore district (U. 6). He belonged to the Pallava family and to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and had the *khaṭvāṅga* banner and the *koḍuvēṭṭe* drum. He claims to have been the lord of Kāṇchi and a devotee of the goddess Kāmakoṭyambikā (i. e. the Kāmākshi temple at Conjeeveram). In A. D. 1182⁷⁶ we have a Pallava, named Alluntikka, at Gaṇḍavaram (N. 16) in the Nellore tāluka and N. 16 mentions Alluntirukālti of the Pallava family. At Sōmavārapāḍu in the Darśi Division (D. 69) is an inscription dated in A. D. 1218-19 of a descendant of Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi⁷⁷ whose name does not appear to have been made out satisfactorily. He also belonged to the Pallava family and to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and was the lord of Kāṇchi and a devotee of the goddess Kāmakoṭyambikā. He claims to have founded 70 *agrahāras* in the country to the east of Śrīparvata, i. e. Śrīsaṭam in the Kurnool district. The *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvara* Inumaḍidēva-Mahārāja of the same family (with similar titles) set up an image of Kēśava-Perumāḷ at Nāgalavaram in the Kanigiri tāluka (KG. 24). He was the son of a certain Bhīmarāja by Sṛiyādēvi. Nallaśittaraśaṅ⁷⁸ of the Pallava family is mentioned in an undated record from Manneṃuttēri (S. 2) in the Sūlūrpet Division. The best known of these chiefs is the Mahārājasimha of the Tripurāntakam⁷⁹ and Drāksharāma⁸⁰ inscriptions (perhaps identical with the rebel Kōpperuṅjiṅga of Tamil records). The latter reigned from A. D. 1243 to at least 1278-79.⁸¹ When and under what circumstances he advanced against the Telugu country and how long he remained there are questions which require to be investigated in future. Allāḍa-Pemmayadēva-Mahārāja (A. D. 1259-60) and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla (A. D. 1263-64) of the Tripurāntakam inscriptions were also Pallavas.⁸² Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla of the same family (bearing the Pallava titles mentioned above) was probably governing a portion of the Ātmakūr tāluka with a "lord of Uṇṇaiyūr" for his subordinate (A. 25). Reference has already been made to the Pallava feudatories of the Telugu-Chôḍas whose records have been found at Penṭrāla in the Kandukūr tāluka. These do not boast of Pallava titles but claim to be descended from Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi.

⁷⁶ The *Mahāmāṇḍalīśvara* Chidapaḍēva-Mahārāja of the Pallava family is mentioned in a record of A. D. 1182-83 from Chintalapattūru in the Cuddapah district.

⁷⁷ Mukkaṇṭi is the Telugu equivalent of the Sanskrit Trilochana, the name given to the semi-mythical Pallava king whom the founder of the Chālukya family claimed to have conquered in battle. The same or another Trilochana was a contemporary of the Chôla king Karikāla who is said to have got him as well as the other kings of the earth to build the banks of the Kāvēri river (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1900-1901*, para. 45). Mr. Rice's Gaṅga inscriptions seem to point to the existence of a place called Kāḍuveṭṭi which he identifies with Kāvērinagar, the headquarters of a Zamindār in the North Arcot district (*Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 313). But in the phrase Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi, the second member must denote either the name of an individual or of a family. Perhaps Kāḍuveṭṭi is the same as the Tamil Kāḍava which is synonymous with Pallava (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 22). One of the Nandolār inscriptions gives the Śaka date 723 for Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi; see my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1907-8*, Part II, paragraph 71. This was evidently later than his namesake who was a contemporary of the Chôla king Karikāla.

⁷⁸ Nallaśittaraśaṅ of the Pallava family is mentioned in an inscription from Conjeeveram (No. 20 of 1893); see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6*, Part II, paragraph 5.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, paragraphs 5 and 6.

⁸⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 167.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁸² *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, Part II, paragraph 7.

Here are their names — (1) Allāṣa[nā]ṭhadēva-Mahārāja, grandson of Siddirāja of Po[ḍa]kanūra⁸³ (K.R. 61); (2) Madhusūdanadēva⁸⁴-Mahārāja, grandson of Vijayāditya of Andalūra (K.R. 62); (3) Siddamadēvula-Vijadēvunḍa, son of Bhīmayadēva-Mahārāja (K.R. 63). These three belong to the middle of the 13th century. But as early as A. D. 1150-51, there flourished in the north of the Nellore district a certain Vijayādityadēva-Mahārāja of the family of Mukkaṇṭi-Kāḍuvaṭṭi (D. 43):

In A. D. 1260 the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati died,⁸⁵ leaving his daughter, Rudrāmbā, as his successor. During her reign, some of the Kākatiya feudatories became powerful. The inscriptions of Gaṅgaya-Sāhigī and Tripurārīdēva bear this out. One of these feudatories claims to have established Manmagaṇḍagōpāla at Nellore. It is, therefore, likely that these Kākatiya feudatories interfered in the affairs of the southern portion of Nellore. In A. D. 1275-76 Nellore was ruled by Nā[ga]dēva-Mahārāja⁸⁶ (A. 29), whose inscription is also found at Idūru in the Nellore tāluka (N. 21). He probably belonged to the Nāga family and might have been a Kākatiya feudatory. An officer of his is reported to have made a gift in A. D. 1273-4 for the merit of Rudradēva-Mahārāja, which was the name adopted by Gaṇapati's daughter, Rudrāmbā, on her accession to the throne (K.V. 43). Nāgadēva himself made a grant in A. D. 1280-81 for the merit of the

The Nāgas. same sovereign (O. 75). An earlier member of the Nāga family was Siddarasa who was a Chōḷa feudatory (G. 78). Peddarasa of the same family was a feudatory of Kalōttuṅga III. (G. 53). His agent is mentioned in G. 55. Peddarasa's son was Sildarasa who continued as a feudatory of Kalōttuṅga III. (G. 86 and G. 92) though the characteristic Nāga *śirudas* are omitted in his case. A genealogy of the family for nine generations is furnished by D. 13, which belongs to the 14th century.

The Telugu-Chōḷas seem to have regained their lost dominion very soon. In A. D. 1278 Iruṁṭi-Tirukkūḷattidēva ascended the throne (G. 45). But how he was connected with Allu Tirukūḷattidēva or with his uncle, The Telugu-Chōḷas of Nellore he regains their lost power. Tirukūḷadēva-Mahārāja is not apparent. Iruṁṭi-Tirukkūḷattidēva might, however, be identical with Tikka II., son of Manmakshamaṅgallabha of the genealogical table on p. 18 of the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1899-1900. Manmagaṇḍagōpāla, whose initial date is A. D. 1282-83 (N. 31), was probably his successor. There seem to have been two chiefs with this name known from other inscriptions, one whose head was cut off by a general of Pratāparudra and a later one who was a Kākatiya feudatory. If the Manmagaṇḍagōpāla of the Nellore inscription was not different from these two, he may be identified with the first. It was perhaps the same chief who was originally dispossessed of his kingdom but subsequently established at Vikrama-simhapura (*i. e.*, Nellore) by the Kākatiya feudatory Ambadēva Mahārāja. The second Manmagaṇḍagōpāla appears to have been governing the northern portion of the Nellore district, and perhaps, also a portion of Guntur as a Kākatiya feudatory (P. 32). His latest date is Śaka-Saṁvat 1219, the cyclic year Hēmalamba corresponding to A. D. 1297-98. In the southern portion of the Nellore district, the first Manmagaṇḍagōpāla was perhaps succeeded by Tribhuvanachakravartin

⁸³ As the villages to which this and the next "Mahārāja" belonged are also mentioned, it is extremely doubtful if they possessed any influence beyond their own villages. If this be the case, it is not a little surprising that even men of no independent position claimed Pallava ancestry. Some of the Chōḷa "Mahārājas" mentioned in the foregoing pages might also have been private individuals. In fact, the affix mahārāja is by itself no conclusive proof that the person to whose name it is added was not a private individual. Chōḷadēva-Chōḷajamalārāja, Malidēvarāja and Chikkirāja mentioned in a record of A. D. 1236-37 (K.R. 22) were probably similar "Mahārājas."

⁸⁴ At Tiruvālaṅgūḍu in the North Arcot district is an inscription of Tripurīṇakadēva-Madhusūdanadēva of the Pallava family and the Bhīradrāja-gōtra; see the *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 5.

⁸⁵ See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II., paragraph 44.

⁸⁶ A. 51 may also belong to him. The Telugu poet Tikkana-Eḍmayājin's son, Mārana, is said to have dedicated his version of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* to Nāgaya-Gaṇa, the general of the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra. If, as may reasonably be supposed, Nāgaya-Gaṇa means Gaṇa, son of Nāgaya, it may be that Nāgaya is identical with the Kākatiya feudatory Nāgadēva.

Rājagaṇḍagopādēva.⁸⁷ He is called "the lord of the city of Vikramasimhapura" (i. e., Nellore) in N. 12. Five inscriptions of his reign which couple his regnal years with Saka dates prove that his accession must have taken place about A. D. 1289-90 (N. 71, N. 62, G. 115, N. 60, and N. 74). He was probably also called Madurāntaka-Pottapi-Chōḷa Sriraṅganātha *alias* Rājagaṇḍagopāla. By the time he asserted his independence all traces of Chōḷa dominancy had evidently disappeared and accordingly he assumed the title of *Tribhuvanachakrapatin*, and as all his inscriptions come from the Nellore and Gūḍūr talukas,⁸⁸ it looks as if he took the place of the Chōḷas and was, perhaps, a rival of the Kākatīya Rudradēva and Pratāparudra. His latest date is his 15th year corresponding to Saka-Samvat 1227. KV. 37, dated in Saka-Samvat 1231, the cyclic year Saumya=A. D. 1309-10, records a gift by "king" Veṅkaṭēśa, while Raṅganātha was the ruler. The only Kākatīya inscription found in the town of Nellore appears to be dated in A.D. 1314-15. Rājagaṇḍagopāla's reign must have come to an end and the Kākatīyas probably annexed the southern portion of the district in or before that year. Mappiḍi-Nāyaka's capture of Conjeeveram took place in the next year⁸⁹ and, perhaps, the campaign which commenced in the annexation of the southern portion of the Nellore district ended in the capture of Conjeeveram.

Certain Chōḷa feudatories who claimed Chālukya ancestry may now be noticed. Inscriptions of this family have been found in Kāḷahasti (Nos. 172, Chōḷa feudatories claiming Chālukya ancestry. 181, 182, 183, 191 and 200 of 1903) and its vicinity (Nos. 209 and 232 of 1903) in the North Arcot district, Rāmagiri in the Chingleput district (Nos. 640 and 659 of 1904) and Tiruvagṇāmalai in the South Arcot district (Nos. 494, 495, and 511 of 1902). References to these chiefs found in the Nellore volume have all been discovered at the village of Chāpalapalli in the Veṅkaṭagiri Zamindāri. They are all in Tamil and belong to the reign of the two Chōḷa kings Kulōttuṅga III. and Rājaraḷa III. The family claimed to belong to the Yādava race. The most important item of information which these records furnish is that Bhujabala Siddarasa *alias* Rājamalladēva founded a Brāhmaṇa settlement at Nāgapuḍōl in Pūkkai-nāḍu and called it Rājamalla-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ (V. 11, V. 2 and V. 6). A tank was built at the same time in the village and called Kamalamahādēvipputtēri (V. 7) after Bejjādēvi *alias* Kamalamahādēvi, the wife of Siddarasa (V. 1). The Vishṇu temple where all these inscriptions are engraved was called in ancient times Yādava-Nārāyaṇa Perumāḷ and was apparently founded about the same time (V. 16). The temple of Tiruṇāgīyāram-Uḍaiyār of which no traces seem to exist at present at the village was evidently more ancient and had been founded by the sage Nārada (?) (V. 11). Siddarasa *alias* Rājamalla was the son of Kaṭṭidēvarasaṅ (V. 11 and V. 13) called Ghaṭṭidēva or Ghaṭṭiyadēva in two Kāḷahasti inscriptions (Nos. 189 and 210 of 1903). The latter was a feudatory of the Chōḷa king Rājaraḷa III. in his sixth and ninth years. The relationship which Ghaṭṭiyadēva bore to Tirukkālattidēva and to Nārasimhadēva of the same family (*South-Ind. Inscri.*, Vol. III., p. 208), has to be ascertained by future researches. But Madurāntaka-Pottappichōḷa Bṛasiddharasa of the Telugu-Chōḷa family seems to have been a subordinate of Siddarasa *alias* Rājamalla (V. 11).

A few of the more important Kākatīya feudatories⁹⁰ have now to be noticed. [Siṅga]yadēva-Gaḍidēva-Chōḷa-Mahārāja, the Telugu-Chōḷa feudatory of the Kākatīyas, has already been mentioned (D. 24).⁹¹ The dynasties to which [Vōbhaḷa]dēva-Mahārāja (A. 11) and Daḍavarmadēva-Mahārāja (KV. 11) belonged,

⁸⁷ G. 50, which is badly damaged and seems to have been misread, probably also belongs to his reign.

⁸⁸ That Rājagaṇḍagopāla's dominions extended as far as Kāḷahasti in the North Arcot district is rendered probable by a record of A. D. 1320-21 at the place (No. 192 of 1903) which refers to transactions in the 7th year of his reign.

⁸⁹ Ep. Ind., Vol. VII., p. 129.

⁹⁰ A Chālukya chief who claimed descent from Vimalāditya was a feudatory of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati (P. 7).

⁹¹ See p. 2 above.

are not specified. From their dates it may be concluded that they were probably Kākatiya feudatories. Gaṅgaya Sābhigī and Tripurāridēva-Mahārāja of the Kāyastha family, who are mentioned in the Tripurāntakam inscriptions, are represented in the Nellore volume by two records in the Darśi Division (D. 25 and D. 1). Ambadēva-Mahārāja, the younger brother of Tripurāridēva-Mahārāja, was the most powerful of the family. His claim to have established Manmagadagōpāla at Vikramasinhapura (*i. e.*, Nellore) has been already mentioned.⁷² No inscriptions of his time are found in the volume before us and his boast, therefore, remains unconfirmed.

The Mannepalli copper-plates (CP. 17) are dated during the reign of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati and record a gift by a chief named Sārṅgadhara who belonged to the Sālaṅkāyana-gētra and was the son of a certain Mādhava. Six stone inscriptions which may be attributed to this feudatory family have been found in the Ongole tāluks (O. 28, O. 76, O. 101, O. 103, O. 150, and O. 151). Its influence seems to have been confined to the extreme north of the district. The chief town of the family is said to have been the city of Addanki. Its members bore the surname Chakranārīyaṇa. Their dates range from Saka-Saṃvat 1170 to 1194⁷³ corresponding to A. D. 1247-48 to 1273-74. Three chiefs of the family are known, viz. Mādhava, Sārṅgadhara and Siṅga or Siṅgala. The relation of the last to the other two is not specified.⁷⁴ The compilers of the Nellore volume suggest that the family might be connected with the Sēuṇas.

The Kākatiya general Muppiḍi-Nāyaka who captured Conjeeveram in A. D. 1316, is represented by a considerable number of records in the Ātmakūr (A. 56), Kandukūr (KR. 1, KR. 23 and KR. 84), Nellore (N. 80), and Ongole (O. 87) tālukas, ranging in date from A. D. 1294-5 to 1315-16, from some of which it appears that he was in the service of the Kākatiyas already during the time of Pratāparudra's predecessor Rudradēva-Mahārāja. In fact, it is said in one of the inscriptions (A. 56) that Rudradēva had placed the burden of the kingdom on him. KR. 23 reports that Muppiḍi-Nāyaka's father's name was Nāgi-Nāyaḍu and his mother's name Gaṅgasānamma.

The Reddis.

Before attempting a survey of the feudatory families that held sway over Nellore, I remarked⁷⁵ that the Kākatiya dominions were in a state of disorder like the rest of Southern India in consequence of the Muhammadan invasions. According to Mr. Sewell, Krishna, son of Pratāparudra, "turned the tables in 1344, by making a grand combination of Hindu States and driving the Muhammadans out of the country."⁷⁶ This combination among the Hindu States is not unlikely, as in the earliest Reddi inscriptions,⁷⁷ dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1267=A. D. 1345, Vēma who built a flight of steps at Srisaillam is called "the very Agastya to the ocean which was the Mlēcchhas." He is also said to have "restored all the *agrahāras* of Brāhmaṇas which had been taken away by the wicked Mlēcchha kings from (the time of) king Vira-Rudra of the Kākati-vaṃśa." At any rate, order had been restored in the Telugu country (or, in a portion of it at least), in or before A. D. 1345, by the Reddis of Konjaviḍu, who belonged to the cultivating caste. Why and how the Reddis became rulers is nowhere explained. It

⁷² Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 357.

⁷³ O. 76 appears to be dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1180, the cyclic year Vibhava. But as the Śaka and cyclic years do not agree, the editors of the Nellore volume have apparently accepted Śaka-Saṃvat 1180 as the correct date of the inscription, because it corresponded to the cyclic year Vibhava. The record belongs to the time of the Kākatiya feudatory Mādhava-Mahārāja. As we have an epigraph of Mādhavadēva-Mahārāja of the same family dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1104 (O. 101), it is doubtful if the assumption of the editors is justifiable.

⁷⁴ D. 72, O. 8, O. 27, O. 34, O. 86, O. 88, O. 89, and O. 100 probably belong to the same family.

⁷⁵ Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 357.

⁷⁶ *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II, p. 174.

⁷⁷ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-00*, p. 23 f. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 2.

may be supposed that they occupied subordinate military as well as administrative offices in the Kākatiya kingdom. The Telugu poem *Haricandana* and the Sanskrit *Vīranārāyaṇacharita* state that the original seat of the Redḍis was Addaṅki.⁹⁹ The country over which they originally ruled was apparently Pāka-nāḍu extending from Koṇḍaviḍu in the Kistna district to Kandukūru in the Nellore district.¹⁰⁰ The Madras Museum plates of Vēma say that his capital was the city of Addaṅki in the country of Pūṅgi,¹⁰¹ which extended from the eastern slopes of Sṛīśailam to the eastern sea on both sides of the river Kuṇḍi, i. e. Guṇḍalakamma. In the Nellore district, a comparatively small number of inscriptions of this family has been found. O. 73 mentions Vēmaya, father of Kōmaṭi-Prōla, the earliest hitherto known Redḍi chief. KR. 35 records that Vēma, son of Kōmaṭi-Prōla, caused the *Rāmdyaga* and the *Haricandana* to be translated into Telugu, the latter of which is actually dedicated to Vēma. The poet who made the translation was Errāpragaḍa, who is here mentioned by his other name Sambhudāsa. The Nellore volume furnishes some details about a branch of the Redḍi family descended from Malla (KR. 34), the youngest brother of the above-mentioned Vēma. To distinguish these from the Koṇḍaviḍu and Rājahmundry Redḍis mentioned in my *Annual Report* for 1899-1900, they may be called the Kandukūr Redḍis. Their capital is

The Redḍis of Kandukūr.

said to have been Kandukūr (KR. 43), and their inscriptions have been found mostly in the town of Kandukūr and in a village called Chuṇḍi in the Kandukūr tāluka. Sivaliṅgabhūpati of this branch says, in his commentary on the *Gīṛīsairutisūktimālā*, that he ruled from his golden throne at Skandapurī situated in the south-east of Sṛīśailam. This Skandapurī may be identified with Kandukūr, which is actually called Skandapura in KR. 35, dated during the reign of Rācha-Vēma, younger brother of Sṛīgiri of this branch. The genealogy down to Sivaliṅga is given in his abovementioned commentary on the *Gīṛīsairutisūktimālā*. Malla and his grandson, Mācha, of this branch claim to have fought against the Muhammadans, and nothing worthy of notice is said about the rest. Kommana-Sōmayājula, the *pradhāna* of Kōmaṭi Redḍi of this branch brought a *soyambhu-tiṅga* from the Pātālagaṅgā at Sṛīśailam and set it up in the village of Chuṇḍi at the spot where he had performed the *agnishūma* and the *atiditra* sacrifices. He also caused a stone temple to be built at Chuṇḍi and planted a grove round the temple. A fort was constructed at Chuṇḍi by one of the sons of Kommana and several tanks and wells are reported to have been built by him and his sons in and around that village. This Kommana is different from and later than Kommana, the father of the Telugu poet, Tikkana-Sōmayājūn. The two belonged to different *gōtras* (KR. 16 and KR. 17). As late as A. D. 1515-16, there was a chief named Gaṅga Redḍi bearing the usual Redḍi *birudas*, who was a subordinate of Kṛṣṇarāya (CP. 16). We are not told if he possessed any dominions or was only an officer of the king.

The Vijayanagara Kings.

The earliest Vijayanagara inscription in the volume before us is the Kāpalūr grant (CP. 15) dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1258, the cyclic year Dhātṛi corresponding to A. D. 1336-37 and during the reign of Harihara I. This was the year in which the town of Vijayanagara was founded according to Nuniz.¹ The Kāpalūr grant reports that the founder of the

Foundation of the city of Vijayanagara.

dynasty was Bukka, whose son by his wife Meḡāmbikā was Saṅgama I., the progenitor of the family according to later inscriptions. The mythical descent of the former from the Moon is traced through Budha, Āyus, Nabuṣa, Yayāti, and Yadu. Saṅgama's wife was Gālāmbikā and they had five sons, viz. Harihara, Kampa, Bukka, Māra, and Mudda. The eldest of them conquered all the quarters of the world beginning with Aṅga and Kāliṅga and was ruling the earth from the city of Kuṇḍarakōpa, which, as the editors suggest, is evidently a Sanskrit rendering of the Kanarese Ānegondi. Ānegondi is at present the headquarters of a Zamindārī owing allegiance to the Nizam of Hyderabad. The town

⁹⁹ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-00, paragraph 59. ¹⁰⁰ Ep. Ind., Vol. V., p. 53 and note 9.

¹⁰¹ This district is called Pūṅgi-(nāḍu) in a Tamil fragment found at Nellore (N. 87).

¹ Mr. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 19.

is situated on the north bank of the river Tungabhadra, while the ruins of Vijayanagara are found on the opposite bank of it. The Kāpalūr grant informs us that king Harihara on one occasion crossed the river on a hunting expedition and found a forest to its south. There he saw a dog being attacked by a hare and proceeded to the hermitage of the sage Vidyāraṇya to find an explanation for the wonderful phenomenon. Harihara was told that the spot deserved to be the residence of a family of great kings and accordingly founded the city of Vidyānagara. After his coronation, the king granted the village of Kāpalūr as an *agrahāra*. The date of the Kāpalūr grant is three years earlier than the only hitherto known record of Harihara I. On palaeographical grounds the editors suspect the genuineness of the grant.

The father of Saṃgama I. is also mentioned² in three copper-plate grants published by Mr. Rice, one belonging to the reign of Harihara I. (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Bg. 70) and the other two to that of Bukka I. (*ibid.* Mb. 158 and Gd. 46). Here the name of Saṃgama's wife and that of his mother are given in a slightly altered form. Of the first the original has not been traced, but Mr. Rice has published the text from a copy of it.³ It is dated in the same year as the Kāpalūr grant. The date of the other two grants is Saka-Saṃvat 1266, the cyclic year Tāraka⁴ corresponding to A. D. 1344-45. The donee in the two latter grants is Sōma of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āpastamba-Sūtra and the Yajus-śikhā. He was the son of Nāchana, was well versed in the *āgamas* and the eighteen Purānas and could compose in eight languages. This Sōma is probably identical with the Telugu poet Nāchana-Sōma.⁵

Verses 1 to 28 of the first grant (Bg. 70) are nearly identical with verses 2 to 29 of the Kāpalūr grant and refer to the building of the city of Vidyānagara by king Harihara at the instance of the sage Vidyāraṇya. The two later grants refer to the city as having been founded by Vidyāraṇya.⁶ The legend concerning the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar mentioned both in the Kāpalūr grant and in Mr. Rice's inscription was current also in the first half of the 16th century. The Portuguese chronicler Fernao Nuniz mentions the identical story in connection with the foundation of the city.⁷

Returning to the Kāpalūr grant, we find that the people of Bestaraballi in the Bāgepalli taluka of the Kolar district possess a copy of a Vijayanagara grant dated in the same year as the former. The original is not forthcoming, but the text of the inscription down to the grant portion is nearly identical with the Kāpalūr plates. As the villages granted in the two inscriptions are different and situated in two different provinces, *viz.* Yāragūd in the Ghanaṣaila (*i. e.* Penugonda) rājya and Kāpalūr in the Chandragiri-rājya, it is unlikely that the portion which is similar in both was copied, the one from the other. On the other hand, they must both have been copied from

² KG. 7 belongs to a king named Bukkarīya. According to the editors of the Nellore volume it is dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1296, the cyclic year Ānanda, which is too early for a Vijayanagara inscription. The Kākatīya king Pratāparudra was still living at the time. Besides Bukka, father of the Vijayanagara king Saṃgama, is a more or less mythical person. Even if such a person existed, he could not have been a king possessing the power and influence implied by the titles attributed to him in KG. 7.

³ The engraver of this inscription seems to be identical with that of the other two.

⁴ These two inscriptions are evidently two copies of the same document. In Gd. 46, the Saka date is denoted by *rasa-bhā-nayan-śūdu* corresponding to the cyclic year Tāraka, while Mb. 158 has *ra[sa-rtu]-nayan-śūdu* and the same cyclic year. As Saka-Saṃvat 1216 (*rasa-bhā-nayan-śūdu*) does not correspond to the cyclic year Tāraka, Mr. Rice corrects the latter into Śādhāraka and the Saka year into 1292 (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. X, p. 219). This double correction seems to be unwarranted. I would take *rasa-rtu-nayan-śūdu* as the date of Gd. 46.

⁵ See my *Annual Report* for 1906-07, Part II, para. 33.

⁶ An interesting point in the inscriptions edited by Mr. Rice is that the composer is a certain Mallapārādhyā of the Ātrīya-gōtra and the Yajus-śikhā, who was the son of Kōṭidēvarādhyā. The Nallūr grant of Harihara II. published by me reports that the verses of the inscription were composed by Mallapārādhyā, who was the son of Kōṭisārādhyā. The slight difference in the name of the father in these two cases is not serious and it is just possible that the composer is the same in both cases. As there is, however, a difference of 55 years between the two grants, it may be safer to assume that the composer of the Nallūr inscription of Harihara II. was the grandson of his namesake in the plates of Harihara I.

⁷ Mr. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 299 f.

a common original. In fact, it seems very probable that in the royal archives was preserved the original of the preamble to be added to all public documents. This preamble seems to have been composed by court poets and gave an account of the reigning king's military achievements as well as his ancestry. In the absence of military achievements the king's prowess was described in general terms.⁸ It is worthy of note that the abovementioned plates of Bukka I. are in Nandiesgarī like the Kāpalūr grant of Harihara I. and that the former were engraved by Nāgādēva who is mentioned as the artist that engrossed, the Yāragūd inscription. This fact raises a presumption that the latter is genuine, though the original copper-plate is not forthcoming. The story of the foundation of the city of Vidyānagara and other details found in the Kāpalūr grant are thus confirmed by what may be taken for independent testimony. Whether Saṅgama's father was Bukka and whether his wife's name was Gāṁbikā or Māṁbikā and his mother's name Meṅgāmbikā or Magāmbikā, the student of historical research need not much mind.

The Bīṭraguṇṭa grant of Saṅgama II. reports that Harihara I. defeated the Sultān. The political relationship, if any, which existed between the Reḍḍi chiefs and the kings of Vijayanagara is nowhere clearly explained. Perhaps the former were at least semi-independent. The Koṇḍaviḍu Reḍḍis were probably ruling over the modern Guntur district and a portion of the northern tālukas of Nellore, while the Kandukūr Reḍḍis governed the modern Kandukūr tāluka, and the rest of the Nellore district, might have belonged to the Vijayanagara kings. Harihara's younger brother

Kampaṇa is represented in the Nellore volume by an inscription dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1268, the Vyaya-saṁvatsara corresponding to A. D. 1346-47 (N. 28). His *mahāpradhāna* Sāyaṇṇa-Oḍaya

is also mentioned here. This is two years later than the Hindu coalition against the Muḥammadans which has already been mentioned. It may be that Harihara I. sent his younger brother Kampaṇa-Oḍaya to take part in the war against the Muḥammadans. After the war was over, Kampaṇa-Oḍaya probably set himself up as a semi-independent prince in the province which subsequently came to be called the Udayagiri-rājya. The greater portion of the modern Nellore district seems to have been included in it. Kampaṇa's successor in the Udayagiri-rājya was apparently his son Saṅgama II. who issued the Bīṭraguṇṭa grant in A. D. 1356-57. Eight years later we find Vīra-śrī-Sāvaṇṇa-Oḍaya ruling (N. 78). From other inscriptions we know that this latter was the son of Kampaṇa by Meṅgādēvi-Amma and that his dominions extended beyond Nellore.⁹ During the reign of Bukka I. (A. D. 1353-77) the province of Udayagiri was governed by his son Bhāskara Bhavadūra who in A. D. 1369-70 built a large tank at Porumāmiḷla in the Cuddapah district.¹⁰ The earliest inscription of Harihara II. in the Nellore volume is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1299, the cyclic year Piṅgala corresponding to A. D. 1377-78, while a record found in the Raṅganāyaka temple at Nellore (N. 76) yields A. D. 1375-76 for his accession. He probably died in A. D. 1404.¹¹ A much mutilated inscription of his reign dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1303 (= A. D. 1386-87) is found at Rāvimānidione in the Udayagiri tāluka (U. 18 d and e). During the reign of Harihara II., his son Dēvarāya-Oḍaya was appointed governor of Udayagiri and occupied that position in A. D. 1382-83.¹² For the merit of his father Dēvarāya built a tank at Mogilicherla in the Kanigiri tāluka about the year A. D. 1393-94 (KG. 28). He was crowned on the 5th November, 1406,¹³ (at Vijayanagara) in succession to his father. The successor of Dēvarāya in the governorship of Udayagiri was his son Rāmachandra, hitherto unknown from Vijayanagara inscriptions. In the Nellore volume there is a copper-plate and a stone inscription which refer to him.

⁸ It is a characteristic feature of the Sanskrit records of the second Vijayanagara dynasty—both those on copper and on stone—that a number of identical verses are found in them all—the kings to whom they should be allotted being left, particularly in later ones, entirely to the whim of the person who drew up a document.

⁹ See my *Annual Report for 1906-07*, Part II, paragraph 22.

¹⁰ See Dr. Hultzsch's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1902-3*, paragraph 15.

¹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, Appendix No. 478 and note.

¹² See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1904-5*, Part II, paragraph 29.

¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 480.

The former (CP. 1) is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1312, the cyclic year Pramōda corresponding to A. D. 1390-91 and records a gift to Chennubhaṭṭa. The donee might be identical with his namesake who was the *protégé* of Harihara II. and author of the Sanskrit work *Tarkabhāṣāpradīpikā*. Rāmachandra claims to have vanquished the Musalman king by his skill. The stone inscription of Rāmachandra¹⁴ is from Dāḍiredḍipalle in the Kanigiri taluka (Kg. 4) and is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1338, the cyclic year Durmukha corresponding to A. D. 1416-17.

At Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district has been found a record of Vira-Bukka¹⁵ dated in A. D. 1423-24.¹⁶ Another epigraph of the same king dated in the same year has been published by Mr. Rice.¹⁷ In the two latter, the parentage of Vira-Bukka is not given. But it is not unlikely that Vira-Bukka of the two latter is identical with Vijaya-Bukka of the Kannur inscription (O. 56). Vira-Bukka *alias* Vijaya-Bukka was, perhaps, only another name of Vira-Vijaya, the son of Dēvarāya I. and father of Dēvarāya II. In an inscription at Maṅgyanapūḍi, the father of Dēvarāya II. is called Pratāpa-Vijaya-Bukka-Mahārāja (D. 47).¹⁸ A. 31, which is dated in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu corresponding probably to A. D. 1462-63, records a gift for the merit of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Virapratāpa-Vir[*pāksha*]rāja-Mahārāja, who might be identical with Viripāksha, son of Dēvarāya II. To the same reign may be assigned an inscription at Chelalavāḍa in the Ongole taluka (O. 30) where the king is called Praṇḍhadēvarāja and the date is Saka-Saṁvat 1404, the cyclic year Subhakti corresponding to A. D. 1482-83. It is, however, doubtful if this date belongs to his reign or to that of the actual donation made by a certain Timmāreḍḍi after looking into grants previously made by Praṇḍhadēvarāja at the instance of a certain Paṇṭa-Mailāreḍḍi.¹⁹ The Udayagiri-rāja in which the greater portion of the Nellore district was included, seems²⁰ to have come into existence soon after the Vijayanagara dynasty was founded and was governed by princes of whom the first appears to have been Kampana-Oḍeya. We also find inscriptions of the reigning sovereigns which may be taken to show that the princes were not quite independent, at least in later times.

¹⁴ CP. 2, in whose date there is a discrepancy, mentions a certain Dēvarāja-Oḍeya, son of Parvatarāja and grandson of Rāmachandrarāja of the Kāṁyapa-gōtra. It is doubtful if the last is identical with the Vijayanagara prince vira-Rāmachandrarāja-Oḍeya.

¹⁵ O. 53, dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1348, the cyclic year Parābhava corresponding to A. D. 1425-27 records a gift for the merit of Dēvarāja (I), his queen Dēvā-Amma (Dēvāmbikā of the Satyamangalam plates) and his son and successor Vijaya-Bukkarāja-Mahārāja. The gift was made by a Chōḍa chief named Vira-Aubhalādēva-Chōḍamahārāja, son of Nūṅkayādēva-Chōḍamahārāja who is also mentioned in O. 53. As the earliest inscription of Dēvarāja II. is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1343 (see my *Annual Report* for 1903-07, Part II, para. 54), the gift mentioned above must have been made during his reign for the benefit of his father, grandfather and grandmother. It is also possible that Vira-Aubhala registered in Saka-Saṁvat 1348, a grant made some years previously either by Vijaya-Bukka or by Dēvarāja I.

¹⁶ See my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 45.

¹⁷ Ep. Cora., Vol. IV., p. 112.

¹⁸ In KV. 14 and U. 17, which, if their dates have been correctly read, would belong to the time of Dēvarāja II., the king is described as the son of Harihara. It may be noted that Dēvarāja II. had a paternal uncle named Harihararāja-Uḍaiyar (see my *Annual Report* on Epigraphy for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 45).

¹⁹ A certain Paṇṭa-Mailāra is mentioned in CP. 16 as a feudatory of Dēvarāja II. He apparently belonged to the Redḍi caste and bore the titles *Dharmapūrvaka* and *Chakrapaṭṭamalla*.

²⁰ In the northern part of the district, the Telugu-Chōḍas seem to have lingered, though it is doubtful if they still exercised any dominion. One of them has already been mentioned as a Vijayanagara feudatory. Another member of the same family was Gaṅḡayādēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja (O. 83). Besides these, the Sāṁvas rose to prominence. These seem to be different from the Sāṁvas mentioned in the Dēvalapalli plates. In Saka-Saṁvat 1380, the Kālayukta-saṁvatsara corresponding to A. D. 1458-59, Tippalidēvi constructed a tank at Tippalidēvipalli in the Podili Division (P. 39). She was the daughter of Peda-Rāyaribhāḷa, who was the younger brother of Gōvinda, son of Peda-Samburāja. Gōvinda had also two other brothers whose names seem to have been Telugurāja and Aḷaṇḍabhūpa. The Telugu poet Śrinikṣa, who was a contemporary of the Redḍi chiefs Kōṁati-Vēma of Kōṇḍaviḍu and Virabhadra of Rājahmundry, refers to Telugurāja, son of Samburāja. At Kūṣhapūḍi in the same division, Samburādēva-Mahārāja, son of Rāyaribhāḷadēva-Mahārāja seems to have built a temple in Saka-Saṁvat 1348, the cyclic year Parābhava corresponding to A. D. 1425-27 (P. 33). The Sāṁva chief Gōṇḍarāja who was a feudatory of Dēvarāja II. boasts of having established Samburāja in his kingdom. His date is Saka-Saṁvat 1352, the cyclic year Sādhāra corresponding to A. D. 1430-31 (Ep. Cora., Vol. X., Mr. 3).

On the death of Dēvarāya II. the succession was disputed according to Nuniz. But eventually Padea Rao succeeded. Padea Rao, as I pointed out on a previous occasion,²¹ is perhaps a corruption of Praudhadēvarāya, a name of Mallikārjuna, whose dominions might have extended at least into the northern part of the Nellore district (O. 30). The city of Vijayanagara was besieged soon after his accession by the allied Gajapati king and the Sultan of the south. But Mallikārjuna routed the enemies so thoroughly that the two allied kings just escaped with their lives.²² The Gajapati antagonist of Mallikārjuna was Kapilēśvara, who appears to have been continually at war with the kings of Vijayanagara and who seems to have been allied with the Bahmani king Ahmad Shah I. Then came the double usurpation at Vijayanagara, first by the Sāluvas and then by the Tōjuvas. With these usurpations, however, we are not concerned in the history of the Nellore district. They show that the central government became weak after the death of Dēvarāya II, if not already during his reign. The Reddis, too, do not appear to have been very strong after the time of the Rājahmundry chief Virabhadra.²³ In Saka-Samvat 1377, the cyclic year Yuvan, corresponding to A. D. 1455, Koṇḍaviḍu was in the possession of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara (A. D. 1434-35 to 1469-70) and was governed for him by a feudatory named Gāṇadēva. Two inscriptions of the same Gajapati king, one at Tirupati in the Godavari district and the other at Bezvada, show that he continued to rule over the dominions of the Reddis.²⁴ The former is dated in the cyclic year Bahudhānya=Saka-Samvat 1381 and states that a minister of the Gajapati king was governing Rājahmundry. The latter is dated 6 years later in Saka-Samvat 1387. Kapilēśvara's son Purushōttama (A. D. 1469-70 to 1496-97) is said to have conquered Vijayanagara and to have brought thence a jewelled *stūhdsana*, which he presented to the temple of Jagannātha, and an image of Sākshi-Gōpāla which he kept in his capital at Kaṭaka. He is also reported to have undertaken an expedition against Kāñchī.²⁵ If all this be true, it is not impossible that a portion at least of the Nellore district acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gajapati king.²⁶

Pratāparudra (A. D. 1496-97 to about 1539-40), the successor of Purushōttama on the Gajapati throne, became engaged in a war with the Vijayanagara king Narasa, about five or six years after the accession of the former. Vijayanagara inscriptions often speak of Narasa's conquest of the Tirushka and the Gajapati kings.²⁷ In spite of this conquest, the fortresses of Koṇḍaviḍu (also Udayagiri and Addaṅki in the northern portion of the Nellore district) had to be recovered from the

²¹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1901-06*, Part II, paragraph 32. As Virāpāksha also bore the title Praudhadēvarāya, it is doubtful if Nuniz refers to Mallikārjuna or to his younger brother Virāpāksha II.

²² See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6*, Part II., paragraph 47.

²³ Dēvarāya II. probably made an attempt to secure the Reddi dominions; see my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, paragraph 65.

²⁴ There is also a copper-plate grant which corroborates this conclusion; see my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-1900*, paragraph 65.

²⁵ *Jour. As. Soc., Beng.*, Vol. LXIX., Part I., p. 184. In A. D. 1477-78 the Bahmani king Muhammad Shah II. made a dash towards Conjeeveram and returned with an immense booty. It is just possible that Purushōttama joined the Muhammadan king as an ally.

²⁶ See above, Vol. XXXVII., p. 357, note 19. Prior to the time of Krishnarāya, the fort of Udayagiri (and apparently the country to the north of it) was in the possession of the Gajapatis from whom he captured it. Udayagiri and, perhaps, all the country to the north as far as the river Krishna and a considerable portion of South Nellore seems to have been governed by a feudatory family tracing its descent from a certain Mādhavarman of Bezvada. Two inscriptions of this family are found on the Udayagiri hill (U. 28 and 29) both dated in Saka-Samvat 1332, the cyclic year Vikriti, corresponding perhaps to A. D. 1470-71 and a third at Tirumala in the North Arcot district dated in A. D. 1467-68. This family eventually became a feudatory of the Vijayanagara king Krishnarāya as is proved by an inscription in the Kanaka-Durgā temple at Bezvada. Prabhagiriṇiṣṭam in the Ātmakūr tāluqa, called in ancient times Prabhākaraṇiṣṭam in the Udayagiri-rāya (A. 53 and N. 31-A), was built by Pāparāya of this family. The political relationship which these chiefs bore to the first Vijayanagara dynasty, the Sāluvas or Gajapatis is nowhere stated.

²⁷ See e. g. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. III, p. 152, text-line 21 and *Ibid.* Vol. IV., p. 12, text-line 24.

Gajapati king by Narasa's son Kṛṣṇarāya. The latter not only regained the lost dominions of the Vijayanagara kings, but advanced as far north as Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district where he planted a pillar of victory.²⁸ Pratāparudra had to make a treaty and to give his daughter in marriage to the victorious Kṛṣṇarāya. Other kings of the second Vijayanagara dynasty represented in the Nellore volume are Achyuta and Sadāśiva. Virapratāpa Vira-Bhujabala Tirumaladēva-Mahārāja who was ruling at "Vidyānagara seated on the diamond throne" in Saka-Samvat 144[4, the Vibha]va-samvatsara (perhaps a mistake for 1448, Pārthiva) (U. 2) is probably identical with Tirumalaiyadēva, son of Kṛṣṇadēva, mentioned in an inscription at Dāmal near Conjeeveram with the date Saka-Samvat 1446 expired, the cyclic year Tāraṇa corresponding to A. D. 1524-25.²⁹ That Kṛṣṇarāya had a son is also borne out by the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz who says that the king desired to confer the crown on the young prince and went so far as to abdicate openly in his favour. But the prince died suddenly.³⁰ During the reign of Sadāśiva,³¹ Aliya Rāmarāja became virtually the king, as is known from other sources. Certain barbers having pleased Rāmarāja by their services, the taxes leviable from the whole caste of barbers were remitted. Records registering this remission have already been found in other parts of the Telugu country.³² In the Nellore volume there are three (P. 35, KG. 20, and A. 17), the first extending the privilege to the Podili district, the second to the Kanigiri and Polacharla districts, and the third to the village of Baṭṭepāḍu in the Udayagiri-rāja. Rāmarāja's brother Tirumala, called Rāmarāja-Tirumalaiyadēva-Mahārājula in the inscriptions, was apparently the governor of Udayagiri in A. D. 1551-52 during the reign of Sadāśiva (N. 104). That Tirumala was governing Vellore and the country surrounding it as a feudatory of Sadāśiva even after the death of his brother Rāmarāja at the battle of Tālikōṭa, is apparent from four inscriptions at Vellore.³³ Tirumala was also a commentator of the Sanskrit poem *Gītagōvinda*.³⁴ He is reported to have transferred the seat of government to Penukoṇḍa in A. D. 1567.³⁵ Tirumala is alleged to have murdered Sadāśiva in A. D. 1568 and seized the throne for himself.³⁶ N. 105, dated in Saka-Samvat 1492, the cyclic year Pramōda corresponding to A. D. 1570-71 belongs, however, to Virapratāpa Sadāśiva, who was ruling the earth seated on the diamond throne.³⁷ Rāmarāja Sriraṅgarājyadēva-Mahārāja who is here mentioned was probably the son (Raṅga IV.) of Rāmarāja who fell in the battle of Tālikōṭa. Several inscriptions of Raṅga II., son of Tirumala, have been found mainly in the southern talukas of the Nellore district, and the latest date for him found in them is Saka-Samvat 1504, the cyclic year Chitrabhānu (N. 124) corresponding to A. D. 1582-83. He must have reigned until Saka-Samvat 1507, the cyclic year Tāraṇa corresponding to A. D. 1584-85.³⁸ In two copper-plate grants published by Mr. Rice (*Ep. Car.*, Vol. VII, Sh. 83, and Vol. XII, Ck. 39) Raṅga is said to have conquered Koṇḍavīḍu, Vinikoṇḍa, and other fortresses after establishing himself at Uddagiri (Udayagiri). Raṅga's younger brother Veṅkaṭa I. was probably governing a portion of the Vijayanagara empire

²⁸ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1899-00*, paragraph 69.

²⁹ No. 159 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1893.

³⁰ Mr. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 359.

³¹ N. 94-A where the date is read as Saka-Samvat 1448, is very badly damaged. The cyclic year is completely gone while the Saka date seems to be 1458 — not 1448.

³² See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1901-2*, Part II., paragraph 48.

³³ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I., Nos. 43 to 45.

³⁴ See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, paragraph 13.

³⁵ Mr. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 200, and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 238 f.

³⁶ Mr. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 212.

³⁷ Two inscriptions near Bārakūr in the South Canara district dated in Saka-Samvat 1507 (No. 131 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1901) and Saka-Samvat 1508 (No. 140 of the same collection) refer themselves to the reign of Sadāśiva. These two dates are much later than the latest sure date of the king hitherto known. But it is just possible that the Bārakūr dates do not refer to the grants made by Sadāśiva but to the time when they were actually engraved on stone.

³⁸ No. 237 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1903.

already during the reign of Sadāśiva.³⁹ During this period Veṅkaṭa seems to have led an expedition against Ceylon. On this event must be based his own boast of having conquered Ceylon,⁴⁰ as well as that of his brother Raṅga's claim to have levied tribute from Ceylon.⁴¹ Veṅkaṭa is said to have removed the seat of government to Chandragiri. In the inscriptions of his reign found in the Nellore district, there is no reference to this change of capital. His grants are issued from Vijayanagara (A. 53) and Penugonda (U. 23, U. 24 and R. 60). According to Barradas, Veṅkaṭa died in A. D. 1614 at the age of 67,⁴² leaving the kingdom to his nephew. But the nobles,⁴³ whom the new king displeased by his conduct, deposed and imprisoned him and crowned an adopted son of Veṅkaṭapati. The second son of the deposed prince escaped from prison and eventually succeeded to the throne with the help of one of the nobles named Echama-Naik, who remained faithful to the family. The last prince was reigning in A. D. 1616. In the Nellore volume are a number of inscriptions of Veṅkaṭapatidēva, whose dates range from Saka-Saṃvat 1537 (= A. D. 1615-16) to Saka-Saṃvat 1558, the cyclic year Dhātṛi (= A. D. 1636-37). They have been found in the Udayagiri, Ātmakūr, Gūḍūr, Rāpūr, and Kāvali talukas; and five of them say that his capital was Penugonda (KV. 49, KV. 50, R. 5, R. 6 and R. 35). Rāma IV. answers to the description of the prince set up by Echama-Naik, as he was one of the sons of Veṅkaṭa's nephew Raṅga III. Mr. Rice has published a copper-plate grant of Virapratāpa Vīra-Rāmadēva-Mahārāya (ruling from the jewelled throne at Penugonda) dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1536, the cyclic year Ānanda corresponding to A. D. 1614-15 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, An. 47). In a stone inscription dated Saka-Saṃvat 1537, the cyclic year Rākshasa (= A. D. 1615-16) the king is called Virapratāpa-śrī-Rāmachandrarāya (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI., Ck. 103), who might be identical with Rāma IV.⁴⁴ The inscriptions of Veṅkaṭapatidēva found in Nellore would show that he succeeded immediately after Veṅkaṭa I. Perhaps Veṅkaṭapatidēva was only governing a portion of the Vijayanagara empire until the death of Rāma IV., and eventually succeeded as Veṅkaṭa II.⁴⁵ Virapratāpa Vīra-Rāmadēva-Mahārāya, who was reigning in Saka-Saṃvat 1550, the cyclic year Vibhava, corresponding to A. D. 1628-29 (A. 3) may also be identified with Rāma IV. Three other inscriptions of his reign are known, viz. a copper-plate grant dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1543, the Darmaṭi-saṃvatsara corresponding to A. D. 1621;⁴⁶ a stone inscription dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1547, the cyclic year Krīdhana corresponding to A. D. 1625-26 (No. 616 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1904) and another dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1551, the cyclic year Sukla corresponding to A. D. 1629-30 (No. 301 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1894). The latest hitherto known Vijayanagara king Raṅga VI.⁴⁷ is represented in the Nellore volume by a single stone inscription (O. 32) and by the Utsūr grant (CP. 7), dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1569, the cyclic year Sarvajit, corresponding to A. D. 1647-8.⁴⁸

³⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-03*, paragraph 49.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, for 1904-05, paragraph 35.

⁴² Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 222 and 224.

⁴³ Jagarāya mentioned by Barradas as the father-in-law of Veṅkaṭa and as the leader of the disaffected nobles might be identical with the Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara Kōchūrī Jaggarājayadēva-Mahārāja, the donor of V. 24 whose date seems to be Saka-Saṃvat 15[2]4 (not 1584 as the editors have read it). Another chief named Peda-Jagadēvarāya figures in an inscription of Rāmadēva dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1545, the cyclic year Rudhirōdgṛin = A. D. 1623-24 (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Cp. 182).

⁴⁴ The Sholinghar inscription of Rāmadēva-Mahārāja of Penugonda, dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1542 expired, the cyclic year Raudra (No. 11 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1893) belongs probably to the reign of Rāma IV.

⁴⁵ This surmise is to some extent corroborated by the fact that Penugonda figures as the residence of Veṅkaṭapati only in inscriptions of Saka-Saṃvat 1533 and 1539.

⁴⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII., Appendix No. 540.

⁴⁷ To Raṅga's father Gōpāla the editors of the Nellore volume tentatively assign a much damaged inscription (KR. 7). But it is doubtful if Gōpāla actually reigned and what remains of the record shows that it belongs to the time of Maṇḍanagajagōpāla.

⁴⁸ N. 33 is dated in Saka-Saṃvat 1567, the cyclic year [Pārthiva], corresponding to A. D. 1645-46. But the name of the king is not preserved, and the editors have tentatively read Veṅkaṭādri Ayyavāra.

It was Raṅga VI. that granted from his palace at Chandraḡiri to the English the piece of land on which the Fort St. George stands. His Kaṅḡakurṣi grant is dated in A. D. 1644-45⁴⁹ while a stone inscription of his time has been found at Kāvērippākkam in the North Arcot district.⁵⁰ The latter is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1559, which is one year later than the last known date of Vēṅkaṭa II. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the reign of Vēṅkaṭa II. came to a close in Saka-Saṁvat 1558 and that the accession of Raṅga VI. took place in the next year.

Among the provinces of the Vijayanagara empire, Udayagiri seems to have been the most important. It is called the first fortress in the territories subject to Vijayanagara (KR. 27 and KR. 30). During the period of supremacy of the first Vijayanagara dynasty the province was governed by princes of the royal family. In the Nellore district, it seems to have comprised the modern tālukas of Udayagiri, Nellore (N. 124), Ātmakūr (A. 38), Kandukūr (KR. 30); Kanigiri (KG. 5 and KG. 17), Kāvāli (KV. 50) and Rāpūr (R. 41 and R. 49) and the Podili (P. 14 and P. 19) Division, or portions of them. During the time of Kṛishṇarāya, the province was governed by Rāyasam Koṇḡamarasayya, whose title *raḡyasam* 'secretary' shows the profession which he (or at least his family) originally practised. He was succeeded by Rāyasam Ayyaparasayya (KR. 77) who seems to have been either transferred to Koṇḡaviḡu later on or to whose charge Koṇḡaviḡu was also added (D. 53) in or before Saka-Saṁvat 1451, the cyclic year Virōdhin corresponding to A. D. 1529-30. In 1525-28 the governor of Udayagiri was China-Tirumalayyadēva-Mahārāju (N. 34 A), Achyuta being mentioned as the reigning king.⁵¹ During the reign of Achyuta, the governor of Udayagiri was Bhūtanātha Rāmabhaṭḡu (KR. 78). It has already been remarked that Tirumala I. of the Kaṇḡaṭa dynasty was governing Udayagiri and other provinces during the reign of Sadāsiva before he asserted his independence. That branch of the Kaṇḡaṭa dynasty which is mentioned in the British Museum plates of Sadāsiva⁵² seems to be intimately connected with Udayagiri. A. 16, U. 20, U. 22, and U. 44 refer to Timmarāju, son of the *Mahāmāḡalāsivara* Rāmārāju Koṇḡṭayyadēva-Mahārāju. One of the inscriptions in the Viṭṡhalasvāmin temple of Hampē, dated during the reign of Sadāsiva and in Saka-Saṁvat 1476, the cyclic year Ānanda corresponding to A. D. 1554-55, mentions Udagiri Timmarāju, son of Koṇḡṭayya and grandson of Āriviṭi Rāmārāju Koṇḡṭayyadēva (No. 13 of 1904). There is not much doubt about the identity of the two above-mentioned Timmarājas. A certain Muddayyadēva-Mahārāju seems to have been the governor under Vēṅkaṭa I. (A. 53).

As regards Koṇḡaviḡu, Sāḡva-Timma was apparently the first governor after its capture from the Gaḡapati king on the 23rd June, 1515.⁵³ Sāḡva-Timma is different from Rāyasam Timmarasayya, who is mentioned in an inscription of A. D. 1529-30 (D. 53), because the former was deprived of his office during the latter part of his life. Sāḡva-Timma was already in the service of Kṛishṇarāya's predecessor and served the Vijayanagara kings for 40 years.⁵⁴ The appointment of Sāḡva-Timma's nephews, Nāḡiṇḡla Appa and Nāḡiṇḡla Gōpa, as governors of Koṇḡaviḡu, one after the other, as mentioned in the Maṅgalagiri inscription⁵⁵ must have happened before their uncle got into disfavour

⁴⁹ Above, Vol. XIII, p. 153.

⁵⁰ No. 383 of the Government Epigraphist's Collection for 1903.

⁵¹ Both the Śaka date and the cyclic year are damaged in N. 34 A. The date accepted by the editors of the Nellore volume is too early for Achyuta and falls into the reign of Kṛishṇarāya. There is, however, some reason to suppose that Kṛishṇarāya and Achyuta were co-regents for some time (see my *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-00, paragraph 70).

⁵² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 4.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 111.

⁵⁴ Mr. Sewall's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 359.

⁵⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 112.

with the king.⁵⁶ Neither of the two brothers is mentioned in the Nellore volume. A certain Bācharasayya was the governor of Koṇḍaviḍu during the reign of Achyuta (O. 23). During the time of Sadāśiva, Siddhīrāju Timmarājya was the governor in A. D. 1558-59 (O. 31) and Tirumala I. in A. D. 1565-66 (O. 29).

Finally, a few remarks have to be made about the family of the Veṅkaṭagiri Zamindārs which played an important part in the history of the Nellore district during the Vijayanagara period. "By tradition," the editors of the Nellore volume remark, "the family owes its elevation to the patronage of the Oraṅgal Kākatīya dynasty." Some of the inscriptions say that the family belonged to the Rēcherla-gōṭra (R. 18) and to the race of Padma-Nāyakas (A. 35). The family name Vēlugōṭi which is retained to this day occurs also in inscriptions. The district of Podila (Podili) was granted to Kumāra-Timma by Srīraṅgadēva-Mahārāja apparently in A. D. 1575-76 (P. 27), while the Udayagiri province (or Rāpūr-alma) seems to have been granted to Veṅkaṭapati-Nāyanivāru, son of Amma(Timmā)Nāyanigāru and grandson of Koṇḍama-Nāyanigāru in A. D. 1590-91 (N. 46).⁵⁷ The earliest inscription of the family is dated in A. D. 1528-29 (KG. 5) and mentions Timānāyanigāru, son of Vēligōṭi-Raṅgānāyaḍu. Veṅkaṭapati, whose inscriptions range from A. D. 1612-13 to 1638-33, deserves to be remembered on account of his efforts to encourage irrigation. Either Veṅkaṭapati himself or one of his predecessors must have taken part in an expedition against the Pāṇḍyas. Accordingly, Veṅkaṭapati bore the surname *Pañcha-Pāṇḍiya-dāṣa-vibhāḍaḍu*, "the conqueror of the army of the five Pāṇḍyas" (A. 35). The pedigree of the family derived from inscriptions does not agree with that published by Mr. Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II. Inscriptions which mention members of the Veṅkaṭagiri family have been found in the Kanigiri, Nellore, Ātmakūr, Gūḍūr, and Ongole Tālukas and the Podili and Sūlūrpet Divisions.

The Musalmān inscriptions of the Nellore district deserve also some notice. The earliest of them is from Māsāyapēṭa in the Kanigiri tāluka and is dated in Saka-Saṁvat 1508, the cyclic year Vyaya corresponding to A. D. 1586-87 (KG. 22). It is in the Telugu language and character and records the gift of a village to three Brāhmaṇas by a Muḥammadan named Lāl[am] Khān for the religious merit of the Golkonda king, Mahamandu Kuli Pāta Sā[ha], i. e. Muḥammad Quli Qatb Shah who reigned from A. D. 1581 to 1611. The document is instructive as it evidences the feeling of religious toleration practised by the early Muḥammadan rulers of Southern India. About this king it is said that he was constantly at war with the Vijayanagara kings and that the province of Koṇḍaviḍu was held by him.⁵⁸ In 1589 he founded the present city of Hyderabad then called Bhāghnagar. It is also believed that he conquered Gaḍḍikōṭa, Cuddapah, and all the country south of the Pennar. A number of inscriptions of his successor Abdulla have been found ranging in date from A. D. 1640-41 (KB. 20) to 1661-62 (U. 26). The big mosque on the Udayagiri hill was built by Ghazi Ali, apparently a general of the Golkonda king. The work was begun in A. D. 1642-3. He captured the fort of Udayagiri and "with the fire of his sword he burnt in one moment the idol of idol worshippers" (U. 39). The little mosque on the same hill was built in A. D. 1660-61 by Hussain Khān, who "destroyed a temple and constructed the House of God" (U. 36).

The latest inscription in the volume is dated in A. D. 1802-03 when John Benward Travers was Collector of Nellore and Ongole (KB. 42).

⁵⁶ Krishṇarāja suspected that his only son died from poison administered by Sāṁva-Timma and his sons and accordingly cast Sāṁva-Timma in prison and eventually put out his eyes; Mr. Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 329-30.

⁵⁷ The editors suspect that the date of this inscription has been incorrectly transcribed; see p. 1462 of the Nellore volume.

⁵⁸ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. II., p. 168.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

SERIES I.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

(Continued from page 80.)

Nath : a thin strip of leather on the sandal which passes between the big and the second toes. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.

Nauka : a round article made of bone. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 15.

Nawabi : a Bokhāran silk, used for the weft and in embroidery work. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.

Necha-bandi : work on pipe stems. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 20.

Ngun-leu : a foot ornament resembling the Kullū *torā*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.

Nigāl : a bamboo (*arundinaria utilis*). Cf. *nirgāl*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. A-ii.

Niggarnath : a nose-ring. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.

Nihan : a chisel; see *nān*.

Nikādi : a synonym for *paipārd* in Multān and Delhi; a man who prepares silk for spinning and weaving. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.

Nak-kā-kām : handwork, in illuminating manuscripts. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 30.

Nimanga : an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.

Naqta : a nose band. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 24.

Nure : anklets worn by Hindu females. Mono: Gold and Silver Work, p. 26.

Nyārya : a gold-digger and washer. Cf. *kairi*.

Obri : an alloy of silver with gold; Jhelum. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.

Olgi : a menial; N.-W. Frontier; = *sepf* in the Panjāb. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 3.

Oli : a synonym for *suraht*; Kāngra. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 8.

Orni : a printed cloth used by women as a head-covering. Mono: Cotton Manu., p. 6.

Pachāl : a fibre used for making ropes and string. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.

Pachar : a wooden shoe extender. Cf. *koterā*.

Pachētūn : a thin wedge of wood. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 13.

Pachlawā : an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.

Paggā : an unbaked earthen pan. Cf. *parganā*. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 2.

Paindi or pindi : see *konera*.

Painsi : a cloth containing 500 threads, three-fourths of a yard. Mono: Cotton Manu., p. 4.

Pakh : the sides of a shoe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 28.

Pakhaull : the sides of a cart, made from hemp. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 3.

- Pakla**: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Pakpan**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Palāh**: the bark of the *dāk* tree. Cf. *paldā* and *nasa*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 5.
- Palās**: see *paldā*.
- Palkin**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Palkon-kā-hār**: a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Palla**: a broad kind of *thappa* or disc. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 28.
- Palrā**: a scale-pan. Cf. *chadd*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 25.
- Pam**: a silk thread. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 28.
- Pān**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Panda**: an instrument. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 9.
- Pandorai**: a basket for grain; Kohāt. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 14.
- Pangriāp**: bracelet. Cf. *pankhriyān*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Panihār**: a synonym for *maṇḍ* (a small instrument with a flat edge); Kullū. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 24.
- Panja**: a kind of fork; see *langī*.
- Panja**: the portion of a shoe over the toe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 28.
- Pankah**: a saddle flap. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.
- Pankhara**: a small iron instrument. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 19.
- Pankhriān**: see *pangriyān*.
- Panna**: the outer piece of a shoe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 28.
- Panni**: red earth. Cf. *banī*.
- Pansa**: a cube of bell metal. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Parāṭha**: a hand *urī* or spindle; see *dras*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.
- Parānda**: a knitted hair net. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 20.
- Parārī**: a beam placed over the mouth of a pit. Cf. *pāṭ-ī*. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 4.
- Pargani**: an unbaked earthen pan. Cf. *paggd*. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 2.
- Pariband**: a bracelet. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Par-i-tāus**: a short *gulbāfan*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 19.
- Parota**: a wheat-straw basket; Hasāra. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 14.
- Pasna**: a kind of hoop used for cutting heaps of kneaded clay into thin slices. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 5.
- Pasā** or **pāsā**: English or Australian gold; European gold generally. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 3.
- Pataka**: a grass; Shāhpur. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 2.

Patal : a fine file used in smoothing the surfaces between the teeth of a comb. Mono: Ivory, p. 11.

Patālī : a man who works gold and silver thread into silk *dsārbands* (trouser-strings). Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 28.

Pātar : a long thin ribbon or band of cane. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 13.

Patauli : a worker in silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 16.

Patha : the dwarf-palm; *Peabāwar*. Cf. *masri*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 6.

Patki : an ornament worn round the neck; *Kāngra*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Patnūs : a tray. Mono: Brass and Copper, App. C., p. 8.

Patpherā : a worker in silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 16.

Patrang : a silk-dyer. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 16.

Patrini or patarni : a mould. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 19.

Patroli : a vessel used as plate. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 9.

Paubru : a brass ring for the little toe. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Payal (pā'el) : an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Peoh : a knot or stitch made by a weaver on a piece of wool passed in a figure of eight round the two threads of the warp. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 12.

Pendi : the base of a balcony. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 9.

Perāk : an ornament consisting of a strip of padded cloth generally red, hanging from the forehead nearly half-way down the back, studded with turquoises and square silver talismans and possibly a sapphire or two; *Lābul*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.

Petā : silk of the second quality. Cf. *pumber*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.

Petāsa : a deep square basket; *Kāngra*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 13.

Phak : husk of rice. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 19.

Phāka : 4 or 5 *sees* of grain from the threshing floor given to the *sepi* as his due; *Sialkōt*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 4.

Phala : a synonym for *thātwa*; *Derajāt*. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 5.

Phalangrus : an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Phalli : a flat, smooth piece of some soft kind of wood on which the shoe-maker cuts his leather. Cf. *pharari*, *phirādi* and *takh'ti*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.

Phalri : see *parāri*.

Phandā, double : filling in double stitches two at a time instead of two (the English word 'double' is now in common use—cf. *phera*, in this connection). Mono: Carpet-making, p. 13.

Phandī : a round stool made of *masri*; *Kohāt*. Cf. *thala*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 14.

Pharari : see *phalli*.

Phas : straw. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 21.

Phatki : (*Derajāt*); see *phala*. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 5.

Phor: a small ring thickened through half its length with silver wire twisted round it. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Phorā, double: neglecting to pass the warp threads; see under *phaadā*. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 18.

Phindi: a round mat; Hazāra. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.

Phirhāi: see *phallā*.

Phitichāna: a kind of silver; Kullū. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.

Phora: a finger ring. Cf. *phorī*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Phorī: see *phora*.

Phorwan: a mould. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 19.

Phul: grey brass. Cf. *kānāi*.

Phul: a kind of China silk. Cf. *mīi*.

Phulli: a wooden platter; Rāwalpindi. Cf. *kari*.

Phumman: a silken earring, worn by sweeper women on the 1st Sunday in Sāwan. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 18.

Phūsa: a kind of *surdāh* resembling an English tea-pot. Mono: Pottery and Glass Ind., p. 8.

Pichār: the back strap of a sandal. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.

Pichlī koch: the cantle of a saddle. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.

Pinawat: Cf. *patrī*.

Pina: a man who does scutching. Cf. *naddā*.

Pisa: a superior sort of copper. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 2.

Pish: dwarf-palm (in Balūchistān). Cf. *marī*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 6.

Pitak: gold alloyed with silver; Hoshiarpur. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.

Pithī: an alloy of silver with gold; Dera Ismail Khān. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.

Poli-sādi nath: a nose-ring. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.

Polrī: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.

Poncha: a small brush made of *manj*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 19.

Popat patr: an ear ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.

Poth: beads. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 26.

Pothwar or pothauri: a kind of shoe. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 29.

Prach: the bark of a root used for dyeing hides yellow. Cf. *sen*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 18.

Pula: shoes made from *bhāng* fibre; Kullū. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 15.

Pumber: silk of the second quality. Cf. *peid*.

Puran: a thin piece of old leather. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 28.

Purbi: a kind of silk imported from Bengal or Calcutta. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 14.

- Puri**: an ornament consisting of four straight silver tubes. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 36.
- Pushtang**: the leather to which the lower girth is attached. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.
- Putli**: a Dutch ducat. Cf. *bulki*; *Silkoṭ*.
- Pūgar**: a worker who picks out loose threads from a shawl and gives it a smooth appearance. Mono: Woollen Manu., p. 10.
- Qassābī**: a skin removed by a butcher; opp. to *gāwadrī*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 17.
- Rabāna**: a small musical instrument. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 7.
- Rāchi**: an iron bar worked into a blade at each end and used for turning ivory. Cf. *roda*. Mono: Ivory, p. 14.
- Rachna**: an iron instrument with which the hair and flesh are scraped off camel hides. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 21.
- Radhanagrī**: an Indian silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Ratī**: the Himalayan spruce (*abies smithiana*). Mono: Leather Ind., p. 17.
- Rainī**: (i) gold in leaves obtained by melting down old ornaments. Cf. *potar*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 3; (ii) a cigar-shaped silver ingot. *Ibid*, p. 26.
- Rakrī**: a wristlet of silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 19.
- Rāmchāk**: the ordinary potter's wheel. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 4.
- Rangata**: a polishing stick (made of *shisham* or poplar). Mono: Wood Manu., p. 11.
- Rangwata**: a polishing stick. Cf. *agwartha*. Mono: Ivory, p. 14.
- Rasmi-chāndī**: a kind of silver; Montgomery. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.
- Rāwattī**: a file. Cf. *sphān*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Rekhan**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Relu**: an ornament worn on the head; Kāngra Gaddis. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.
- Rila**: the rim (or a strand passing under the rim) of a basket. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 13.
- Rithā**: *sapiadus detergens*, used to make a lather for felting cloth. Mono: Woollen Manu., p. 7.
- Roda**: an iron bar used for turning ivory; i. q. *rachi*. Mono: Ivory, p. 14.
- Rukhni**: an instrument. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 9.
- Rūpcha**: an alloy of silver with gold; Ambāla. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.
- Rūpras**: a medicinal preparation of pure silver. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 30.
- Rūsi**: a copper of light-red colour. Cf. *chandānpurī*. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 6.
- Sada**: a tinsel. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 27.
- Sakht**: cropper. Cf. *dumchī*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 24.
- Sakrā**: a sort of hammered brassware. Cf. *gharrā*. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 8.
- Salai**: (i) a boring-stab thrust through the loops of filigree work to keep them parallel. Cf. *shalai*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18; (ii) an axis. Cf. *tir*. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 4; (iii) a stick with which loose fibres are cleaned off. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 12.

- Salara**: a thin cloth used for women's head-coverings. Mono: Cotton Manu., p. 7.
- Salari**: a kind of cloth. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Salendhi**: see *sarbandi*.
- Sallikh**: a long pointed iron rod. Cf. *sinkh*. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 24.
- Saloni**: a mixture of brick-dust and salt; Delhi. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 21.
- Salsola**: a plant. Mono: Cotton Manu., p. 6.
- Sālū**: a raw hide thread. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 29.
- Samor**: a wild cat-skin; Peshāwar. Cf. *soghar*.
- Sanak**: a vessel, made like a saucer. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 9.
- Sandisa**: iron tongs. Cf. *sani*. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 5.
- Sandrān**: a goldsmith's implement which seems to be the same as the *ekudī*, q. v.; also cf. *sandan*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Singa**: a wooden fork with two prongs. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 5.
- Sang-bansi**: red sandstone; Agra. Mono: Stone-carving, p. 2.
- Sang-khara**: a kind of stone. Mono: Stone-carving, p. 2 [*t=kard*, P. D., p. 1005; *horn blende*.]
- Sangli**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Sang-Marium**: an inferior marble (? from Afghanistan). Mono: Stone-carving, p. 5.
- Sang-pair**: a bathing slab. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 11.
- Sani**: iron tongs. Cf. *sandisa*.
- San-karand**: a grinding wheel made of corundum powder and lac melted together. Mono: Stone-carving, p. 5.
- Sansol**: a gold-digger and washer. Cf. *kairi*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 10.
- Saplai**: see *chapli*.
- Sarāsari-ki-jori**: a bracelet. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Sarbandi**: a cone of clay fixed on an iron rod. Cf. *salendhi* and *sarkandi*. Mono: Pottery and Glass Ind., p. 24.
- Sarkāna**: a tall, strong grass. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 19.
- Sarkandi**: see *sarbandi*.
- Sarma**: the piece of wood attached to the shaft of a plough. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 5.
- Sashok**: a grass; Spiti. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 2.
- Sathi**: a man who works the *jaulār*. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 16.
- Satrārū**: a synonym for *kuadī*; Kullū. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 24.
- Siwanti**: a rain festival, which begins on the first Sunday in Siwān. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 18.
- Sehnage**: an arm ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Seli-bata**: an ornament (?= *sil wata*). Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.

Selra (pine resin): used as the material in which an article is inserted to be embossed; Kullû. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 19.

Sen: the bark of a root. Cf. *prach*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 18.

Sensi: small pincers. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.

Sensû: large pincers. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.

Sera: a kind of silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 20.

Set-barwa: a plant (probably a *Daphne*) from the fibre of which a semi-transparent paper is made; Bhajji State. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 8.

Shahr-i-sabzi: a Samarkand silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.

Shakora: a small vessel used by Hindu milk-sellers for sending out milk. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 10.

Shalai: see *salai*.

Shâl-bîfl: a synonym for Nawâbi silk. Cf. *chillâjaidar*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.

Shâna-kangî: a double comb. Mono: Woollen Manu., p. 4.

Shandar: a goldsmith's implement. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 19.

Shandra-lâri: the goldsmith's tool-bag. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 19.

Shatiridâr: lintel. Cf. *toda*; Hissâr. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 8.

Shatror: a rude kind of umbrella; Kullû. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 5.

Shel: fibres. Mono: fibrous Manu., p. 5.

Shikanja: a kind of shoe-horn. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 24.

Shishmahal or shishmal: a Hong-Kong silk of inferior quality. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.

Shuda-shuda chândi: a kind of silver. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.

Shurnâo: a bagpipe. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 18.

Sidhâra: an upright of a balcony. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 9.

Sikkâ: Singapuri silk (imported from Singapore). Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.

Sil: (i) a block. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 2; (ii) a kind of gold, Jhang. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4; (iii) a grass (*Imperata kanigii*). Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. A-J.

Sillî: Chinese silver, from *sit* or slab, the form in which it is sold. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.

Silwatta: an ornament. Cf. *selt batta*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 22.

Singari: a tool made of flat steel, broad in the middle and tapering to a fine point at each end: used to turn the ivory. Mono: Ivory, p. 11.

Singharpatti: a head ornament of gold. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 10.

Sini: a large tray. Cf. *taldb*. Mono: Brass and Copper, App. C, p. 8.

Sinkh: See *sallâkh*.

Siph: mother-of-pearl. Mono: Stone-carving, p. 4.

- Sirga**: a kind of silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 20.
- Sitāra**: a spangle. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 29.
- Sitāron-kā-hār**: a necklace. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Sitāl**: a wooden scraper or rubber. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Sobī**: an alloy of silver with copper; Siālkot, Peshāwar, Jhelum and Lahore. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.
- Sodha**: a refiner. Cf. *nyārya*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 11.
- Sodhiānwālī**: a kind of silver; Muzaffargarh. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.
- Soghar**: a wild cat-skin; Peshāwar. Cf. *samor*.
- Sohāga**: a clod crusher, a wooden beam about 7 ft. long, 9 inches broad and 6 deep. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 5.
- Sohan**: a rasp for finishing the rough edges of a hole. Mono: Ivory, p. 9.
- Sonsi-kānsī**: lilac. Mono: Cotton Manu., p. 6.
- Sua**: a pointed pivot. Mono: Ivory, p. 14.
- Subbāl**: an iron rod. Cf. *kando*. Mono: Ivory, p. 14.
- Subhanga**: an alloy of copper with gold; Siālkot and Ambāla. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 4.
- Sof**: silk of the third quality. Cf. *kachar*, *bānan*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.
- Suhāga**: borax. Mono: Brass and Copper, p. 4.
- Sulma**: a wavy tinsel. Cf. *mukesh*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 27.
- Sultānī**: a Hong-Kong silk. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Sumba**: the iron point on which the potter's wheel turns. Cf. *tumli* and *chutli*. Monos: Pottery and Glass, p. 5, and Gold and Silver, p. 25.
- Sūmbha**: a chisel. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Sumwālī**: hoof-marked silver. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.
- Sundan**: see *sandra*. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Suniwālī**: a kind of silver; Muzaffargarh. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 6.
- Sut**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Sutālī**: a bodkin awl. Cf. *tāknā*. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Sūtrā**: a bracelet. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Sutri**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Tabāqri**: a vessel used as a plate. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 9.
- Tābī**: a long iron plane. Mono: Ivory Carving, p. 15.
- Tabīl or tahvīl**: a kind of reel on which silk is wound. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 17.
- Tādīa**: an arm ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.

- Tadi-táo** : an arm ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Tafta** : a silk made of twisted thread. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 20.
- Tagri** : an ornament for a zone. Cf. *taragri*. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32 and p. 34.
- Tahiti** : a forehead ornament. Cf. *muck*. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Taiga** : a head ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Takhti** : (i) Cf. *phalli*; (ii) a head ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Takkáda** : things that cannot be got except by dunning, and so a synonym for *takáza*, ornaments; Jullundur. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 15.
- Takli** : an instrument used instead of a spinning wheel; *Kullá*. Cf. *dherá*. Mono : Woollen Manu., p. 5.
- Tákna** : a bodkin awl. Cf. *tákná*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Talidáná** : a mould. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 19.
- Talwáli** : a kind of silver. Cf. *chakiwáli*; Muzaffargarh. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 6.
- Támiváli lakar** : a block of wood with *katora*-shaped cavities used as moulds. Mono : Brass and Copper, p. 6.
- Tammaiyá** : an article made of *chaurá* brass. Mono : Brass and Copper, p. 4.
- Tanchi** : a chisel without a handle. Mono : Stone-carving, p. 3.
- Tandal** : silk of the second quality. Cf. *petá*.
- Tandaura-dedi** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.
- Tandúli** : a rough rope; Lahore. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 12.
- Táni** : *lit*, warp; also silk of first quality used for the warp. Cf. *id*. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 17.
- Tákná** : a bodkin awl. Cf. *kundí*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Tapi** : a wooden bottle-shaped mallet. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 23.
- Tarahband** : a worker to whom the pattern is made over by the designer (*nakkásh*) to make up the proper number of reels in shawl-making. Mono : Woollen Manu., p. 10.
- Tarár** : a slab of stone on which the shoe-maker smooths out leather. Cf. *patri*.
- Tarkla** : an iron rod which has a thick butt and tapers off to a point. Cf. *trakla* and *tirkla*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 24.
- Tarora** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Tarsa** : a mixture of water and bark used in tanning. Cf. *atura*. Mono : Leather Manu., p. 18.
- Tásha** : a kettle drum. Cf. *naqárá*. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 26.
- Tath** : fastening in stitches to two of the warp threads instead of one, or more properly to four instead of two. Mono : Carpet-making, p. 13.
- Taudi** : a worker in silk. Cf. *bandipánwáld* and *taxi*. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 16.

Taung : a large, painted and box-shaped basket used to keep clothes and ornaments. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 19.

Taur : *Bauhinia vahii*. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. A-ii.

Tauzi : see *taudi*.

Tawitri : a head ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 32.

Teja : an instrument. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 9.

Teota : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.

Teri : a wool. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 11.

Teriwat : a slab on which clay is kneaded. Cf. *patri*.

Thada : a mat. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. A-xii.

Thākārū : a stiff brush; Kullū. Mono : Woolen Manu., p. 7.

Thala : a round stool made of *mazri*. Cf. *phandi*; Kobāt.

Thalna : a chisel. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 18.

Thāna : a pivot. Cf. *chopat*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 4.

Thang-nga : a glass bead necklace. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 36.

Thapa : see *thatwa*.

Thapi : see *thatwa*.

Thappa angāthiā : a kind of die. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 19.

Thappa-chūri : a kind of die. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 19.

Thasul : a tool used for rounding the outside edges of the teeth of a comb. Mono : Ivory-carving, p. 11.

Thatwa, thatwi : a flat mallet of wood, about a foot long and having one of its sides slightly concave. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 5.

Thipa : see *konera*.

Thipu : a coloured kerchief; Kullū. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 35.

Thitman : see *thatwa*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, Ind., p. 5.

Thobi : silver in blocks or wedges. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 5.

Thola : a synonym for *thatwa*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, Ind., p. 5.

Thuhkawār-gandal : a fibre used for making ropes and string; Shāhpur. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 11.

Thummi : the upright pole of a loom. Mono : Carpet-making, p. 12.

Thussal : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.

Tikki : silver procured by Niāriās from the sweepings of a goldsmith's shop; Shāhpur. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 6.

Tikora : a polished description of *sāda* (tinsel). Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 27.

- Tili**: a bobbin of reed. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 18.
- Tir**: an axis. Cf. *salai*. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 4.
- Tira**: a wooden pin introduced into the hollow of the ivory, while on the lathe. Mono: Ivory-carving, p. 14.
- Tirkla**: Cf. *tarkla*.
- Tirkut**: a moull. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 19.
- Tisa**: a cloth containing 300 threads. Cf. *tirsa*, to the $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of a yard. Mono: Cotton Manu., p. 4.
- Toaki or tokai**: (i) an alloy of silver, Jhelum; (ii) silver obtained by melting down old ornaments, Rāwalpindi. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 5.
- Toda**: lintel. Cf. *shatiridar*; Hissār.
- Todi**: a worker in silk. Cf. *tandi*.
- Tohna**: a blunt-headed iron punch. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Tolkā**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.
- Topi**: the pommel of a saddle. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.
- Tora**: a kind of small hammer. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 18.
- Toykā**: a man who cuts up raw materials for paper; Siālkot. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 16.
- Tragus**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.
- Trakla**: Cf. *tarkla*.
- Trangli**: a wooden pitchfork with 8 or 9 prongs. Mono: Wood Manu., p. 5.
- Tredhāra**: a kind of die. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 19.
- Trena**: a bowl. Cf. *bhānda*.
- Tridodya**: a finger ring. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 34.
- Trikālī**: a tripod. Cf. *chard*.
- Trisa**: see *tisa*.
- Truhī**: a thick matting; Dera Ghāzi Khan. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.
- Truli**: a long, fine strand of split cane. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 13.
- Tūlnā**: a mallet. Cf. *kūtnī*.
- Tulsi**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Tumhā-ki-bel**: a fibre used for making ropes and string; Shāhpar. Mono: Fibrous Manu., p. 11.
- Tumli**: an iron point. Cf. *chuthī*. Mono: Pottery and Glass, p. 4.
- Tuni**: a synonym for Nawābī silk. Cf. *chillājādar*. Mono: Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Tunki**: an ornament. Mono: Gold and Silver, p. 35.
- Tar**: a heavy wooden roller supported by the upright poles of a loom. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 12.
- Tureā**: a mixture of tan and water. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 33.
- Tusha**: dark grey. Mono: Carpet-making, p. 9.
- Tusta**: a shoe; Peshāwar. Mono: Leather Ind., p. 31.

- Tasuru** : the silkworm which yields the *tasar* silk. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 1.
- Tutti** : the *anthracis Sissolika* silkworm. Cf. *jāderā*.
- Udala** : a rope used for fixing slates to a roof and tying thatch. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 5.
- Ultani, ultāwan** : a native shoe. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 31.
- Ultāwan** : See *ultani*.
- Ultik** : a necklace, Spiti. Mono : Gold and Silver Work, p. 36.
- Ura** : a reel. Mono : Cotton Manu., p. 4.
- Urāt** : a kind of silver; Kullū. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 6.
- Uras** : a small spindle or pinion on a spinning wheel to which the silk thread is transferred from the *urī*. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 17.
- Vadān** : a hammer weighing 7 *seers*. Mono : Brass and Copper, p. 6.
- Vadhāyā** : a man who trims sheets of paper; Sīlkoṭ. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 6.
- Vardansai** : a kind of silk, imported from North-Western Bokhāra. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 14.
- Vegar** : a vat; Rāwalpindi. Cf. *baṭagar*.
- Wadhani** : a vessel used for ablutions before prayers by Muhammadans. Cf. *badhwa*. Mono : Pottery and Glass, p. 8.
- Wadhar** : fibres, when ready for use. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 12.
- Wadhāwa** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Wadr** : an instep piece. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 29.
- Wahāb-shāhī—pashm** : a fine sheep's wool which comes from Persia. Mono : Woollen Manu., p. 2.
- Wana** : the inside piece of the sole of a shoe. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 28.
- Wāna** : *lū*, wool; also silk of the second quality used for the wool. Cf. *bānā*. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 17.
- Waran** : a Bengali silk. Mono : Silk Ind., p. 15.
- Watta** : a synonym for *bowra*, (q. v.) *Derajāt*.
- Watr=bāu** : a kind of rope for *chārpaṭis*. Mono : Fibrous Manu., p. 7.
- Werh** : a coil. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 24.
- Wyāng** : a wooden scraper. Cf. *biāng*.
- Yakka** : an ornament. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 33.
- Yammā** : a kind of silver; Peshāwar. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 6.
- Yarlen** : a short chain. Mono : Gold and Silver, p. 36.
- Yaurik** : a variety of boat. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 17.
- Zāman** : a stirrup leather. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 33.
- Zarak** : a boat built on the *Sutlej*, higher in build than the *berī* and often with a berth in the deck for a cabin. Mono : Wood Manu., p. 17.
- Zeh, Zehn** : a strip of red goat or sheep-skin, used as binding for a shoe. Mono : Leather Ind., p. 28.

MISCELLANEA.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RUINS OF TOPARY
(POLONNARUWA IN 1829).

(Reprinted from a communication from Lieut.
Fagan to the Ceylon Government Gazette
of Tuesday, August 1st, 1829.)

WHEN I was near Topary, a number of stone pillars standing in the jungle a short way on the left of the road attracted my attention. I hastened to examine them and, on a nearer approach, was surprised by the appearance of the ruins of an elegant circular building of red brick; and at a short distance on the right another building of massive proportions and of the same materials, heaps of ruins, pillars, brick abutments and fallen walls appeared through the jungle in all directions. The circular building was, I think, once a temple, open above. I ascended to a platform of about 15 feet wide and 5 high, by six stone steps. The platform is rounded and faced with a wall of brick and has a coping and cornice of cut stone, most of which is still standing. From this platform six steps more lead to another, about 7 feet wide, and faced all round with cut stone in square panels, divided by small pilasters. Ornaments in relief are cut on the panels, but now worn away and indistinct, it is edged like the first with a cornice of stone and mouldings. Within this and rising from a ledging of cut stone 4 feet high and 3 broad, stand the walls of the temple, a perfect circle about 20 feet high and $2\frac{1}{2}$ thick, with a handsome cornice of brick encircling the top. The whole appears to have been coated with fine plaster, small parts of which still adhere. I examined closely but could not discover the smallest appearance of its ever having had a roof. Corresponding exactly with the four cardinal points, are the remains of four doors, to each of which there is an ascent by a flight of steps similar to that already described. The interior circumference measures five paces exactly and in the centre rises a mound of earth and ruins, in the middle of which is a square pit, 4 feet wide, lined with brick, and nearly filled with loose bricks and jungle. On the band or footing of cut stone that runs round the base of the wall, stand a number of small stone pillars without capitals, about 5 feet high and 4 feet asunder; they appear to have been ranged in order from door to door, and bear marks of having been highly ornamented. The door-frames, I suspect, have been taken away; judging, however, by the openings, they were about $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 feet wide, but whether arched or square it was

impossible to say. On each side of the steps which conduct to the four doors of the temple stands the female figure that guards the entrance of most of the Kandian temples, covered nearly to the knee with rubbish; this figure must be upwards of 5 feet high, and is shaded by a hood of Cobra Capellas, of superior sculpture and elegance of attitude to any I have seen, and on the pedestals on each side of the steps and on several stones lying around the same reptile is cut in relief coiled up in different attitudes and of fine workmanship; the walls of the temple, although interlaced with the Indian fig-tree, are in great preservation, the bricks, which compose them, are of well burnt red earth, each measuring 12 inches by 7 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick, disposed with about $\frac{1}{4}$ th of an inch of chunam between them, and the layers, being quite even, look as if the plaster had just been stripped off.

Twenty yards to the right stands the other brick ruin, of an oblong form about 56 feet long by 30 in breadth and 33 feet high, the wall brick and 5 feet thick throughout. The principal entrance is a square stone frame not large, situated in the west front, and on one side of it is a massive brick pillar that has been highly ornamented and on which, I conjecture, was once a statue; its fellow has fallen down and nearly choked up the doorway. Climbing over the rubbish, I entered a vestibule about 10 feet square, having a small door on each side, and a brick roof of a conical form, thence passing through a high door I entered the principal apartment, now choked up with rubbish and brick-work. I think it is full 30 feet high, the roof is an arch of brick about 4 feet thick, but neither of the Gothic or Roman pitch; the best way I can describe it is by supposing an egg-shell cut lengthwise, when the small end being held up will give the section of this roof; it has nothing of the dome in its form, but is thrown over like a tilt and the end walls are built up to meet it; about half has fallen in. In each of the side walls of this apartment is an arched window about 5 feet high and 3 wide and three stone bars running from top to bottom and at the far end and fronting the place I entered is a niche cut in the wall, and under it the ruins of an altar; I saw four sitting figures of Budhoo amongst the rubbish, rather under the human size, the features decayed and worn away. The end and sides of this building had highly ornamented fronts, portions of which have still withstood the ravages of time, each front had a pediment and cornice, supported by small pillars rising from the moulding of the surbase,

arched niches for small statues and small pilasters with panels square and circular, the whole in a surprising state of preservation.

The ranges of stone pillars, which first attracted my attention, appear to have supported an open building similar to what is called an *ambulum*; they stand about 5 feet out of a mould of earth, are plain, round, octagonal or square shafts, of one stone each, but none more than from a foot to 10 inches in diameter, and never had capitals. A thick brick wall with a coping of stone appears by its remains to have formerly surrounded these buildings, and several large platforms faced with bricks and covered with ruins appear through the jungle.

The inhabitants, of whom I inquired, informed me that these ruins are called the *Naique's palace*, and the headmen, remarking my admiration of them, told me he would send for an old Kandyian who could conduct me to a place in the jungle where I should find others far more extensive, the remains of buildings constructed by *Joharums* or *Giants*. We set out at 4 p. m., and after walking about a mile through the jungle in an easterly direction a stupendous brick building, like the tombs of the kings in Kandy, struck my view: the elevation of the building is from 80 to 100 feet, and it is surmounted by a beautiful circular obelisk or spire in good preservation, about 25 feet in height, towering magnificently over the surrounding plains and jungle; on the first view the Kandyans of my party uncovered their heads and prostrated themselves with marks of the greatest reverence. The whole of this great pyramid is built of the great brick above described, the coating of plaster, which once encircled, has dropped off, large trees and patches of jungle are rooted in its circumference and project from the surface, and the fall of vast masses of the brick-work, forced down by that natural destroyer of Ceylon architecture, the Indian fig-tree, has left broad and deep chasms, exhibiting only regular layers of the same material, from remarking which I am led to conclude that this vast pile is not a mound of earth faced with a brick wall, but that the whole structure is one great mass of brick masonry: I am also inclined to think that like the Egyptian pyramids it may contain a chamber in the centre. Round the base of this structure and projecting about 10 or 15 feet from it, at equal distances, stand 16 small brick buildings, one open and one closed up alternately, those that are open are about 10 feet in front and measure 5 feet square inside; the entrance to each is by a small square door, the frame of stone, and the roofs are conical, opening at the top like chimneys, the remains in plaster of the usual guardian figure are visible on the sides of some of the doors of these buildings, from which

I should be induced to call them small chapels; the buildings closed up are rather larger than the former and have the appearance of tombs, the front of each is ornamented with small pilasters rising from the moulding of the subbase supporting a cornice, on the astragals of which are regular lines of dentils like those of a Grecian architrave; I should not be surprised if a passage to the centre of the pyramid was found through one of these tombs. I paced round close to these buildings and found the circumference measured 276 paces,—a platform of about 30 feet wide and faced with a brick wall 4 feet high, partly remaining, surrounding the whole.

At a short distance stands another pyramid of the same form, but smaller in all its dimensions, and without the chapels and tombs at its base; it is in far better preservation, the plaster still remains in most parts, and although the fig-tree roots have made deep openings in its sides, but very little of the brick-work has fallen down.

Near it stands the side and end wall of a large square building, similar to that which I saw in the morning near the circular temple, but of great strength and magnitude, the walls being nearly six feet thick and of solid brick-work, a small arched window with stone bars remain in the side wall, but the roof and other parts have fallen in and filled the area. The whole of the standing walls are covered with ornaments in plaster, parts of which are in surprising preservation, an architrave and cornice projects in front, supported by numerous pillars and containing arched niches for small statues and panels between the pilasters exhibiting dancing figures in relief, the cornice and frieze are covered with small grotesque human figures in pot bellies in all attitudes (about 7 inches high), the bands and fillet are covered with rows of small birds resembling geese and made of burnt earth and chunam.

The evening was closing fast and obliged me to leave these interesting objects to view one, which my guide told me, surpassed them all; and on advancing about half a mile further in the jungle I came upon what at first view appeared a large black rock, about 80 feet long and 30 high in the centre, and sloping towards the ends, and on advancing a few steps further found myself under a black and gigantic human figure at least 25 feet high. I cannot describe what I felt at the moment. On examination I found this to be a figure of *Badheo* in an upright posture, of excellent proportions and in an attitude, I think, uncommon, his hands laid gracefully across his breast and his robe falling from his left arm. Close on his left lies another gigantic figure of the same sacred personage, in the usual recumbent posture. I climbed up to examine it more

minutely and found that the space between the eyes measured one foot, the length of the nose 2 feet 4 inches, and the little finger of the hand under his head 2 feet; the size of the figure may be guessed from these proportions. On the right of the standing figure is a small door of the Vihare, and on the right of the door another figure of the god of the same proportions as the former two and in the common sitting attitude; these figures are cut out clear from the rocks, and finely executed; but whether each is formed of one or more pieces I forgot to examine. The entrance to the Vihare is arched with a pilaster on each side cut out of the rock, the old wooden door is in good preservation, within sits Budhoo on a throne, a little above the human size with is usual many-headed and many-handed attendant. The apartment is narrow and the ceiling low and painted in red ornament, the whole resembling others that I have seen in the 7 Korales, Matale, &c., &c.; between the door and the standing figure the rock is made smooth for about 6 feet square, and this space is covered with a close written Kandyan Inscription perfectly legible. I may have overlooked many interesting points in this great monument of superstition but it was nearly dark and I was obliged to return to Topary. Various names are assigned by the people to the other buildings, but they all agree in calling this the Gal Vihare. Close under the large pyramid, the people pointed out a cavity about 4 ft.

square and 15 deep, lined with brick, which, I am inclined to think, would, if cleared, lead to a subterraneous passage. There is a vague tradition among them that the Portuguese found immense treasures in this building, since which time they affirm that I am the only European by whom these ruins have been visited. The few poor Kandyans residing in the neighbourhood still worship in the Vihare. I inquired from their priests, hoping to obtain from them some further information, but was told they had but one [who knew], and he lived several miles off. The people spoke of some smaller ruins at a distance, but so overgrown with jungle that it was not possible to approach them. I could not discover the least appearance of water near these ruins, nor the remains of any wells or other reservoirs from which the inhabitants could have been supplied.

I will leave it to the curious in Ceylon antiquities to discover the reason that the people, who built these great edifices, should take the trouble of making so many millions of bricks for the work, where there was abundance of fine stone well calculated for their construction in the immediate neighbourhood.

Whatever was the state of this part of the country in former times, it is now a sterile wilderness, covered with impenetrable thorny jungle.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THE VARIOUS PERSONS NAMED BHARATA.

Mr. M. T. Narasimbiengar of Bangalore having asked me to put into shape for publication his observations on the various persons named Bharata and the meaning of Bhāratavarsha, I have much pleasure in complying with his request.

The name Mahābhārata, he observes, means 'the Great Story of the descendants of Bharata,' who must necessarily have been the ancestor of both contending parties, the Kuravas and the Pāṇḍavas. The Purāṇas mention two kings and two only, named Bharata. One was the son of Tālajaṅgha, who was a grandson of Kārtavīryārjuna, and a descendant of Yadu, son of Yayāti. The other was the son of king Dushyanta, and also descended from Yayāti through Pūru, of the Lunar race. The first-named Bharata was the ancestor of the Vrishnis, and had no concern with the epic which is named after the emperor Bharata, son of Dushyanta.

But the territorial name Bhāratavarsha or Bhāratā-khaṇḍa is derived from a third Bharata, who was more ancient than the son of Dushyanta, and belonged to a different line, the dynasty of Priyavarta, brother of Uttānapāda, the father of Dhruva. This Bharata is

said to have retired to Sālagrāma for penance, and to have been born again as Jada-Bharata, whose story may be found in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, 1, 33; II, 13; *Bhāg. Pur.*, V, 7, 8; *Agni Pur.*, 107-11 and 12; *Mārka. Pur.*, 53-40, 41, etc.

But books claiming to be authoritative constantly confound this Bharata with the distinct person of that name who was the ancestor of the combatants of the Mahābhārata war. Such confusion is found, for instance, in Talboys Wheeler's *Short History*, Frazer's *Literary History of India*, and Prof. Eggeling's valuable contribution to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed., Vol. xxi, p. 281).

Mr. Narasimbiengar is anxious that the 'vulgar error' exposed in the above remarks should not be perpetuated.

A learned Sanskritist to whom I showed his letter remarks that the names Bhāratavarsha and Mahābhārata both, no doubt, go back to the Vedic tribe of Bharatas, so that the distinction between the persons is of less importance than it seems to be at first sight.

I cannot carry the matter farther.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

3rd April, 1909.

THE LEGEND OF KHAN KHWAS AND SHER SHAH THE
CHAUGATTA (MUGHAL) AT DELHI.

BY H. A. ROSE.

THE **K**han Khwas of this quaint Panjabi Legend is the Khwas Khan mentioned in the account of the Chuhās of Gujrat. Masnad Ali Khwas Khan was a historical personage and a *Memoir* of him is given in Elliot's *Hist. of India*, IV, pp. 528-32. He is also alluded to repeatedly in the *Tārīkh-i-Sher-Shāhī*. The present Legend is historically quite incorrect, but it is interesting as showing how Khwas Khan the Generous is still remembered in the Panjāb.

No. V.

Text.

*Larḍī Khan Khwās batā nāl Sher Shāh wālīd
khud Chaugatta Dīhli; bazabāy Panjābī
wa Hindūstānī.*

Ik dīn Bādshāh Begam se gusse hogyā,
hakm kitā: 'Begam nūp shahar toṇ kadhdio.'
Begam hamal nāl thī; shahar Rohtās wīch jā
baithī, aur Sūbā Rohtās dā Bādshāh de ḍar de
māre khidmat wīch hājir rahā. Jab dīn pūre
hūe dāi nūp saddke andar dākhil kitā aur najūmī
bhī sadd-leandā. Larḳā jamiā: najūmī kitāb
kaḍhke wekhan lagā. Begam nūp najūmī ne
kah-dittā: 'terā pūttar baḍā bādshāh sakht
ho'egā. Begam sanke khush hūi, aur inām
najūmī nūp bahut dittā. Jab bachchā baḍa
hogyā, nankar chākar rakh-ditte; jab bārā barnas
dā hoīā, woh mulk nūp mār-kuṭ karke lūṭaṇ
lagā. Jab bādshāh nūp t̄habar hūi, bādshāh ne
faujān bhejkar kahā ki: — 'paky-lāo.' Faujān
nāl larḳāi hūi; bādshāh dī fauj hārgayī, topān
sab kholiyā. Phir hor fauj ā'ī; us par bhī
shābzādah ne fatak pā'ī. Bādshāh nūn baḍā
lēchār kar-dittā. Bādshāh Sher Shāh ne apne
amirān nūp kah-dittā: 'jerā ibnūp phar-lāwe,
ohnūn main baḍā khūsh karūngā.' Ḍar de māre
Shābzādah de kīse ne bhī ohde phar-lāne dā
iqarār nā kitā. Ik Jīwan Rāi Bhāt¹ darbār
wīch baithā sī; oh bolā, 'ai Bādshāh' ik arz
merī hai, jān bakhshen, to kahān. Bādshāh ne
kahā 'kah'; woh kahne lagā: 'Main Khan

No. V.

Translation.

*The War of Khan Khwās with his father
Sher Shāh Chaugatta, King of Dehli.*

Once upon a time king Sher Shāh was dis-
pleased with his Begam and ordered her to be
banished. The Begam, who was pregnant, took
up her abode in Rohtās city. The governor of
Rohtās, in fear of the king, remained in attendance
on her. On the completion of the term of preg-
nancy, he sent for a midwife, and introduced
her into (the Begam's) room. He also called
in an astrologer. She was delivered of a son.
The astrologer opened his book and after con-
sulting it said that her son would be a liberal
and generous prince. The Begam was much
pleased at hearing this prophecy and gave him
a handsome reward. When the prince grew
older, servants were engaged for his care. At
the age of 12 he began to plunder the country
by force and violence. When this news reached
king Sher Shāh, he sent troops to capture the
prince. In the battle that ensued, the king's
army was repulsed, and its guns were seized by
the prince. The king despatched yet another
force, which the prince also defeated. The king,
now helpless, called together his nobles, and
courtiers, and told them that whoever captured
the prince should receive a great reward. Fear-
ing the prince's bravery none of them volunteered

¹ Bhāt, or bhatt in Panjabi, is a bard—a caste of degenerate Brahmans. The kabīts are all intended to excite the hearers' generosity and induce them to fee the Bhāt who recites them lavishly.

Khawās nūṅ jīṇwā tere pās lāṇā hūṅ, par
usnūṅ tūṅ mārnā nā.' Bādshāh ne eh bāt
mānī. Bhaṭ kallā tūr-pyā. Ko'ī dīn pāke
Rohtās wīch Khān Khwās de pās pahūṇchā, usdī
qīfat karne lagā, kabīṭ banāke pahlān Nabī
Sāh b dī qīfat kitī, kabīṭ pahlāṅ yih kahā :—

Kabīṭ.

*Nar had Nabī, naṭī had sāgar, jal had ind,
bojantar had ther.*

*Dhan had hast, zewar had motī, parwat had
jo poowan Sumer*

*Rath had arun arun had, dīn yar dīn yar had
hano anther.**

*Chār chak had karāyā tā be-had Shāhan pat
Sher.*

*Jīvan Rāi kahe : 'kerā māniyo bāt, na kījiyo
ter.'*

Shāh-zādah eh sunke bahut khūsh hōī; bolā:
'māng kyā māngdā hai.' Usne Shāh-zādah dā
nām Allāh de sar māngā. Woh bolā ki : 'jo
kuchh hor lenā hai, le-je, sar merā nā māng.'
To phīr woh bhaṭ bolā ki : 'maiṅ tainū Sher
Shāh de pās lejānā hai, jahān marī chāhe sar
lejāngā.' Usne kahā : 'wahān nā lejā.' Phīr woh
bolā :—

Kabīṭ.

*Khān Khwās wall tūṅ pūrā kaun sahe tere aj
shakke.*

*Uchā Kot Kangrā disse jisko dekh Bhīkshan
shakke.*

*Jān ehherdā milīyo Sher Shāh se, yā tasbīḥ phay
baitho Makke.*

or promised to capture him. But one Jīvan
Rāi, Bhāt, who was then at the Court, said : " O
king! I wish to say something, provided my
life be granted to me." The king granted him
leave to speak and he said that he would only
bring in Khān Khwās, if the king refrained
from killing him. The king agreed to this re-
quest. The Bhāt set out *incognito* and reached
Rohtās after some days. There he appeared
before Khān Khwās, and began to flatter him.
First he praised the Prophet and then recited
the following *kabīṭ* in his honour :—

"The Prophet occupies the highest place
among mankind. He is the ocean among the
streams, like Indra among the gods of rain,
and the trump³ among musical instruments.

The elephant is the token of immensity of
wealth; pearls are the best of ornaments
and the highest of all mountains is Sumeru.

No chariot is greater than that of the Sun, yet
higher than the Sun's chariot is the day-
light, since where there is light, there is no
darkness.

I have seen the four dominions; thou art em-
peror, a lion of unbounded power.

The poet-laureate Jīvan Rāi saith : 'Follow
his advice, do not delay.'

"Hearing this, the prince was greatly pleased
and asked him what he wanted. The bard asked
for the prince's head in the name of God. The
prince said : "Take anything else you desire,
but ask not for my head." The bard rejoined :
"I wish to take thee to the king Sher Shāh, and
shall take thy head wherever I require it." The
prince said : "Take me not thither." The bard
recited another *kabīṭ* :—

"O Khān Khwās thou art a perfect saint, and
none to-day can withstand thy attack.

The high fort of Kangrā is visible and seeing
it, Bhīkshan (brother of Rāvan) bends.

Meet Sher Shāh, if thou valuest thy life, or
else take the rosary into thy hands and
retire to Mecca.

* A distich in Hindi.

³ The trump which will be blown by the angel Israfil on the day of resurrection.

*Khân Khwās sabhi bidh purā ap Sumer pahārī
se jhakke.*

Yih bāt sunke Khān Khwās ne apni mān ke pās jākar kahā ki : 'meri śifat bhaṭ ne karke, sar māngā hai. Woh, andar jākar, dhāl mahron ki bhar ke upar ūske kaṭār rakh-lā'ī, bolī hai : 'betā, agar daulat mānge, to Dilli tak chhakro daulat ke ladā dūn, nahīn to sar dedenā. Jab sunūngī ke sar dedittā main dūdh bakhshūngī.' Lekar woh dhāl zar-ki bhaṭ ke pās gayā aur kahā : 'agar daulat chāhiye to Dilli tak sar daulat te ashraffān dī bāndh dūn, nahīn to sar kātīe.' To bhaṭ bolā : 'daulat dī mojko chāl nahīn hai, sar lenā hai. To woh bolā : 'sar kātīe.' Bhaṭ ne kahā ki : 'main jāllād nahīn hūn jo sar terā kaṭ-lūn, jis tarah se Rājā Jagda ne Kankālī bhaṭoī ko sar kāt-ke dītā hai, apne hāth se ūst tarah se tūn bhī de.' Ih bāt sunke kaṭār ko reshām ki ḍorī bāndhke gardan par kaṭār rakhke pairān wīch dorī bāndhī aur hāth wīch thālī rakh-līe, dabāne lagā. To bhaṭ bolā, ki : 'ṭahrijā dhaṭ jo hai to tābi' sar kī hai, jāhān merā dil chāhegā, sar le-lūngā.' Shāh-zādāh ne kahā ki : 'Dehli mat lejānā.' To phir bhaṭ bolā : 'main nūn utthe lejānā hai'; aur yih kabīt kahā.

Ek kaṭh chhay maren, ek sote nā jāgen.

Ek āg deḥ maren, ek dāngas huā bhāgōn.

Ek pānī pī maren, ek Sāwan ghan gajen.

*Rāj kās kīrat kare, shīsh kaṭ de Bhāt ko jo chār
jagat meṭ jas ruke*

Khān Khwās thou art perfect in every way,
Mount Sumera bows to thee."

Hearing this, Khān Khwās went to his mother and told her how that the bard has extolled him, and asked for his head. At these words she went into the inner chamber, and brought out a shield, full of good *mohars*, with a *kaṭār* or dagger above them, and said to the prince, "My son! If the bard needs wealth, he can have a train of carts full of treasure reaching as far as Dehli. Otherwise, give him thy head, and I will absolve thee from the debt thou owest me, thy mother, when I hear that thou hast done so." The prince laid the shield filled with gold coin, before the bard, and told him that if he wanted money, he could make him a road of gold coins, &c., thence as far as Dehli; otherwise he might cut off his head. Upon this the bard said he did not ask for money, but for the prince's head. The prince gave up his head, whereupon the bard said : "I am not a *jallād* (executioner) that I should behead thee. Give me thy head, as did Rājā Jagdev who cut off his head with his own hands and offered it to Kankālī Bhaṭoī." Hearing this the prince fastened the dagger on to his neck with a silken thread which he tied to his feet. The prince then placed a dish before him to receive his severed head and was about to press the dagger when the bard spake and said : "Wait a while, for the body is subordinate to the head, so will I carry thy head wherever I require it." The prince said : "Take me not to Dehli." The bard said : "I will surely carry thee thither." And he recited another *kabīt* :—

"There are men who climb over the scaffolding to die; others there are who would not rise from slumber.

Some men there are who burn themselves to death by fire; others there are who flee in fear of snake bite.

Some drown in the waters; others enjoy themselves in the rainy month of Sāwan :—

The poet-laureate praises thee; cut off thy head, and make it over to the bard, so that the fame of thy magnanimity may be spread all over the world!"

Jab yih bāt Shāhzādah ne sunī, to nāl usde hoīā. Chalte chalte kal dīn pākār, Dehli ke pās, bāfāsle do kos, Shāh Ali Mardān kā bāgh hue, wabāq jā baiṭhe, to bhāt ne kyā kām kītā? Shāhzādah ko kahā: 'Hazūr yāhān baiṭhiye, main khānā leāū; khānā khāke bādshāh ke rūbarū le-chalūngā.' Yih taktār karte the, jo sin bārā sāl kā ek bhāt kā larkā larkoṃ ke nāl khetā usī bāgh meṃ chālā āyā. Usko dekhkar bhāt ne bulāyā aur kahā ki: 'betā tū Shāhzādāsh ke pās baiṭh, main khānā leāū.' Bhāt chālāyā: bād do gharī ke ek bāgbān bādshāh kā Shāhzādāsh ko dekhkar koī jāli lagā karke uske āge rakhtā. Shāhzādah mazkūr ne jeb bīch hāth jālā to pāñch sat ashrafīyā nikli, us bāgbān meṃ bakhshī; bāgbān mazkūr ne pūchhā ki: 'āp kā nām kī kī?' Unhoṃ ne kahā: 'merā nām Khān Khwās hai.' Chupke se woh namakharām Bādshāh Sher Shāh ke hazūr meṃ jāke kahne lagā ki: 'mubārīk ho'e Hazūr meṃ jo dushman terā hai usnūq main Shāh Ali Mardān ke bāg meṃ baiṭhā wekh āyā hūn.' Bādshāh ne sūnde sār fauj ko hukm dītā ki: 'gherā karlo, nikalne nā pāwe.' Isī tarāh se fauj ne girde girde nirgā bāndh-lītā, aur āp bhī ghore par aswār hoke bāg meṃ āyā. Us wakht meṃ Shāhzādah sotā si, gūnī kā beṭā bolā: —

Kabit.

Uthā'e lūg jāg kiun soṃ

Fauj dhā'e dhā'e kar dēn!

To Shāhzādah bolā yih kabit: —

Philā bhāt wāt jis pēn!

Main to snān kēt dē rahā uthēn!

Ap jas let jet kiun hārūn?

De sar dān sār hath pāūn.

Us dīn kiun nahī chāhe Sher Shāh,

Jo Kot Kāngrā Jammūn pī lēn?

When the prince heard this *kabit* he accompanied the bard without demur. After a few days' journey, they reached their destination, and betook themselves to the garden of Shāh Ali Mardān, which lies two miles from Dehli. The bard said: "Your Majesty should sit here and I will go and bring your food." After you have taken food I will present you before the king. During this conversation a boy-bard about 12 years old, who was playing with other boys, came into the garden, and the bard seeing him, called to him and addressed him thus: "My boy! Sit by the prince, for I am going to bring his food." After two *gharis* or three-quarters of an hour the king's gardener came before the prince, and presented with some produce from the garden. The prince putting his hand into his pocket, brought out 5 or 7 gold *ashrafīs* and gave them to the gardener. The gardener asked the prince's name and he replied that his name was Khān Khwās. Hearing this, the treacherous gardener went secretly to the king, Sher Shāh, and said:—"Congratulations to your Majesty! I have just seen your Majesty's enemy sitting in Shāh Ali Mardān Khān's garden." The king on hearing this news bade his army surround him and not let him escape. So the troops drew a cordon round the garden, and the king himself rode there on horse back.

The prince was lying asleep but the bard's boy recited this *kabit*, to rouse him from his slumbers:

"Rise up! O lion! Wake up! Why art thou sleeping?"

Troops are pouring in (from all sides)."

The prince responded in the following *kabit*:—

"It is a pity that the bard brought me all this distance!

I was ready to cut off my head, and give it to him at my own place!

Why should I now lose the fame I have won?

Let me make him a gift of my head and thereby attain virtue's reward.

Why did not Sher Shāh come to attack me,

When I held the territories of Kot Kāngrā and Jammū?"

Yih bāt Shāhzādah ne kahke kaṭār peṭ meṭ
mārke margyā. To gūnī kā beṭā bolā: —

Dohrā.

Jaise sabhi Khān Khwās, taise hote do'i.

Sāt dīp nau khand meṭ bhūlā rahe nā ko'i.

Itni bāt kahke gūnī kā beṭā kaṭār mārke
margyā. Yih khābr bhaṭ ko pahunchī ki: 'tūn
kiske wāste khānā pakātī hai? Wahān to kām
tamām hochukā! To phir gūnī hāth meṭ kaṭār
leke mauqa par āyā aur bolā:—

Kabit.

*Are Khān Khwās āyō kar āe, nā diyo dīldā.
nā jiyo bechārā.*

*Main usun chhorgyā si amānat, pāchhe se lūt-
liyo yih pasārā.*

*Are dakhkhān pachhām ugam pūrāb chhātī ki
bich pore dhakā rē!*

*Ek afsos rahī dil meṭ tainē glīt gulām dāyā
kor mārā.*

Itni bāt kahke woh bhī kaṭār mārkar margyā.
Uske dusre beṭe ko khābr pahunchī ki: 'bāp,
bhāt aur Shāhzādah mārē gaye. Tu ko abhī khābr
nā hai? Woh bhī kaṭār pakṛkar āyā aur bolā
Bādshah se:—

Kabit.

*Kete ek katak katak liyi, aur teg ke zor se
bādhliyo hai*

*Bhaṭ bāhīn pharī gadh se ūtra ān nām Sā'in
ke se shish diyo hai*

*Tūn sultān barō belmān jid zahr piyālā bādī
kī piyo hai*

*Sakhi Khān Khwās Surg gayā, glīt tūhī mawd
jān kē bol gayo hai*

Itni bāt kahke kaṭār mārkar woh bhī margyā
Phir bhaṭ kī 'aurat kaṭār pakṛkar, yih bāt sunkar
āyī. Khāwand apne ke sar par khaṭī hoker
kahne lagi:—

Dohrā.

Uṭh kanta sar pādhar jāgat haiṭ kyā so?

With these words the prince plunged his
dagger into his heart and put himself to death.
The bard's son now recited the following
dohrā:—

Distich.

"Had there been another equal to Khān
Khwās in generosity

None would have starved in the seven penin-
sulas and the nine sections of the world."

Uttering these words the bard's son also
stabbed himself to death with that same dagger.
This news reached the *bhāt*, who was asked for
whom was he preparing food? since all was
over! The bard then came to the spot, with
a dagger in his hand and recited the following
kabit:—

"Oh! Khān Khwās came here in hope, but
none welcomed him, so he chose not to
remain alive.

I had left him here as it were a trust, but in
my absence my wealth has been plundered!
From south and west and north and east
reproaches fall upon thy breast!

The only grief in my heart is that, thou, O
coward slave! hast treacherously killed the
prince."

With these words, he also stabbed himself
and died. The news of the death of his father,
his brother, and the prince, reached the bard's
second son, and he said to himself: "Hast thou
not yet come to know?" He also went dagger
in hand, and thus, addressed the king.

"Thou hast defeated many a foe and with-
stood him by dint of arms.

The *bhāt* had brought the prince, by the arm,
down from his castle and he hath given away
his head in the way of God!

O Sultān! Thou art wholly faithless, thou
who hast drunk poison out of the cup of
vice.

The generous-hearted Khān Khwās has en-
tered Heaven! Coward! thou alone hast
died, having lost thy fame and name."

With these words he too stabbed himself to
death. On hearing this news, the bard's wife
also came armed with a dagger, and standing
near her husband's head thus began:—

"Dear husband, arise! Put thy turban on thy
head! Art thou asleep or art thou awake?

Bāld bīrdhā bāḷka aksar mārna hō'e

Itni bāt sunākar kaṭār mārkar woh bhī margayi. Ek kanyā kanyā kaṇwāri unke ghar meṁ rahgayi thī, woh laṅkī bhī nakāb chahrah par dālkar usī jagah par āyī aur kaṭār hāth meṁ lekar yih kabīṭ kabā :—

Bol liye sūrā juḍh maṁhe aur bol liye dhōl sar sabhī hai

Bol liye Hari Chaml jo Rājā jā Chāndālī ke dās bhayo hai

Bol liye Jagdeo jo Rājā ne jāl Kankālī ko shish diyo hai

Sakhi Khān Khwās aurg gayā gidi tu ho musal jā kā bol gyā hai

Yih bāt kahke bādshāh ke peṭ meṁ kaṭār mārū ūdhar apne mārā, donoṁ margaye.

Surely Death seizes old and young alike."

Speaking thus, she too stabbed herself to death. Only one young girl was left of all the bard's family, and she drawing a veil over her face, also appeared on the scene and taking a dagger in her hand recited the following *kabīṭ* :—

"Noble is the shout of brave men that die in the midst of the battle; good is the roll of the drum that suffers every beating.

Good was the word of Rājā Hari Chaml who had to enter the service of an undertaker.

Good was the word of Rājā Jagdeo, who delivered his head to Kankālī, the poetess.

Good was the word of Khān Khwās who is not dead but is gone to Paradise; "O Coward! (meaning the king) Thou alone hast died and thy word has been shamefully broken!"

Saying this she thrust her dagger into the king's heart and also stabbed herself, and thus ended both their lives.

CASTE AND SECTARIAL MARKS IN THE PANJAB.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I.—Caste Marks.

CASTE marks, like sectarial marks, probably had a religious origin, but they should nevertheless be carefully distinguished from the latter. They are in themselves only a part of the symbolism of caste, and find counterparts in various other outward signs and observances, which distinguish one caste from another.

According to the commonly-accepted theoretical division of Hindu society, the outward and visible signs of the castes were as follows :—

Clothing in skins.	Brāhmaṇa.	Kshatriya.	Vaiśya.
Sacred thread.	black deer.	red deer.	goat.
Staff. ¹	cotton.	hemp.	wool.
	dhāk.	bar.	jāl.

The *Brahmachāryas* of each of the above castes are said to have been distinguished by more elaborate differences in the matters of clothing and staff. Thus :—

Under garment.	Brāhmaṇa.	Kshatriya.	Vaiśya.
Upper garment of skin.	hemp.	silk.	sheep-skin.
Staff.	black-buck.	rūrā, a deer.	goat.
Height of staff. ²	dhāk. ³	bīlva. ⁴	gūlar. ⁵
Girdle.	to the head.	to the forehead.	to the nostrils.
	mānj. ⁶	murba. ⁷	hemp.

¹ I. e., of the wood of the *butea frondosa*, *ficus Indica* and *acacia Arabica*, respectively.

² Called the *chāichāyā*.

³ *Azalea maritima*, or wood-apple.

⁴ *Ficus glomerata*.

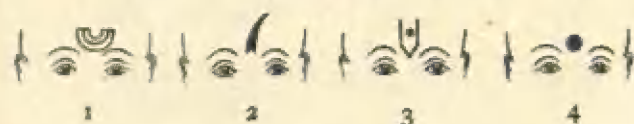
⁵ According to Mann, *śloka* 45. The varieties of the *Brahmachārya* staff above given are arranged according to the *Grihyasūtra*. Mann, *śloka* 45 gives a wider range of choice: i. e., Brāhmaṇa, dhāk or bīlva; Kshatriya, bar or khairādī (*acacia catechu*); Vaiśya, jāl or gūlar.

⁶ a vetch.

⁷ a creeper.

CASTE AND SECTARIAL MARKS IN THE PANJAB.

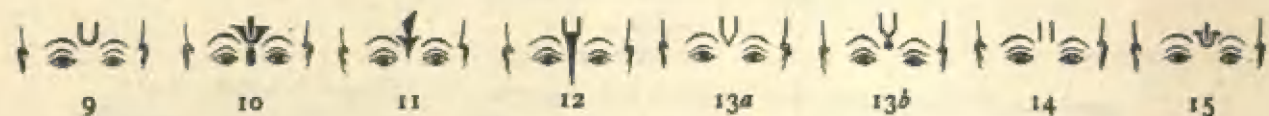
Caste Marks: Manu, Grihyasûtra, etc.



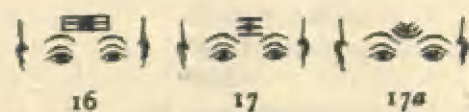
Caste Marks: Meru Tantra.



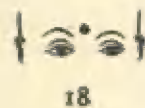
Vaishṇava Sectarial Marks.



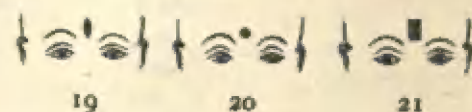
Śaiva Sectarial Marks.



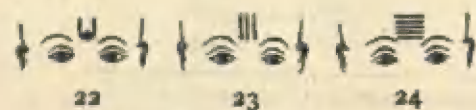
Shāktaks.



Jains.



Marks of Hindu Religious Orders.



There was a difference also, according to caste, in the forms of the words used by the Brāhmā-hāryas in asking alms :—

Brāhmaṇas.	Kshatriya.	Vaiśya.
<i>Bhṛanti bhikhyam.</i>	<i>bhikhyam bhṛanti.</i>	<i>bhikhyam dehi.</i>
<i>Dehi.</i>	<i>dehi.</i>	<i>bhṛanti.</i>

In connection with the above distributions of clothing and accoutrements, each of the four chief castes wore, on the forehead between the eye-brows, a distinctive caste mark of coloured sandal-wood paste* (*vide* Plate figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4). The colour, as well as the form, of the caste-mark was distinctive for each caste, as under :—

Brāhmaṇa.	Kshatriya.	Vaiśya.	Sūdra.
White.	red.	pale yellow.	black.

According to a *śloka* in the *Padma Purāṇa*, the colours abovementioned correspond with the complexion of each caste, which was assumed to convey its general mental qualities :—

Brāhmaṇa.	Kshatriya.	Vaiśya.	Sūdra.
Venerable.	merciless.	merciful.	vain.

The *śloka* above referred to runs as follows :—

ब्राह्मणानां सितो वर्णः क्षत्रियानां लोहितः
वैश्यस्य पीतको वर्णः शूद्राणां सितस्तथा ।

श्रु. २५ | २६ | २७.

The *Meru Tantra*, however, prescribes quite a different set of marks (*vide* Plate figs. 5, 6 and 6a, 7 and 8) :—

Brāhmaṇa.	Kshatriya.	Vaiśya.	Sūdra.
<i>Vardhapundṛa.</i>	<i>tripundṛa.</i> ¹⁰	<i>ardhashandrakā.</i>	<i>chandrā.</i>

Other authorities again permit Brāhmaṇas to wear the *tripundṛa* in its straight form, though Shāktakas might wear both, while the *vardhapundṛa* is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

The materials for the *vardhapundṛa* wear also varied to saffron, clay, turmeric and earth from sacred places. In modern practice the colour is rarely pure white.

Historically the discrepancies to be observed in the authorities more than probably represent local feeling at various epochs and show that at no time was there any hard and fast general rule. Nowadays, in practice, the distinctions noted in the books do not exist, and customs that are not to be found in them are observed. E. g., the sacred thread is usually of cotton, and caste distinction is shown by the knots used; the castes assumed to represent the old Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya divisions employing the *brahm-gaṇṭh*, and those representing the old Vaiśyas, the *viśva-gaṇṭh*.

II.—Sectarial Marks.

1. Vaishṇava.

Sectarial marks as now used are probably of comparatively modern form. That of the Vaishṇavas is the *urdhapundṛa*, representing the *śishapad*, or footprint of Vishṇu : (Plate fig. 9).

It is also described as consisting of two upright lines with a point between them (*see* Plate fig. 5), and as a simple vertical line. This last statement is, however, expressly contradicted by another account, which says that Vaishṇavas are forbidden to use the single vertical line, and proceeds to prescribe marks for each of the great Vaishṇava sects and their offshoots as understood in the Panjāb.

This account leads us into an extremely instructive presentation of sect development among Vaishṇavas in the Northern parts of India. These sects are given as follows, employing the terms for them used by the modern Panjābīs.

* *See* Pārashara, *Grihyasūtra*, ed. Kāṭji Mod. Hall, under the authority of the Mahārāja of Hathwā, Sl. 1952; Khanda II, pp. 300 ff. : *sūtras* 16 to 28. Manu, Dharm 2, II, 41, 45, 46, etc.

¹⁰ Brāhmaṇas also used *śishapad*, *sahas*, for this purpose.

¹¹ In two forms : three straight lines or three lines curved upwards.

(a) Lakshmi or Sri,

founded by Rāmānūj Achārya.

The Panjābi followers of Rāmānūj are divided into two sects, using the same sectarian mark, but of different colours (see Plate fig. 10). That is, the inner part of the mark is called *śrī*, and is coloured yellow by the Rāmānūj Sect, and red by the Rāmānand Sect, who are *bairagīs*.

(b) Śeṣhji,

founded by Mādhev Achārya.

This sect also has two divisions, and they use quite separate marks. That of the Śeṣhji Sect is a *tulsi* leaf and is called *śrī guṇjaṃ malā* (Plate fig. 11), and that of the Gopālji Sect has a peculiar elongation down the nose. (Plate fig. 12).

(c) Mahādevji or Rudrā,

founded by Balabh Achārya.

This sect has seven *gaddis* or seats, six of which use the *urdhpuṇḍ* mark, some with a dot below it: (Plate figs. 13a and 13b). The seventh *gaddi*, at Gokālānāth near Mathurā, uses two vertical lines. (Plate fig. 14).

(d) Śankādīkā,

founded by Nimbark Achārya.

This sect uses a modification of the *urdhpuṇḍ* with the *śrī*: (Plate fig. 15).¹¹

2. Śaivas.

The Śaivas commonly use the curved *tripuṇḍ* (see Plate fig. 6a), representing a half-moon, the symbol of Śiva. The *tripuṇḍ* is, however, not of a constant character, being also described as three oblique lines with a point under them or simply as three parallel lines (Plate fig. 6). It also takes the form shown in Plate I, fig. 16.

The parallel or curved forms of the *tripuṇḍ* with a dot on the central line (Plate figs. 17 and 17a) is utilized to show the particular form of worship affected by the Śaiva devotees. The worshipper of Śiva wears the *tripuṇḍ* made of ashes, saffron or sandal. The worshippers of his consort Devī has the central dot made of sandal coloured red. The worshippers of Ganesh has the central dot of *sindūr* (vermillion). The worshipper of Śūrya wears no special colour, but his *tripuṇḍ* mark is sometimes red.

3. Other Hindus.

The Śhāktas are distinguished by a single dot of vermillion¹² (Plate fig. 18).

The Samarts, the Sanos and the Shankars are said to use the *urdhpuṇḍ* and the *tripuṇḍ* indifferently, and the Ganpatts to use the *tripuṇḍ* only.

4. Jains.

The mark of the Jains is said to be a vertically elongated dot of saffron. The Indian Buddhists are said to distinguish themselves by the same mark (Plate fig. 19).

Another account however says that the Sitambri Jains use a round saffron dot (Plate fig. 20), while the Digambri Jains wear a thick vertical line of saffron (Plate fig. 21).

¹¹ Vaishnavas have of course other insignia, as the necklace of tulsi beads, in contradistinction to the rudraksha of the Śaivas. The Vaishnava sectarian marks in Southern India differ altogether, vide Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, 3rd ed., p. 112.

¹² "A single mark of red-lead" is worn in Kohāt by the Turi Sholl, a class of Musalmān *saḥḥā*, who wear a long cloak, often carry a trident tied to the shoulder, and "revolve a metal plate."

5. Hindu Religious Orders.

The Religious Orders of the Hindus wear certain marks which may be regarded as sectarial. Thus the Bairāgis and some Udāsīs paint a curious mark (Plate, fig. 22) on the forehead, and also wear their hair long (*jaṭa*).

Jogīs, both of the Aṅghar and Kanphattā degrees, as Śaivas, wear the *tripuṇḍ* without any special embellishments.

Suśrā-shāhīs paint the forehead black.¹²

The chārī Brāhman in the first stage of his career wears a red vertical line with a white one on each side¹³ (Plate, fig. 23).

Some minor religious orders have sectarial marks of their own, such as the mystic word *om*, painted on the forehead. Others wear the *tripuṇḍ* with two lines added above (Plate, fig. 24). Others have a *tulsi-patra* inside a *tripuṇḍ*, a complicated combination (Plate, figs. 3 and 11).

III. — Pilgrimage Stamps.

Hindus generally, it is said, are required by their religion to tattoo the hands in blue when going on a pilgrimage. Śaśīs who visit Hinglāj in Balūchistān are also said to tattoo an emblem of Mahādev under the sleeve.

Branding is, however, a much more common device, at least when the pilgrim belongs to a religious order. Thus, Bairāgis who visit Rāmār, sixty miles from Dwārka, have the seal of Rāmār seared on the wrist so as to leave a black brand. Those who visit Dwārka itself have a *tapt mudrā*, or brand of a conch, discus, mace, or lotus, as emblems of Viṣṇu, or a name of Viṣṇu, burnt on the arms.¹⁴ Those again who visit Rāmeshwar have the right shoulder branded thus.¹⁵

IV. — Female Caste Marks.

I add here a cutting from the *Pioneer* of the 26th May 1907, reproducing a note from the *Madras Mail* as to the custom of wearing caste marks by women in Southern India. I have not heard that there is a similar custom in the Panjāb :—

"The caste-marks worn by women are confined to the forehead and are, says a writer on caste-marks in Southern India in the *Madras Mail*, more uniform than those affected by the men. The orthodox mark invariably worn on religious and ceremonial occasions is a small saffron spot in the centre of the forehead. But the more popular and fashionable mark is a tiny one made with a glue-like substance, usually jet black in colour, called in Tamil *sandhu*, which is obtained by frying sago till it gets charred and then boiling it in water. *Sandhu* is also prepared in various fancy colours. Women who have not reached their twenties are sometimes partial to the use of *kuchchilipottu*, or small tinsel discs, available in the bazar at the rate of about half-a-dozen for a pie. To attach these to the skin, the commonest material used is the gum of the jack-fruit, quantities of which will be found sticking to a wall or pillar in the house, ready for immediate use. The vogue of the *kuchchilipottu* is on the wane, however.

In the more orthodox families, it is considered objectionable that the forehead of a woman should remain blank even for a moment, and accordingly it is permanently marked with a tattooed vertical line, the operation being performed generally by women of the Korava tribe. The blister takes sometimes a fortnight to heal, but the Hindu woman, who is nothing if not a martyr by temperament and training, suffers the pain uncomplainingly."

¹² Sikhs do not use any mark as a rule, though some wear a dot, and their sectaries appear to have no distinguishing marks other than those used by the Udāsīs and Suśrā-shāhīs.

¹³ This appears to resemble the Vaiṣṇava *namam* of Southern India.

¹⁴ The *tapt mudrā* is a 'burnt impression' as opposed to the *sthai mudrā* or 'cold impression,' which means the painting of emblems daily on the forehead, chest or arms with *gopī chandan* or clay, while worshipping a god.

¹⁵ [During my wanderings in *bata* in India, I frequently collected pilgrimage stamps of brass of the kind above mentioned. They were not at all difficult to procure twenty years ago in such places as Haridwar, Gayā, Mirātpur, Bareilly, and so on. But I have never reproduced or used them, as I could not ascertain to which shrines they belonged. When the stamp contained a name it was usually Rām-nām, Rām Nārāyaṇ or some such Vaiṣṇava term. — Ed.]

SUPERSTITIONS AND CEREMONIES RELATING TO DWELLINGS IN THE PANJAR.

BY H. A. ROSE.

I.

The Aspect of the House.

1. The south.

A southern aspect is unlucky.

In Jullundar (Jālandhar) it means that it will generally remain empty. In Lahore a house facing south, or a site on which a house facing south can only be built, has a markedly lower selling value than one with any other aspect. Builders make every effort to avoid a southern aspect. In Gurgāon a house should, if possible, face towards the Ganges, never south. In Dera Ghāzi Khān this aspect is specially unlucky.

2. The astrological aspect.

In Trans-Giri Sirmūr the *nām ras*,¹ of the village settles the aspect in the first instance. If it is Kumbh, Tulā or Brihahk, the house must face west: if in Brikh, Kunyā or Makar, south: if in Mīn, Kīrkh or Mīthan, north.

The house must never face east. But north and south are also unlucky,² as the north aspect brings poverty and the south admits demons. Therefore when a house, according to the *nām ras* rule ought to face north, south or east, it is made to face north-east or north-west, south-east or south-west.

3. Other aspects.

In Amritsar a house built in front of a tree, or facing a tank or river, is unlucky.³

II.

Times for building.

1. The auspicious moment.

In Sirmūr a handful of earth from the site selected is taken to a Brahman, who predicts the auspicious moment for laying the foundations, by declaring that a leopard, cow, fox or other animal or drum will be heard at the appointed time. The prophecy usually comes off, because it is made with due regard to local circumstances at the time, but if it fails, the time is postponed and another day fixed.

2. Months for building.

Baisākh, Bhādon, Māgh and Phāgun are lucky, unless the builder's *nām ras* is in Saturn, Mars, Ketu or Rahu.

In Kangrā, the only lucky months are those between Māgh and Hār.

In Dera Ghāzi Khān, the lucky months are Sāwan, Kātik, Poh, Phāgun and Baisākh.

¹ The Hindi alphabet is divided among the twelve zodiacal signs, each of which affects the letters allotted to it. The *nām ras* is the sign to which the initial letter of the name of the village (as also of a person) belongs.

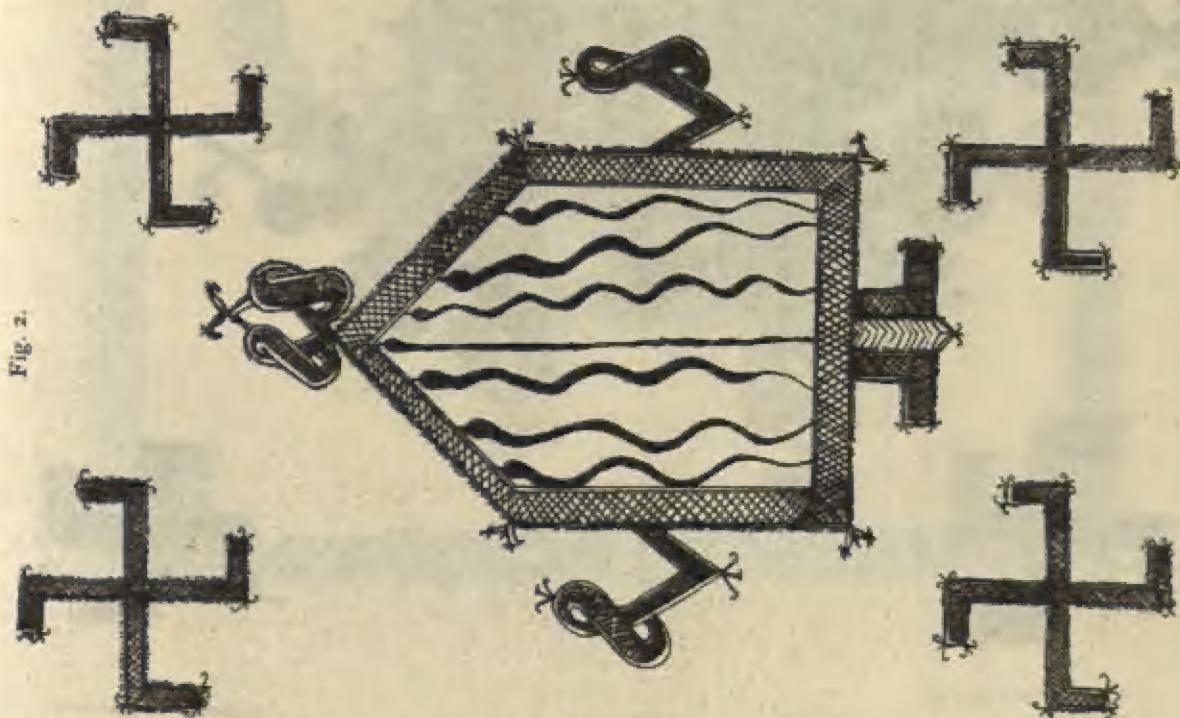
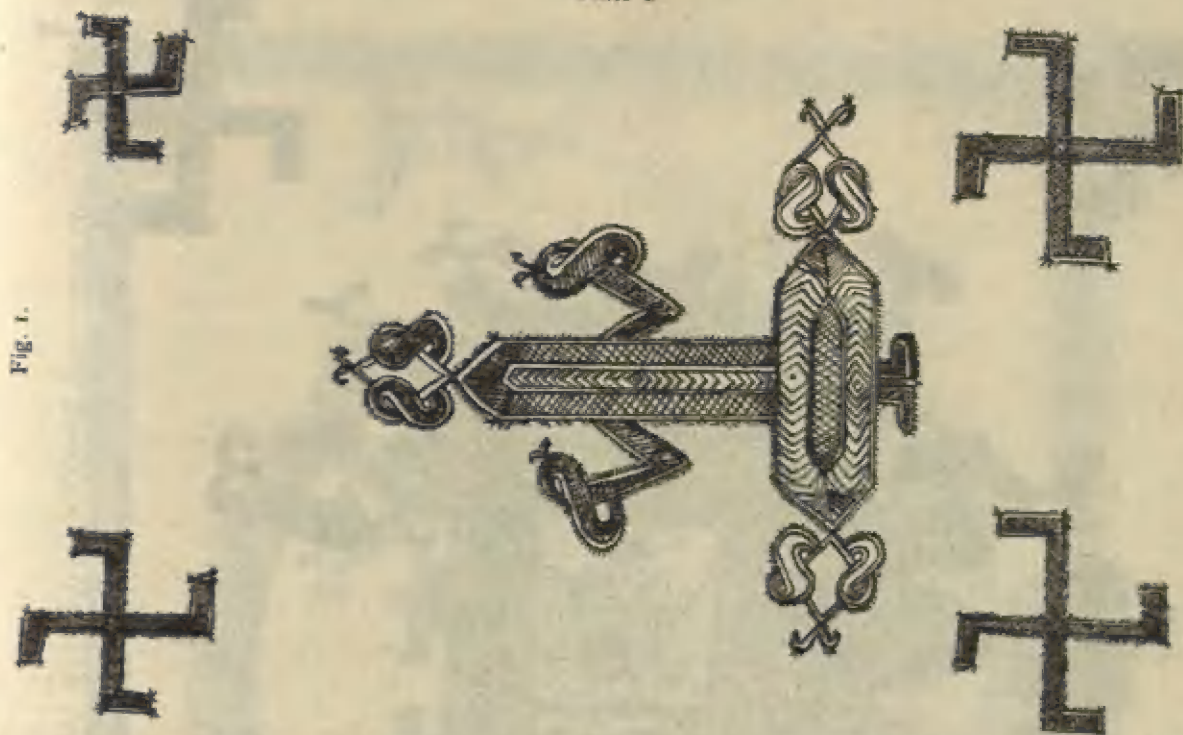
² Also among Mohammedans in Dera Ghāzi Khān.

³ In this District, if a pipal tree grows within the house precincts, it is unlucky. But in Lahore symmetry and even safety are sacrificed in order to preserve a pipal tree growing on the site of a house, or within its precincts, unless the tree can be easily transplanted.

SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS,
PANJAB.

Indian Antiquary.

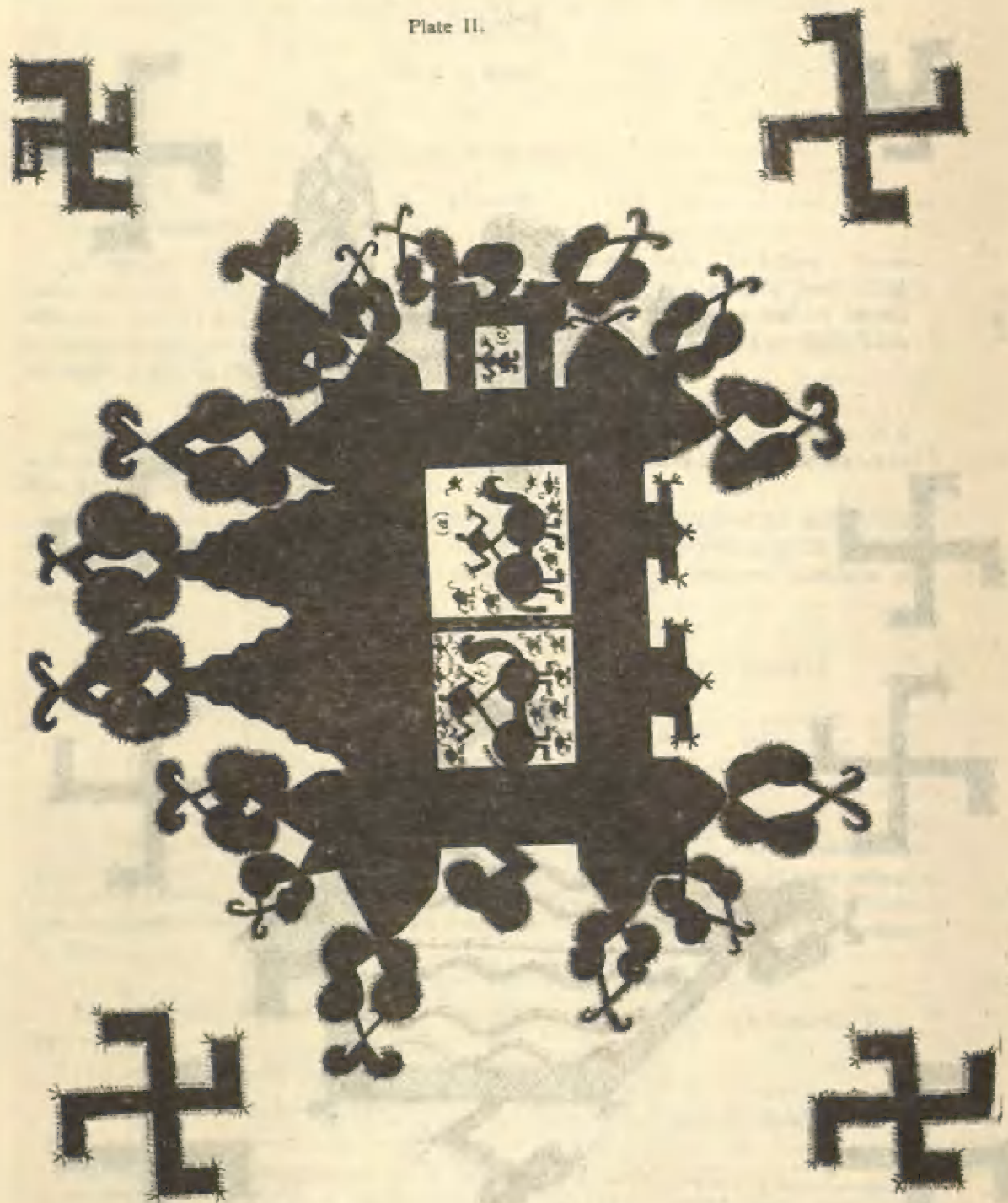
Plate I.



SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS,
PANJAB

Indian Antiquary.

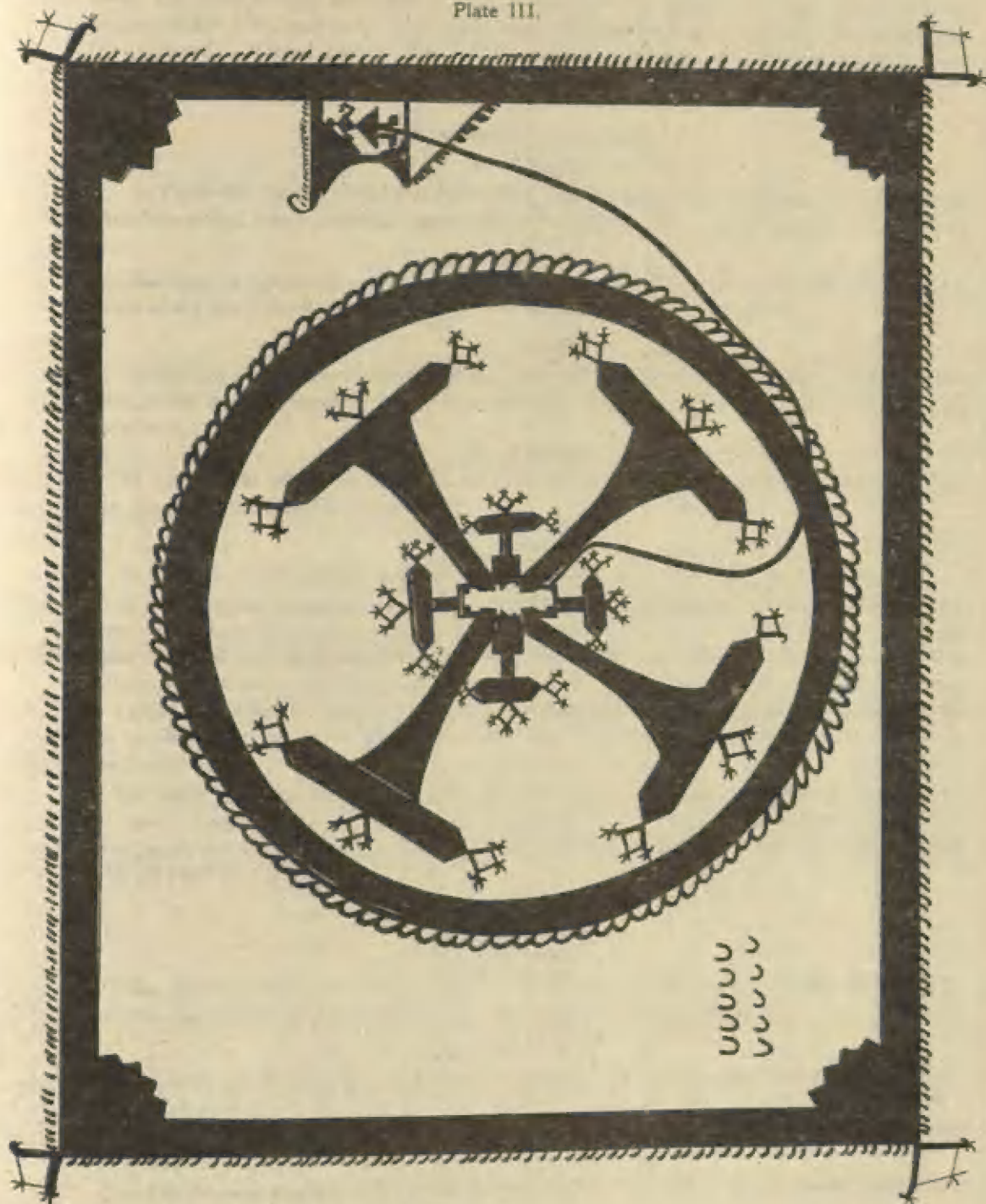
Plate II.



SUPERSTITIOUS DECORATION OF BUILDINGS,
PANJAB.

Indian Antiquary.

Plate III.



Phāgun and Baisākh are the lucky months: (Sāwan provides sons: Kātik brings gold and silver: Poh finds worship acceptable to God.) The unlucky months are Hār, Bhādon, Asauj, Maghar, Māgh, Chet, and Jēth. Hār breeds mice: Bhādon makes the owner ill: Asauj produces family quarrels: Maghar produces debt: Māgh creates danger of fire: Chet brings ill-luck, and Jēth loss of the money spent in building.

III.

Foundation ceremonies.

1. Sirmūr.

In Trans-Girl Sirmūr a betel-nut, for fertility, and a *pirindā** for longevity, are always, and a hair from a tiger's or a leopard's moustache for courage is often placed beneath the foundation stone.

Elsewhere in Sirmūr four jars containing articles, brought from Hardwār or other sacred place, are set at the four corners of the house, and on these are laid the foundation stones.

2. Kāngrā.

In Kāngrā *tahtil* the foundations are laid at an auspicious moment, when a stone *chakkī* (grind-stone), called *rasūd*, is placed in them and worshipped, a goat being sacrificed and *karāh parshād* offered to it.

3. Ambālā.

In Ambālā, the foundation is laid at the time fixed by a Brahmin, and oil is poured on the spot; *gur* being distributed to those present.

4. Amritsar.

In Amritsar, the foundation rites are called *shild asthāpan*, 'setting up of the stone.'

A pit is dug at an auspicious moment, and mangoes, betel leaves with an iron peg driven through them into the earth, curds, *bari* (a mess of pulse), and *gur* are placed in it as offerings. White rape-seed and assafoetida are then sprinkled over the pit. Next a new jar, covered with a spotted red and yellow cloth and containing a cocoanut, seven kinds of grain, a gold or silver coin and a paper, recording the year, day and hour of laying the foundation, is placed in it. Lastly, oil is sprinkled over the jar, the gods and serpents are worshipped, and the pit is closed with five or seven flat bricks.

The object of the various articles used in this ceremony is as follows:—Mangoes for fertility: betel leaves for a gentle temper: the iron peg for strength to the foundations: the cocoanut for riches in fruit, grain and money. The curds and *gur* are offerings to the gods, and the rape-seed and assafoetida ward off evil spirits.

IV.

The architrave.

1. Ambālā.

When the door frame is set up, a *gayid* of wool, with a small bag of madder tied to it, is fastened to the lintel, to avert calamity and for the prosperity of the inhabitants.

2. Amritsar.

The door framed is set up at an auspicious moment, and a *mauli* thread, with a bag containing rice, rape-seed, a bit of red silk cloth, a *kauri*, a ring of iron and of glass, is tied to it to the northward. *Gur* is distributed and the gods worshipped. Five or seven impressions of the hand in red are then made on the frame, to signify the completion of the rites.

The door frame is guarded until the walls reach the top of it, lest a woman should bewitch the frame and cause death or injury to the owner.

The 'Five Gods' are often carved on the lintel for the protection of the inmates.

* A silk cord for tying a woman's hair. Usually it denotes a wife's good fortune, but here long life to the men of the family.

3. Gurgāon.

A *kāṅgā* of red thread, an iron ring, a betel nut and mustard seed are all tied to the lintel to keep off the evil spirits.

V.

Completion ceremonies.

1. Sirmūr.

As the house approaches completion a *pirāddā*, a betel nut, and an iron ring, called the three *shākhs* are tied to a beam and to the lintel of the door. The iron ring is a protection against evil spirits.

2. Kāṅgrā.

The completion rite is called *pataishtā*, when Brahmans and the kinsmen are feasted and a goat is sacrificed. An image of Ganesh carved in stone, called *wāstā* or *jaggūp* is also set up in a niche in the hall.

3. Ambālā.

When the building is finished a black *handī* (pot) is hung inside it and a black hand is painted on the wall to avert the evil eye.

4. Amritsar.

A house should not be roofed during the *parjā* in any month, but at a fixed auspicious time. The roof should have an odd number of beams.

A staircase should always be to the left of the entrance and contain an odd number of steps.

VI.

Occupation ceremonies.

1. Ambālā.

Before occupation a Brahman is asked to fix the *mahurat*, or lucky time for entrance. Seven or eleven days previously a *paṇḍit* performs a *havan* inside the house. On the day fixed for the occupation *paṇḍits* also recite *mantras* to avert evil spirits and the owner feeds Brahmans and gives alms.

2. Amritsar.

A Brahman fixes a lucky day for the occupation when the ceremony of *chafā* is performed. As a preliminary, green leaves from seven trees are tied to a *maulī* on the outer door. The gods are worshipped, *havan* is performed and figures of five or seven gods are drawn on the ground, together with that of *Wāstā*, the house-god.⁵

After first throwing a little oil on the threshold, the master and his family enter at an auspicious moment, carrying a new jar full of water, flowers, *gur*, yellow thread, fruit, nuts, etc., while house-wife carries a jug of curds. The master wears new clothes and a turban. Both man and wife, together with a quiet milch cow, are led by a girl, wearing a red cloth on her head and a nose-ring. Sometimes a sacred book is carried in also. A Brahman recites *mantras*, and then all the articles brought in are placed north and south of a *bedī*, in which are stuck flags of ten various colours. These are afterwards removed and affixed to the outer wall of the house on either side of the door. Brahmans and kinsmen are fed and the ceremonies are ended.

3. Gujrāt.

The *chafā*,⁶ or occupation ceremony, simply consists here of the worship of a figure of Ganesh painted in red or smeared with flour on the house-wall by the owner.

4. Gurgāon.

Before occupation *havan* is performed, the *kāthā* of Sat Nārsin is recited and food given to the Brahmans.

⁵ See above III, 2; and V, 2.

⁶ See preceding paragraph.

6. Ludhiānā.

Before occupying a new house the ceremony of *griha pratishṭha* is performed.

Before reoccupying a house that has not been lived in for some time, the ceremony of *bhāratā pōjā* is performed.

VII.

The form of the house.

1. General.

It is unlucky to build a house broader in front than at the back. Such a house is called *sher-dahan*, lion-mouthed, or *bāgh-mahan*, tiger-mouthed.

A house, to be lucky, should be *gan-mukhā*, cow-mouthed, or broader behind than in front.

Houses, also, to be lucky, should have an equal number of sides, preferably four, six or twelve sides.

2. Amritsar.

In Amritsar, a house that is *kushāk-dahan*, open-mouthed, or wider in front than behind, will make the tenant spend more than his income.

A house with its front higher than its back is unlucky.

VIII.

The roof.

1. Ceilings.

The beams of the upper storey^c must not cross the rafter of the lower storey, but lie parallel with them. If they do cross it is a bad omen, and the condition is called *gal*. This does not apply to the ceilings of different rooms on the same floor.

2. Rafters.

Rafters are counted in sets of three, the first of each set being called respectively *bhastārāj* (lord of the dwelling), *Ind* (for *Iadar*, the rain-god), *Yām* (for *Yāma*, the god of death), or simply *rāj*.⁷ Endeavour is always made to so arrange the rafters that the last may be counted as *rāj*,⁷ as that brings luck. If the counting ends in *Ind*, the roof will leak, which is tolerated: but on no account must the last rafter be counted as *Yām*, as that would bring death or adversity.

3. Thatch.

Some Gājars of the Palwāl *tahsil* of Gurgāon affect thatched roofs, as any other kind will bring down on them the wrath of their *Pir*, or patron saint.

IX.

Structural alterations.

Between the months of *Hār* and *Kātik* the gods are asleep and no structural alteration should then be made.

X.

Ceremonial decorations.

1. General.

On numerous specified occasions, the house is decorated or marked with figures and designs, everyone of which has, or originally had, a meaning of its own. They are always drawn by the women, never by men.

^c Upper storeys are sometimes tabued: e. g., the Najar Jats of the Samrālā *tahsil* of Ludhiānā think an upper storey brings bad luck.

⁷ Thus with four rafters, the last counts as *Ind*; with seven rafters, the last would count as *Yām*; with ten rafters, the last would count as *rāj*, the lucky number.

2. Figures used on religious festivals in Gurgāon.

(a) Solono.

On the Solono day a figure, called *sonā* (Plate I, fig. 2), is drawn in red on the house-wall. It is said to represent the asterism Srāvana, and is worshipped by placing sweetmeats before it, which are afterwards given to Brahmans.

(b) Nāg Panchami.

On the Nāg Panchami, 5th of lunar Bhādon, the figure shown on Plate I, fig. 1, is drawn in black on the house-wall. It represents the snake-god in his dwelling and is believed to prevent the house from being infested with snakes.

(c) Kātik and Dīwālī.

In Gurgāon, Bāniās and Brahmans draw the figure on Plate II, on the house-wall. It must be begun on the 4th and finished on the 8th of lunar Kātik.

The first part (a) is called *aiḍā* and represents Rādhikī (Rādhā), spouse of Kṛishṇa. This is worshipped on the 8th of lunar Kātik by placing sweetmeats before it.

The second part (b) represents the goddess Amanashyā and is worshipped at noon on the Dīwālī by placing before it rice and milk, which are afterwards given to Brahmans.

The third part (c) represents Lakshmi as the goddess of wealth, and is worshipped at midnight on the Dīwālī by placing money before it. An all-night vigil is kept on this occasion.

(d) Deo-uṭhān.

On the Deo-uṭhān day in Kātik when the gods awake from their sleep the figure in Plate III is drawn in the courtyard of the house and worshipped by placing before it fruit and vegetables in season. The women of the household call in a Brahmanī, and with her they sing songs and beat the mat with which the figures are covered, and then, it is believed, the gods are awakened from their sleep. The male representation to the right is of Nārāyaṇ.

(e) Nārāyaṇ.

On Nārāyaṇ's day white dots are made on the tops of the figures, in parallel rows on the house-wall; and figures of birds and animals, all in white dots, are also drawn.

(3) Figures of deotas.

In Sirmūr a house is at once abandoned if the sign or image of a *deota* is painted on it, in the belief that it was thereby become sacred.

4. Weddings.

Chariots, peafowl and many other objects are drawn on the house-walls at a wedding. In Gurgāon, in addition, a picture of the god Binnāik or Bindāik,¹ covered over with an earthen jar fastened to the wall, is drawn several days before the wedding of a male member of the family, and is worshipped daily to avert calamity.

5. The Dehrā.

In Kāngrā, every house should possess a *dehrā*, upon which a ball of clay, made by an elderly woman of the family, is placed on the birth of a child. This ball is called Bhain or Atam Devī.

At the wedding of a boy or girl the enclosure of the *dehrā* is plastered over with cowdung and the figure of the *dehrā* drawn anew with ground rice in red and yellow. See Plate I, fig. 1.

The enclosure in which the *dehrā* is drawn is decorated with pictures of Ganesh, Devī, Śhīb and Pārbatī adorned with flowers, and so are both sides the door. In the courtyard of the house a chariot is drawn with wheat flour on a portion of the yard plastered with cowdung.


¹ Sanskr. Vināyaka or Vināyikā (?).

XI.



Cereemonial marks and signs.

1. Swāstika.

(a) Form.

The usual form of the *satiā* or *satiā* is , but in Dera Ghāzi Khān District a curious arm is added. See Plate I, fig. 1.

(b) Meaning.

The *satiā* is divided into four main lines  which represents the gods of the Four Quarters:—Kuber, north; Yām rāj, south; Indar, east; Varan, west. The four additions  represent the gods of the 'half quarters':—Isar, north-east; Agni, south-east; Vayu, north-west; Nainit, south-west. In the centre sits Ganpati, lord of divine hosts.

(c) Uses.

To bring luck ; it is drawn on the doors of and inside houses and shops in Gurgāon.

To avert the evil eye ; it is drawn in black on newly-built houses.

To avert evil spirits ; after the Holi or festival of the harvest god, by matrons in red or yellow on either side the house door ; and after the birth of a boy, by a girl of the family or by a Brahman on the seventh day after the birth with seven twigs inserted in it.

2. Bandarwāl.

(a) Form.

A *bandarwāl* is properly a string of *siras* or mango leaves tied across the door as a sign of rejoicing.

(b) Variants.

In Ludhiānā it is termed *kinkantwāl*.

In Sirmūr a *bandarwāl* of red flowers is tied all around the house on the first of Baisākh to invoke the blessing of Śrī Gul.

In Sirmūr, in Bhādon a branch of *tejbal* is kept at the door to avert evil spirits and *dāgs*.

A common variant is a row of (probably seven) cyphers under a line.

In Kāngrā, at a wedding or birthday, seven cyphers are drawn on the house-wall in saffron, and *ghī* is poured on them seven times. This mark is termed *bisā-dhārā*, and is a symbol of Lakshmi as goddess of wealth.

In Firozpur,⁸ the Bhābrās carve in wood over their doors during a wedding the following figure :

3. Thāpā.

(a) Meaning.

A *thāpā* is an impression of a hand, and popularly represents the hand of an ancestor raised in blessing on those who do them homage. In the *Shāstrās*, *thāpās* represent the hands of Asvi, god of wealth, and Pūshā, god of intelligence.

(b) Use.

A *thāpā* is always a sign of rejoicing.

(c) Gurgāon.

In Gurgāon, five or seven *thāpās* in red beside the house door denote the birth of a boy or a wedding in the family : a single *thāpā* in yellow, with another drawn in *ghī*, denotes that a vigil (*jagrātā*) is being kept in honour of the house goddess.

(d) Ludhiānā.

Thāpds stamped with turmeric, *roli* or *ghī* denote rejoicing. At weddings they are placed on both the bride's and bridegroom's house. In the former they are worshipped by the newly-married couple immediately after the *pherā*, and in the former after the bride enters it.

XII.

Shops and out-houses.

1. Shops.

In Gujrāt the *thayā* is a large, raised, circular mark on shop walls. It begins by being a circle, nine inches in diameter, to the right of the door. Every Sunday it is rubbed over with wet cowdung, and incense (*thāp*) is burnt before it. In time the layers of cowdung form a considerable incrustation on the wall. (*Tharā* literally means a platform).

2. Out-houses.

The *kotā*, if meant for treasure, is invariably ornamented, and if built into the wall of the dwelling house, the style of decoration suggests that the aid of some protecting power is invoked. The outer edge is enclosed with a square beading of notches in three longitudinal and five transverse lines alternately, making a continuous chain. The corners are furnished with a pentagonal lozenge with a dot in the centre, an adaptation of the circle with a dot. This chain of three and five $//// \equiv ||||| \equiv$ is continued all round the *kotā*, but occasionally in the upper centre, for five consecutive times, the five transverse notches are left out, and the three longitudinal ones are made into figures of three tongues turned about alternately, by inclining two notches to an angle and making the third spring out of it, thus: $\lessgtr \lessgtr \lessgtr$. Beneath the beading at the four corners is added a *svastika* without the usual regular additions, but with four dots, \times , suggestive of the modern Vaishnava innovations of the four elements. The door is surrounded by a double beading of a square, topped by a larger one with trefoils in the corners, and two serpents with their heads back to back in the centre. Their eyes are dots, but the symbol being incomplete without the mystic three, a dot is placed between the two heads so as to form the apex of a triangle. The trefoils are double, the lower being the larger of the two showing a dot on each leaflet, while the upper one has only two dots, one in the centre and one in the stalk.

If the *kotā* be for storing grain, it has a hole in the bottom for taking the grain out of it, and this is ornamented with the sun symbol,* a circle with curved radii or spokes.

XIII.

Muhammadian usages.

All the foregoing observances are, as a rule, confined to Hindus, and then chiefly to the higher castes. The Muhammadian observances are much more simple.

1. Gujrāt.

In occupying a new house, friends and kinsmen are feasted and some alms distributed.

2. Dera Ghāt Khān.

On laying the foundation, *gur* is distributed as alms. On completion, alms are distributed and a sacrifice (*ratnā*) of a living animal is made to avert evil. The formal entry is made at an auspicious time fixed by the *ulamā*, the owner carrying a *Qurān*, with some salt and a jar of water as emblems of fertility.

* *Panjab Notes and Queries*, Series II, § 75.

THE YATIRĀJAJAIBHAVAM OF ĀNDRAPŪRṆA.

(Life of Rāmānuja).

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Introduction.

This is a work of one of the contemporaries of Rāmānuja describing briefly the main incidents in the life of Rāmānuja from the point of view of an admiring devotee. Such as it is, it is peculiarly free from the gross exaggerations which mar the other works of the kind, except perhaps the *Tiruvarangattandādi* by Amudan of Arangam, a disciple, according to tradition, of Kūrattālvān, the first among Rāmānuja's inner coterie of disciples.

Nothing is really known about Āndrapūrṇa, the author of this work, except what he chooses to tell us himself, viz., that "he was engaged in the milk service of Rāmānuja." Even tradition has few things to tell about him. We find his name, however, among those of the 74 successors of Rāmānuja in the propagation of the Vaishnava Gospel, and the author of the *Prapannāṃpitam*, who lived a contemporary of Venkaṭapatiṛāya (died 1614 A. D.) claims to be a descendant of Āndrapūrṇa (or *Vaḍuganambi* as he is called in Tamil).

Of late there has arisen considerable interest in the life and work of Rāmānuja among scholars to whom this and other similar works bearing upon the history of Rāmānuja do not appear to have been accessible. It is with a view to placing such works within their reach, and also of our northern consins that I have made this attempt at publishing the text in Devanagari with an English translation. It has been published pretty accurately in Telugu, and possibly Grantha characters as well, leaving little to be done in the matter of collating and editing.

It is hoped that this attempt will lead eventually to a better understanding of the life and teachings of Rāmānuja and of the faith of a vast number of the men and women of my country who profess to follow his teachings. My sincere thanks are due to Sir Richard Temple for helping me in the publication of it through the *Indian Antiquary*.

Text.

भोरामानुजयोगीन्द्रश्चैक्यंशालिने ।
नमो वटुकपूर्णाय महनीय गुणाय ते ॥

1 श्रीमद्यामुनवेशिकाश्रयितभुवन्तुम्नासयः
तस्मिन्नेशानिकीर्यया नियतधीः श्रीशैलपूर्णो गुरुः ।
अग्निभ्यज्जनुजाह्वयौचितवरं श्रीवैकुण्ठद्रीं हरेः ॥
तीर्थं पुष्पमर्षांतराण्युपहरजास्तेस्वसृजये ।

2 तच्चान्तरेमधुरमंगलभूतपुष्पानिर्व्यस्यितभुतितं-
ङ्गविशौ कुलीनौ ॥
शिवभुक्तपुष्पवनक्रेषसोमयाजिनामान्विता-
वनजताम्परितुकाभौ ।

Translation.

Obeisance to you, Āndrapūrṇa of great qualities, devoted to the milk service of Sri Rāmānuja, prince of ascetics.

1 He that had learnt the secrets of the two systems¹ of the Vedānta, from Yāmuna as preceptor; He that wished to carry out his (preceptor's) command, Ācharya Sri Sailapūrṇa, in search of eligible young men to marry his two young sisters dwelt in Venkaṭādri (Tirupati), doing God service, with water, flowers and other such that the good might prosper.

2 During the time two persons, permanent residents of Madhura-mangala and Bhūtapuri² (Pūtūr) respectively, well versed in the Vedas and Vedāngas and well born, by name Kamalanayana (or Puṇḍarikāksha) and Kēśarasōmayaji came there with ideas of marriage.

¹ The Vedānta as expounded in the Sanskrit and Tamil Canonical works of the Vaishnavas.

² Places very near each other in the Chingleput District about 15 miles from Kanchi.

- 3 श्रीशैलपूर्णस्ससमीक्ष्य वर्यौ वरौविनिश्चित्य-
चतौ प्रहृष्टः । तथार्पितः शङ्करधातुं चिन्ह-
मन्त्रप्रशोभुततदोस्तयोश्च ॥
- 4 ताममहीदमज्जुमिद्वीम् हृद्यन्मना * केशव-
सोमयाजी ।
तां चानुवातां कमलाक्षमहः श्रीदेविकान्तौ
च तृतीयं पूर्णः ॥
- 5 ततस्समर्थौ तदनुत्तया सौ स्वं वासमागम्य
चिरं सुशीलौ ।
श्रीशं समाराध्य तदीयमन्तौ सह प्रियाभ्यां
मुदितवभूताम् ॥
- 6 ततो जगन्मङ्गलपिङ्गलाब्दे वैवाघ्यशुक्र-
च्छदं पंचमीके ॥ आर्द्राभिषर्जेण युते च वारे
बृहस्पतेस्तन्मृगराजलमे ॥
- 7 वेदान्तसिद्धान्तसमर्थनाय बाह्यान्तरचान्त-
मतापनुस्ये ।
शेषांशकः केशवयववरेभ्यां तेजोनिधिः
कश्चिदयाविरासीत् ॥
- 8 श्रीशैलपूर्णोप्ययभूतपुत्रां नागम्य श्रीश्वाङ्गत-
भागिनयन् ।
चकार रक्षाधरधातुं च शङ्खचिह्नं च रामानुज-
नामकं च ॥
- 9 ततो निवृद्धे स्व च वत्सकाक्षैः पितापित-
स्वार्त्तमभुवोदपूतिम् ।
चौलं तथारम्भयमक्षराणां चकार सत्त्वोत्तर-
पञ्चमाब्दे ॥
- 10 कं तोपनीत (ति ?) स्तु ततस्त्वपिचा सम-
भ्यसन् वेदतदङ्ग-शास्त्रम् ।
रामानुजायोऽभवदभ्यन्तेजा महद्भिरानन्दित-
सत्त्वशीलः ॥
- 3 Sri Sailapūrṇa seeing them to be eligible
and gladly making up his mind that they
were worthy of his sisters, at their request,
bestowed upon them, as they bowed low
in reverence, the marks of the conch and
disc, and the mantra.³
- 4 Among them Kēśavasōmayaji, his mind
full of joy, accepted the hand of the elder
sister Bhūmidēvi; while Kamalanayana
Bhaṭṭa accepted the younger Sridēvi;
Sri Sailapūrṇa was delighted with them
both.
- 5 Thereafter, taking leave of Sri Saila, the
two with their wives reached their respec-
tive places. Leading good lives and
devoting themselves to the worship of
Viṣṇu they lived in happiness with their
wives.
- 6 Then, in the all-auspicious year Pingala,
in the month of Chaitra, in the fifth
division of the bright half, in the asterism
of Ārdra, on a Thursday, is the sign
Leo of the Zodiac.
- 7 For the establishment of the system of
Vedānta, for the condemning of the
systems of illusion, both within and
without the Veda, from the wife of
Kēśavasōmayaji was born a child, an in-
carnation of Śēṣha, a store-house of light.
- 8 Then Sri Sailapūrṇa having come to Bhūta-
puri and having seen the marvellous
child, his nephew, made the marks of the
disc and conch to protect the child from
evil, and gave him the name Rāmānuja.
- 9 The child, growing by the blessings of
Sri Saila, the father celebrated the anni-
versary of his son's birth, then tonsure
and then, in the auspicious fifth year,
initiated him in letters in the usual order.
- 10 Having then been invested by his father
with the sacred thread, having learnt the
Veda and the sciences of the Vedāṅga,
conducting himself truthfully to the joy
of the great ones, Rāmānuja lived a young
man of consequence.

³ Vaiṣṇavas have five Saṁskāras or purificatory observances, viz. :—

(a) Thāpa = branding with metallic blocks of the shape of the Conch (Śaṅka) and Disc. (Chakra), two of the principal weapons of Viṣṇu. (b) Pundra = caste-mark on the face, white on the border and red in the middle; (c) Nāma = devotional name, generally assumed as soon as the previous two are over; (d) Mantra = the three mantras, mūla, drayam and charaṁ śloka. The first is a declaration that the soul is of God; the second, that devotion to him is indispensable to salvation; the third is declaration of promise that God will give salvation to those that devote themselves unto him. Of these the first two are in the Upaniṣads and the last is in the Gīta. (e) Yāga = worship of God in one form.

- 11 ततः सकाञ्चित्परिणीय कल्पां गृहस्थधर्मे-
स्थितिराप काञ्चाम् ।
स्वपूर्ववशाभ्यसनाय माये सन्वासितेन यादव-
संप्रकाशम् ॥
- 12 ततः कदाचिद्दुरियादयेन सर्वं खलु भुत्स्व-
विशारेण ।
अपार्थक्ये स यथार्थमुक्त्वा रामानुजो-
ऽदृश्यदर्थसारम् ॥
- 13 श्रीरङ्गवासी स तु यामुनार्यो निवृत्त्य
रामानुजकशितार्थम् ।
भागम्य काञ्चयां वरदं महात्मा देव्यायुतं
प्राणमदन्तरङ्गैः ॥
- 14 ततः सशिष्यावृतयादवेतं रामानुजं मध्यगतं
च भान्तम् ।
समीक्ष्य रामानुजशिष्येषु चेद्यादवेतुक्त-
मितीव दध्यौ ॥
- 15 श्रीविष्णुवर्धन्यमतीवमहत्त्वा यस्य प्रसादेति
स यामुनार्यः ।
भान्तं महादेविक्रवा शरण्यं श्रीदेवराजं शरणं
प्रपन्नः ॥
- 16 संभाषितचेदिह पादमङ्गः स्वादिस्वसंभाष्य
स यामुनार्यः ।
श्रीरङ्गभेषाप सशिष्यवर्गः रामानुजार्यश्च
पपाठ पथात् ॥
- 17 तदेषभूपस्य सुते विद्याचमस्तेऽन्वयमन्वेर-
खितैरसाध्ये ।
भूयस्तदा यादवमन्वयोऽस्य इत्येवमाकर्ण्य
तमानिनाय ॥
- 18 वृद्धन्तरङ्गादृतयादवं तं स्मिन् विद्याचः
परिभाष्य भूरि ।
रामानुजार्यं शरणं प्रपन्नं राजात्मजं स्वं च
जहौ महापम् ॥
- 19 तद्वत्तमत्त्वद्वुतमैक्यं भूयो रामानुजार्यं कृतस-
म्पत्तिः सः ।
तेनार्पितं तद्गुरुवादाय सम्मानमत्यन्तविनी-
तिपूर्वम् ॥

- 11 Having married a certain young lady Rāmānuja as a householder went for the purpose of learning the teaching of the rival school, to a Yādavaprakāśa, the advaitic ascetic (Mayi Sannyasi) at Kanchi.
- 12 On one occasion afterwards, when Yādava, who was ignorant of the real meaning of the Vedic passage "Sarvaṁkale,"⁴ etc., interpreted the passage wrongly in the midst of the assembly, Rāmānuja proved the truth by explaining its proper meaning.
- 13 The noble Yāmunārya, usually resident at Srirangam, having heard of Rāmānuja's exposition of the passage referred to, arrived at Kanchi with his more confidential disciples and worshipped God Varada with his consort.
- 14 Having done his worship he saw Yādava surrounded by his pupils, among whom shone the bright form of Rāmānuja. Seeing them thus, he thought it were proper if Rāmānuja had been the master and Yādava the pupil.
- 15 For the exaltation of the Sri Vaishnavas, he, Yāmunārya supplicated God Dēvaraja, the protector, glorious in company with Mahādevi, 'Yasyaprasāda'⁵ etc.
- 16 "If Rāmānuja should be spoken to now, his farther studies may be put an end to," thought Yāmuna and therefore left with all his disciples for Srirangam without speaking to him. Rāmānuja continued his course under Yādava as usual.
- 17 In the meanwhile, while the son of the ruler of Kanchi became possessed, and while attempts at exorcism by others had all failed, the King ordered Yādava to try, having heard that his power of incantation would raise the ghost.
- 18 Having seen Yādava surrounded by his more intimate disciples, having greatly laughed him to scorn, the evil spirit found refuge in Rāmānuja giving up both the prince and its own burden of sin.
- 19 Seeing what had so wonderfully occurred the King made presents to Rāmānuja, which the latter, with great reverence, made over to his guru Yādava.

⁴ Chhândōgya Upanishad, III., 14, i.

⁵ It is a shloka implying that if God only wills it, things considered impossible of occurrence will come to pass easily. To such a God I resign myself for the success of the Darśana.

- 20 गत्वा स कांचीनथ यादवोपि रामानुजे प्रीत
इवान्तरेष्वर्थः ।
तदापि तन्मानसघोषनेच्छुर्वैदान्तवाक्यार्थ-
विचारकोऽभूत् ॥
- 21 कप्वास शब्दस्य वदत्यपार्थं तस्मिन्स्तवभ्य
ज्ज्ञातः कदाचित् ।
रामानुजस्याभुतदूरदाहि दृष्टाशु सोऽप्यनुस-
सम्भ्रमोऽभूत् ॥
- 22 इदं किमिच्छुक्तवत्तेऽथ तस्मै कप्वास
वाक्यस्य यथार्थमुक्त्वा ।
जैमिन्युपाख्यानमभिप्रेतवन्तं रामानुजं नाचप-
टेत्यवोचत् ॥
- 23 ततः समालोच्य सहान्तरङ्गैः प्रलोभ्य
रामानुजमनुपायैः ।
स ज्ञाद्वर्षास्नाननिमित्तयात्राध्याजेन हन्तुं
कुमतिः प्रतस्थे ॥
- 24 गोविन्दमदृश सुतः स्वमादृशसुतः सुशीलः
सहपाठिभिश्चम् ।
मध्येदेनं प्रोच्य स कुटुम्बिन्तां रामानुजाय
स्वयमन्वगात्तान् ॥
- 25 महादेवीमभ्यगतः स राक्षो रामानुजोऽ
चिन्तयसर्तचेताः ।
देव्या महत्यासह भासमानं शीनानवन्तं
वरदं शरण्यं ॥
- 26 किरातरूपी वरदोऽथ देव्या शच्छेन रामा-
नुज साधु कास्तीम् ।
इत्यवगामां प्रियया स पीत्वा तद्वत्तकूपो-
दकमन्तरासीत् ॥
- 27 दृष्ट्वा प्रभातेऽथ स पुण्ड्रकोटिदिनानमरय-
न्तसमीपवृत्तिः ।
पीतोदकं तं वरदं विचिन्त्य रामानुजायो-
प्यतिविस्मितोऽभूत् ॥

- 20 Yādava having then returned to Kanchi, feigned great love to Rāmānuja, while inwardly hating him. Thenceforward he began expounding the texts of the Vedānta with a view to testing the attitude of mind of Rāmānuja.
- 21 While Yādava was once giving a wrong interpretation of the expression "Kapyāsam"⁶ (in a passage referring to Viṣṇu) he looked up with surprise at Rāmānuja, who, then in the service of anointing his master, shed hot tears which burnt through Yādava's thigh.
- 22 Giving the correct rendering of the expression to Yādava who was enquiring what it was that Rāmānuja was shedding such hot tears for, Rāmānuja gave out the story of Jaimini⁷ in illustration. Yādava then told Rāmānuja: "Come no more here for learning."
- 23 After this the evil-minded Yādava, consulting his more intimate disciples, deceiving Rāmānuja by stratagem, started on a pilgrimage to the Ganges, with view to putting an end to Rāmānuja.
- 24 Rāmānuja's mother's sister's son, good-natured Govindabhaṭṭa informed his fellow-disciple and friend Rāmānuja, in the depth of the forest, of this evil intent on the part of his companions and went his way along with them.
- 25 Having reached the middle of the forest, Rāmānuja in mental agony, fixed, one night, his thoughts on Varada, ever shining in company with Mahādevi, protector of the humble, the refuge of all.
- 26 Varada, assuming, with Mahādevi, the form of a Kirāta (hunter) pair, said: "Well, Rāmānuja, we shall go to Kanchi." Leading Rāmānuja, he disappeared with Mahādevi, having drunk the water⁸ which Rāmānuja brought up from a well.
- 27 In the morning following, seeing close at hand the Puṇya Kōṭi Vimāna (the tower of the sanctum at Kanchi), Rāmānuja was struck with wonder, thinking, as he was, of Varada that had so recently quenched his thirst with the water Rāmānuja gave him.

⁶ Chāndōkya Upanishad, I, 6, 71.

⁷ Referring to the acceptance of Jaimini's interpretations by Vyāsa in the Brāhmasūtra.

⁸ The wife of the hunter wanted some water to allay her thirst. Rāmānuja got down and fetched her some water from a well by the road-side. The well is yet pointed out on the outskirts of Kanchi. It is from this well that Rāmānuja used to bring water for temple service as stated above.

- 28 सन्ध्यामुपास्यान्तिकसत्तदक्ते संसेव्य देवीं
वरदं च हृष्टः ।
नित्यं सदङ्गीकृतकूपतीर्थैः रामानुजाय-
स्तनतोपयय ॥
- 29 गङ्गातटाधामुनमन्ववदयो गोविन्दमहः
स्वकरस्यलिङ्गः ।
स्वधामभागम्य च काळहस्तिन्यवास्त तस्थो-
नविचारकस्तन् ॥
- 30 काण्डवानधामम्व स यादवीऽपि रामानुजं
वीक्ष्य नक्षामनं च ॥
श्रुत्वा तमाहूय विलोमवानः ततः स्वशिष्यैः
समपाठयय ॥
- 31 विरुद्धमर्थन्तु कदाचिदुक्तं सदेवसो-
म्येदमिति श्रुत्वेथ ॥
अशिशयस्सङ्ग-तमर्थमुक्त्वा रामानुजार्योऽप-
तमस्यजस्तैः ।
- 32 त्यक्तस्तथा यादवमर्कदेन रामानुजार्यो
नविरुद्धतन्त्रीः ॥
हृष्टः करीषस्य हरिभूदित्वाकर्ण्य हृष्टः स
च यामुनार्यः ।
- 33 रामानुजार्यानयनाय सोऽपि शिष्यं महा-
पूर्णमयाविवेश ॥
मत्वायकाङ्क्षी स च तोषयित्वा सं स्तोष-
रत्नेन तुतोष भूयः ।
- 34 रामानुजार्योपि स यामुनार्यं संसेवितुं
रङ्गपुरीं गमिष्यन् ।
प्राश्यं महापूर्णश्रुतः कवेरकन्यातटे मुरि-
मणं वदन् ॥
- 35 रङ्गेशमुपस्थापयि मूरयस्तौ वृष्टौ
महापूर्णश्रुताय तस्मै ।
रामानुजार्यं निवेद्य श्रान्ताः श्रीयामुना-
याङ्गुलितुद्रिकां च ॥
- 28 Rāmānuja, well pleased with all that had happened, performed his morning prayers at the tank near at hand and worshipped both Mahādevi and Varada. He pleased both the God and his Consort by a daily service of water from the well, which seemed so acceptable to them both.
- 29 Govindabhaṭṭa, under the influence of Yāmuṇa's spell, with a phallic linga in the palm of his hand, having returned to his native village from the banks of the Ganges, lived in Kālahasti, as temple-manager.
- 30 Having, then, returned to Kanchi, Yādava, saw Rāmānuja and heard how he had managed to return. Inviting him again to his school he taught Rāmānuja along with his other disciples with a view to circumventing him again.
- 31 On a particular occasion while Yādava interpreted wrongly the Vedic text beginning "Sadēva, etc".⁹ Rāmānuja explained the passages correctly by giving the true interpretation. Yādava then dismissed Rāmānuja from his school finally.
- 32 Having heard that Rāmānuja, a jewel of wonderful lustre, had been cast out of his school by the monkey of a man, Yādava, Yāmunārya felt delighted that Rāmānuja lived yet quite worthy of the affection (fit for adorning the chest of) of the God Vishṇu of Kanchi (Kariṣa).
- 33 This Yāmunārya ordered his disciple Mahāpūrṇa (Perianambi in Tamil) to fetch Rāmānuja. Having gone to Kanchi he delighted Rāmānuja with a recital of (Yāmuṇa's) Stōtra-ratna and himself rejoiced (at the impression it made upon Rāmānuja).
- 34 As Rāmānuja in company with Mahāpūrṇa was about entering Srirangam, he found, on the banks of the Kaveri, a large crowd of the 'God's chosen.'
- 35 Rangēsa and the other elect having seen the pair (Rāmānuja and Mahāpūrṇa) felt consoled when they pointed out to them the folded fingers of Yāmuṇa.

- 36 तद्भासन् विसरीवरिष्यं तत्तातनामापिऽ
सशरिनाम ।
तुक्तं विधास्याम्बुनयोरीतिव रामानुजोऽ
वन्दतत्पराब्जे ॥
- 37 क्षणेन तस्याङ्गुलवत् तिस्रः पुरेवम्
तास्तदुरीक्ष्य सर्वे ।
सिद्धान्तनिर्धारणसार्वभौमः सत्यं भविष्य-
त्यवनिस्त्वयोच्च ॥
- 38 त्वरजसंसेष्य स रङ्गनाथमगम्य कार्त्स्न्यं
वरं प्रपम्य ।
तीर्थाधिकैर्कुर्यकरः कदाचित् किंवाच-
कर्तव्यमितीव श्रुत्वा ॥
- 39 तत्त्वपूर्णं वरदान्तरङ्गं वर्णाश्रमाचार-
विधायकन्तम् ।
संसार्यद्विचिंत्य गतं मनसि ज्ञात्वा करिष्या-
द्वरेशिकेति ॥
- 40 श्रीमान् परं तत्त्वमहं मतं मे भवः प्रप-
त्तिर्निरावहेतुः ।
नावदयकी च स्मृतिरन्वयकाले मोक्षो महा-
पूर्ण इत्यर्थवर्षः ॥
- 41 इत्यर्थवर्षकं वरदीपदिष्टं रामानुजाचार्यं
स चाथपूर्णः ।
रहस्यवासीत्सरहस्यवासी तस्माद्विरामानुज
मान्यनामा ॥
- 42 रामानुजाचार्योऽपि पुरं गमिष्यन् रङ्गं ततः
श्रीमपुरांतकस्थम् ॥
श्रीमृमिनीलादिभुतं तदाकपालं सिधेवे
रघुनन्दनं तम् ॥
- 43 स तीर्थं सन्नेहत-भापतन्तं विष्टपा महा-
पूर्णदुरीक्ष्य तत्र ।
तस्यावपे प्रणिपत्य हर्षाद्रामानुजायैस्त
च वाष्पपूर्णः ॥
- 36 I will expound the unique Vyasa Sūtra (Brah-
ma Sūtra) ; I will confer upon two worthy
people the names of his father (Vyasa's
father Parāśara) and Saṭāri. Having
made these promises Rāmānuja prostrated
at the feet of the departed great one.
- 37 In a moment his three fingers resumed
the usual condition (of erectness). Having
seen this, all present, declared that this
(young man Rāmānuja) will surely
become the principal in the establishment
of the Siddhānta (the qualified Monistic
School of the Vaishnavas).
- 38 Hastening back to Kanchi even without
worshipping God Ranganātha (of
Srirangam), having made reverential
obsequance to God Varada (at Kanchi), he
settled down serving God with water, etc.;
thus engaged he pondered on one occasion
as to what he should then do (to fulfill
his solemn promise).
- 39 Addressing himself then to Kanchīpūrṇa
(Tir-Kachchinsami) who was in the confi-
dence of Varada at Kanchi and who laid
down the duties of each of the separate
castes and each separate stage in the life of
a Hindu, Rāmānuja sought help of the
guru to ascertain the wishes of God regard-
ing what he was pondering in his own mind.
- 40 I with Sri (Lakṣmī) am the supreme being ;
my conviction is difference ; resigning
oneself to God is the safest way to
salvation ; conscious volition not essential
at the end of this life, salvation ; for the
time being the preceptor is to be sought
by you in Mahāpūrṇa.
- 41 These six statements of Varada he commu-
nicated to Rāmānuja in secret ; so it is
that this keeper of the conscience of
Varada (God) ever after became worthy
of the reverence of Rāmānuja.
- 42 Afterwards, Rāmānuja journeying towards
Srirangam, halted for worshipping
Tāṭakapāla Raghunandana, together with
Sri, Bhūmi and Nijā at Madurāntakam.
- 43 Rāmānuja having there met by accident
Mahāpūrṇa who had arrived at the
temple (on his way to Kanchi to fetch
Rāmānuja) at the instance of his fellow-
disciples (of Ajavandār) and having
prostrated at the feet of Mahāpūrṇa, each
of them had his eyes filled with tears of
joy (at this unlooked-for meeting).

- 44 परस्परदिशविचारवर्षान्तस्तन्निधौ श्रीवकु-
जद्रुपस्य ।
छायाशुभे तत्परवे वदं च ध्यात्वा महापूर्णे-
गुरुं स भेजे ।
- 45 सप्तहृन्महाकुरुन पुण्ड्र्यागमन्त्रांस्तदर्थैरिति
मन्त्ररत्नम् ।
अन्धांश्च तवीपरिदिश मन्त्रात् रामानुजाचार्य-
वराद्य तस्मै ॥
- 46 तामृदुशब्देन वदिः प्रवेशात्क्राव्यामयागम्य
गुरुः सशिष्यः ।
अन्वर्धनाम्ना वरदे प्रणम्य रामानुजाचार्य-
वस्तथै प्रवेदे ॥
- 47 उपादिशत्सवितहृन्महापास्तद्व्याससूत्रार्थ-
मपि प्रहृष्टः ।
रामानुजाचार्यश्च गुरुं सशरं भूजद्वज्रित्वम-
भीष्टदृष्ट्वा ॥
- 48 केनापि कावेण ततः कशचिद्रामानुजे
भूतपुरं प्रयाते ।
तत्पल्लवधिशेपनिकर्षवाद्या रुष्टां स्वदेवीं
सञ्चुकोपपूर्णः ॥
- 49 पूर्णः स देव्यायजगाम रङ्गं तच्चापिहृतं
सनिशम्य रुष्टः ।
रामानुजाचार्यो गुरुभक्तिपूर्णः स्वदेविकां मातु-
गृहे विनाय ॥
- 50 वर्त्नीं परित्यज्य स वीतरागः श्रीदेवराजं
प्रतिपश्य तस्मात् ।
गुरोर्भयं स्वीकृतवान् दशै स देवोपि तस्मै
यतिराजनाम ॥
- 51 ततस्त्रिदण्डो सशिखोपर्वतकापावपुक्तो
मनुरत्यजम् ।
वर्णाभगाचारमभकासे रामानुजाचार्यो यति-
सार्वभौमः ॥
- 44 Rejoicing at the respective commands that thus brought them together, in the same temple, at a spot where, the Vakula tree cast its shadow and which he (Rāmānuja) took to be the abode of the highest (paramahpadam), Rāmānuja elected Mahāpūrṇa for his holy preceptor.
- 45 To Rāmānuja, Mahāpūrṇa gave instruction in the mantras with their meanings relating to the performance of the marks of the disc and conch, the putting on of the Vaishṇava face-marks and worship of God. In the same manner he instructed in the Mantraratanam¹⁰ and the other mantras as well.
- 46 The guru with his disciple then left such a holy place (as the one where these events took place). Reaching Kanchi and worshipping Varada (giver of all that one wishes for) whose name bears out his act, they reached the house where Rāmānuja was in residence.
- 47 Mahāpūrṇa, well pleased, instructed him in the three thousand songs (The Tamil Prabandhams 4000 less the Tiruvōymoli 1000) and even the commentaries on the Brahmasūtra of Vyāsa; Rāmānuja by conducting himself in a way that his preceptor approved of, honoured his guru and his wife.
- 48 While Rāmānuja had gone to Bhūtāpuri on some business, Mahāpūrṇa took his wife to task for having lost her temper with Rāmānuja's wife for using scornful language unworthy of her.
- 49 Mahāpūrṇa then left with his wife for Srirangam. Rāmānuja having heard of what had taken place, grew angry with his wife and sent her away to her parents, full, as he was, of devotion to his preceptor.
- 50 Bereft of desire, Rāmānuja gave up his wife and having worshipped Devaraja, received from him the āśrama (life) of Sannyāsi (ascetic). Devaraja gave him the name Yatiraja.
- 51 After this Rāmānuja, prince of ascetics, carrying a tridanda (triple staff), with tuft of hair, holy thread, and brown robes muttering the mantraratanā (the second three mantras in note 3), eagerly conducted himself as became his caste and stage of life.

¹⁰ The second of the three mantras explained in note (3) d.

52 तत्रैव कृपाधिपवास्वनायवाधूनाथाय
समाश्रितास्तम् ।
तेभ्योऽपि रामानुजसंबन्धीन्द्रस्त्वह्मचक्राङ्क-
रहस्यदीऽभूत् ॥

53 ततो भवद्यादवसंप्रकाशः श्रीयामुनाचार्य-
कदाशमुद्धः ॥
गोविन्दयोगी यतिराजशिष्यो ग्रन्थं स कं
चिद्यतिधर्ममाह ॥

54 श्रीरङ्गराजार्चकः कदाचिदस्वायकाञ्चीं
वरं प्रणम्य ।
आशाय रामानुजसंबन्धीन्द्रं श्रीरङ्गनेवासु
मयप्रतस्थे ॥

55 ततः सकूरेशमुखान्तरङ्गैरन्यैश्च शिष्यैर्वैति
राजवर्यः ।
श्रीं च नत्वा मधुरान्तकस्थं श्रीरङ्गना-
पार्यसिसेविष्टुष्टम् ॥

56 प्रत्युदितैरङ्गपतेर्निबोगात् सम्मानितोमान्ध-
मुखैर्वैतीक्षः ।
भियं प्रणम्याथ च रङ्गनाथं श्रीकार्यनिर्वा-
हधुरन्धरोऽभूत् ॥

57 विभूतिशुभ्माधिपताधिकं च सर्वं महापूर्णकटा-
क्षलब्धम् ।
मत्वा सतत्पारसरोजशुभं संसेव्यतद्दयल-
याऽवतस्थे ॥

58 ततो महापूर्णशुभोर्निबोगात् प्रणम्य गोक्षीपु-
रूर्णपादौ ।
मन्त्रार्थतच्छ्लोकवार्थशिक्षां प्राप्त्वायसोधि-
शयवप्यनेकान् ॥

59 ततः स पूर्णोपि तदन्तरतस्सम्मानयन्तं
यतिसार्वभौमम् ।
तदर्थं चैवमितिविस्तृतः कदाक्षयन् लक्ष्मण-
वर्चनं तन् ॥

52 Kūrādhīśa, (Kūrattālvār), Vātsyanātha (Naḍālūrvār) and Vādhūlanātha (Mudaliyāṇḍān) became his disciples while there alone. Rāmānuja, Indra among ascetics, became to them the bestower of Sankha and Chakra marks and the secrets of the faith.

53 Then Yādavaprakāśa, purified by the look of Yāmunārya, became a disciple of Rāmānuja with the appellation Govinda-Yōgi. He composed a book treating of the rule of ascetic life (Yati-Dharma Samuchchayam).

54 On a particular occasion Srīrangarājārya (Tirurangapperumālarayer) went to Kanchi and worshipping Varada started towards Srīrangam in company with Rāmānuja.

55 Yatirāja, accompanied by Kurēśa and other disciples of the first degree and other disciples besides, desirous of paying his respects to the elders of the sect went to Srīrangam, worshipping God at Madurāntakam on the way.

56 Rāmānuja, revered with garland and accompaniments, presented by those who went forward to receive him by order of God Ranganātha, worshipped Sri (Lakshmi) and then Ranganātha, and lived there at the head of the temple management.

57 Thinking that all his greatness, both here and hereafter, was due to the kindness of Mahāpūrṇa, Rāmānuja, reverencing Mahāpūrṇa, lived at Srīrangam doing obedience to his preceptor.

58 Afterwards under command of Mahāpūrṇa, Rāmānuja doing obeisance at the feet of Gōshthipūrṇa (Kōṭṭiyūr Nambi) gained initiation into the meaning of the Mantra and the Charama Ślōka.¹¹ He then explained these secrets to a large number of his followers.

59 Understanding the inward thought of Rāmānuja (Yati Sārvaśhauma) and holding him and his principle in high esteem, Gōshthipūrṇa considering that thereafter the particular darśana (religion) should be Lakshmana darśana, remained delighted.

- 60 ततः स रामानुजसंयमीन्द्रो गृहं महापू-
र्णवन्दताय ।
पुनश्च रङ्गेशगुरोर्महींतुं कांश्चिद्विशेषान्स-
तनादिदेष ॥
- 61 ततः शठारेधरनमवन्तं तदर्थेसारं सुक-
विप्रबन्धम् ।
स्तोत्रद्वयं चार्पयिष्येऽशुक्तं तस्माद्गृहीत्वा
पुनरापपूर्णम् ॥
- 62 पुनर्निशुक्तः स्वगुरोर्वीतीक्षो मालाधराचा-
र्यवराहमुनेषाः ।
शठारिसुक्तेः परकालसूक्तैर्यसहस्रस्य च
सौप्यगृह्णात ॥
- 63 एवं विधोऽप्युच्यितो भवेदित्युक्तं काञ्चि-
न्न च यतीश्वरेण ।
श्रुत्वा गुरुः पूर्णद्वयाय चाह ताभ्यां च
तेनाप्यभिनन्दितस्तः ॥
- 64 एवं रहस्यार्थविशेषशुक्तं वेदान्तमाचार्य-
गणादधीत्य ।
कुरेश्वारस्वेषाशुक्तैश्च शिष्यैरुवास रङ्गेश-
गुरोः यतीश्वरः ॥
- 65 ततस्तवाधैयनतार्तिहतां यतीशपादाशु-
रूपपत्नः ।
पिङ्गाननिकर्यं स्वपितृत्वमुत्थ श्रीशैलपूर्णस्य
सुतं निवेद्य ॥
- 66 आमानसदृक्तयतीशमनितस्तेऽनेच्छाद्य-
पितृसुतस्य ।
श्रीशैलपूर्णोक्तमपि श्रुत्वा च श्रीविष्णुदासी-
शमिर्न भजेति ॥
- 67 तं वीक्ष्य बालं स तत्रैव सर्वगन्धा-
न्तहायां प्रणतार्तिहवं ।
विदेष तन्म द्रष्टुमिच्छन्नेहसंरक्षकोऽशुक्त-
एव सौमि ।

- 60 Then Rāmānuja, the prince of ascetics, paid his respects to the preceptor Mahāpūrṇa. The latter, then sent Rāmānuja to learn certain subjects, worth learning, from Raṅgēsa (Tiruvarangapperumālarayer).
- 61 After this Rāmānuja returned to Mahāpūrṇa, having learnt from Raṅgēsa, Saṭṭārī's last work Tiruvōymolī the essence of this, the work of Madhurakavi,¹² Stotradvayam¹³ with all its esoteric meaning.
- 62 Rāmānuja, of keen intellect, under command again of Mahāpūrṇa learnt from Mālādharā (Tirumālayāṇḍān) the meaning of the thousand of Saṭṭārī (Nammāṭṭar) and that of Parakāla Tirumaṅgaiyāṭṭar).
- 63 Having heard from Rāmānuja that a certain other interpretation may also be suitable for a particular passage, the teacher (Mālādharā) informed both Mahāpūrṇa and Gossthīpūrṇa of this. All three of them were well pleased with Rāmānuja for his interpretation.
- 64 In this manner having learnt from the college of preceptors, the Vedānta with all its esoteric and apparent significance, the prince of ascetics lived happily in Srirangam with Kūrēśa, Vātēśa and other disciples.
- 65 At this time, Ātrēya Praṇāthārthihara (Kaṭṭāmbiāchehān) attained to the lotus-feet of Rāmānuja (arrived at Srirangam) bringing with him Piṅgān, the son of his aunt and Śrī Sailapūrṇa, the uncle of Rāmānuja.
- 66 He (Āchchan) told Rāmānuja of the boy's good conduct ever since his birth, his devotion to Yaśīśa (Rāmānuja) and his wish to serve him (Rāmānuja); and intimated the message of Śrī Sailapūrṇa that Rāmānuja would pay his worship to the God at Vēṅkaṭādri.
- 67 Having seen the boy, Rāmānuja, then and there taught Praṇāthārthihara all the Mantras with their interpretations. Thenceforward Praṇāthārthihara became the immediate personal attendant of Rāmānuja.

¹² A decade by Madhurakavi in praise of Nammāṭṭar.¹³ Two hymns of praise—one in praise of Lakṣmī and the other in praise of Viṣṇu by Aṭṭavandar.

68 ततः कदाचिद्विपमुक्तनिष्ठां ज्ञात्वा यती-
शस्विदिनोपवासः ।
निशम्य सहावपिपूर्ववर्त्यो गोडीपुरावापदु-
राशुरङ्गम् ॥

69 प्रमुद्रितन्तं प्रणतं यतीशं स्वदेहमानि-
प्रणतार्तिहर्ता ।
संशोधितां स्वीकुरु नित्यनिश्चयानिस्त्रुचमुत्तरी
स तथाऽकरोत् ॥

70 गोविन्दभट्टान्तराक्षितनार्यं स्वमेरिताम्नायु
रथोचुरिषम् ।
श्रीशैलपूर्णाङ्गिसरोजभङ्गो गोविन्दभट्टोऽभ-
वदस्तनिङ्गः ॥

71 देशार्थसङ्केपनथोद्यतीशो देवान्तसुवस्व
च सारदीपौ ।
भाष्यं च गीताविवृतिं स कृत्वावात्स्वेष-
मुख्येभ्यश्चपादिषु ॥

72 अनाधितार्थैरनपायवाचां तद्भाससुवस्व
यथार्थभाष्यम् ।
कृत्वा यतीन्द्रोपुरियामुनावर्मनोरथं पूरित
वान् स भाष्यम् ॥

73 ततः कदाचित् सहरङ्गनायिका श्रीरङ्गनायाव-
पिफाल्मुनोत्तरे ।
मुदाभिषिक्तो सतस्रप्रपद्यती गद्यत्रयं
चाप्यवदद्यतन्त्रिः ॥

74 भाष्यादिनिस्तत्त्वविशेषगणैः श्रीशं प्रपन्नस्य
तद्वैकट्यैः ।
कैटव्यनायावपकार्यमाह नित्याभिधायन-
मुदाद्यतीशः ॥

68 On a certain occasion afterwards Yatisa (Rāmānuja) coming to know of the poisoned alms given to him, remained fasting for three days. His two preceptors (Mahāpūrṇa and Gosṭhīpūrṇa) hearing of this hastened to Srirangam.

69 They both told Rāmānuja (Yatisa), who having gone forward to receive them, prostrated before them, that, thenceforward, he should take only such food as was tested by Praṇāthārthihara, who thus became the caretaker of his person.

70 Those that he had sent forward to set right the mind of Govindabhaṭṭa returned and told him that he (Govindabhaṭṭa) having given up his linga (phallic emblem which had stuck to the palm of his hand while bathing in the Ganges) lived a bee at the lotus-feet of Śrī Sailapūrṇa (his uncle).

71 Rāmānuja, afterwards, composed Vedārthasāgraham (Vedārthasāṅkshēpam), Vedāntasāram, Vedāntadīpam, the Bhaṣya (the commentary on the Brahma-Sūtra) and the commentary on the Gita; these he taught to Vātsyēsa and other disciples.

72 Having made to the Vyāsa Sūtra, an appropriate commentary, in perfect keeping with the sense of the Vedas, Rāmānuja (Yatindra) firstly, fulfilled the first wish of Yāmanārya.

73 On a certain occasion afterwards, in the asterism Uttara, in the month of Pālguna, approaching Śrī Ranganātha and Śrī Ranganayikā (God and Goddess) when placed together after the pleasing ceremony of anointing had taken place, he (Yatisvara) gave out the Gadyatraya¹⁴ (three prose works).

74 To one, understanding the inwardness of things by means of the Bhaṣya, seeking refuge of Śrīśa (Viṣṇu), living in him and him alone, Yatisa, by means of the work entitled Nithya (Diary) sketched out his daily duties to the day of his death.

¹⁴ Three prose works entitled Śaṁpīgathagadyam, Śrī Raṅgagadyam and Śrīgadyam.

- 75 ततः स शिष्यैर्बहुनिबन्धीषः काञ्चीपयादे-
कूटशैलवर्षम् ।
भक्त्या भजन्तद्रहमानितस्तन् श्रीशैलपुर्ण-
मणतोऽगुरुतम् ॥
- 75 Then Yatisa, followed by many disciples
going to Tirupati by way of Kanchi
and devoutly worshipping the adorable
at the hill of Vēṅkata, paid his respects
to his guru Śrī Sailapūrṇa, having been
regarded with favour by the God at
Vēṅkaṭādri.
- 76 तदीक्षितस्तन् कपलानिवासं प्रपद्य तत्पुर्ण-
वरायतीशः ।
रामायणं तद्विविधैर्भाष्यैस्त्वत्सरं तत्र वसन्-
गृह्णात् ॥
- 76 Having been favoured by him and devot-
ing himself to Srinivāsa, from Śrī Sai-
lapūrṇa, Yatisa Rāmānuja, learnt, in
the course of a year's residence, the
Ramayana with all its varied inter-
pretations.
- 77 पूर्णालम्बौ शिष्यानिबन्धुनौ यतीशमाश्रित्य
समस्तमर्थम् ।
अवापस्तत्र सुतं कनिष्ठं पूर्णाप्यदानद्रह-
मानराजम् ॥
- 77 At the command of Śrī Saila, his two sons,
learnt there from Rāmānuja, all that
was worth learning Śrī Saila gave over
to Rāmānuja, the younger of the two,
as being worthy of his place.
- 78 पिङ्गलानभिक्ष्यं स च तेन दत्तं गोविन्दमहं
निजयाचितं च ।
सङ्गृह्य हृदः समवापरङ्गं काञ्चीपयादेव
यतीश्वरम् ॥
- 78 Having taken with him Piṅgala given by
Śrī Saila, and Govinda Bhaṭṭa obtained
at his own (Rāmānuja's) request,
Yatisa (Rāmānuja), with joy, returned
to Srirangam by way of Kanchi.
- 79 गोविन्दमहं च विरक्तमैक्ष्यं यतिं तने-
वारनिधं स चक्रे ।
जातः सुतो रङ्गपतेः प्रसादात्तत्कूरनाथ-
स्य च साधुमहः ॥
- 79 Seeing Govinda Bhaṭṭa, quite resigned,
Rāmānuja made him an ascetic under
the name of Embār. By the grace of
God Ranganātha, to that Kūranātha
(Kūratālvār) had been born the son
Bhaṭṭa.
- 80 भङ्गारकं तं च पराशराख्यं कृत्वा कृतं
तेन सहस्रनाम्नम् ।
भाष्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य स यामुनायेननोरधं पुरि-
तवान् द्वितीयम् ॥
- 80 Giving the name Parāsara to that Bhaṭṭa,
Rāmānuja by his approval established
the commentary on the Sahasranama
written by Bhaṭṭa and thus fulfilled
the second of the desiderata of Yāma-
nārya.
- 81 कदाचिदन्तर्भवमर्थचिन्तां कस्य प्रबन्धस्य
चिदाचरन्तम् ।
यतीश्वरं वीक्ष्य सपूर्णपुनस्तचिन्तितार्थो
दयमित्यबोधत् ॥
- 81 On a certain occasion seeing Rāmānuja
(Yatisa) contemplating the drift of
a certain Prabandha (Poems in the
Tamil Prabandha), that son of Pūrṇa
(Piṅgala, son of Śrī Sailapūrṇa) stated
what Rāmānuja was in contemplation
upon.
- 82 तदीरितार्थं निजचिन्तितं तं श्रुत्वा यतीशो
प्यति विस्मितः सन् ।
नाथान्वयविदं तथेति मत्त्वामज्ञानपुनरेवमि-
दस्वजेतम् ॥
- 82 Struck with wonder at the young man
giving out what he himself arrived at
on contemplation, believing that the
young man knew it because of his
descent from Nāthamuni, Rāmānuja em-
braced him as his son in intellectual
descent.

- 83 रामानुजाचार्य्य यतीश्वरस्य ज्ञानात्मजस्तस्य
च बाबुकेति ।
ख्यातः शठारेश्वरमप्रबन्धं व्याख्यातवांस्तं कुरु-
केषावर्यः ॥
- 83 Kurukēśavārya (Kurukēśavārya Pillān)
having become known both as the son of
Rāmānjan Yatiśa and his sandal (pādukā),
made the commentary on the last work of
Sāṭari (Tiruvōymoli of Nammālvār).
- 84 पिळ्ळाननिखं कुरुकेश्वराख्यं कृत्वा तु
संस्कृतपदसहस्रम् ।
भाष्यं प्रतिष्ठाप्य स बाबुनार्यमनीरथं
पूरितवान् तृतीयम् ॥
- 84 Giving Piḷḷān the name of Kurukēśvara,
accepting the six-thousand commentary
of his (commentary in 6000 granthas for
the Tiruvōymoli), Rāmānjan fulfilled the
third of the desiderata of Yāmanārya.
- 85 यतीश्वरस्याप्ययज्ञपूर्वैर्जितो भवेत्तज्जयतो
मतस्थः ।
इति प्रतिज्ञाय च रङ्गपुर्यो प्रावर्तताष्टा-
दशरात्रवादः ॥
- 85 Under an agreement that the one that
gets beaten should become the follower of
the victor's conviction, there began
between Yatiśvara and Yagñamūrti, an
eighteen-day controversy (in the Vedānta).
- 86 स्वप्ने यतीशो वरदेजितस्तन् नायामत-
स्थापकयज्ञमूर्तिम् ।
वादेऽजयन्तं वरदाख्यया स्वं नामान्वधात्तो-
षि मुनीन् शिष्यः ॥
- 86 By the grace of Varada, who appeared to
Yatiśa in a dream, Yatiśa Rāmānjan
vanquished in argument Yagñamūrti
who wished to establish māyāmata
(Advaita philosophy whose cardinal
principle is māya). He gave him
(Yagñamūrti) a name composed both of
Varada's name and his own (Aruḷāppe-
ramāḷemberamānār) to the delight of the
new disciple.
- 87 ततो यतीशः स दिशो विभक्तुं शिष्यै-
रनेकैः सह तत्र तत्र ।
गत्वा विजित्यान्वमतं समस्तं सरस्वतीपी-
ठमपाससाद् ॥
- 87 After this Rāmānjan Yatiśa, with a large
following of disciples, going from place
to place on a tour of conquest (in
controversy) and overcoming the devotees
of all other persuasions, at last reached
Sarasvatīpīṭha (Kāśmir).
- 88 तद्भाष्यमाहृत्य निधाय मूर्तिं श्रीभाष्य
मेतद्भार्याकृत्स्नम् ।
इतीव तस्यै प्रददौ च देवी भाष्यं हयग्री-
वमपिस्वदेवम् ॥
- 88 Having heard his Bhashya and placing it
upon her head, Dēvi (Sarasvatī) saying,
"This is Sri Bhashya and you are the
author of the best Bhashya," gave him
the Bhashyam and her own God
Hayagrīva.
- 89 गृह्यन् हयग्रीवमपिधन्यम् कुलागतं तं
वरदं च निर्यम् ।
आराधयन्नन्यमतानि जिह्वा श्रीवेङ्कटाद्रि
पुनराससाद् ॥
- 89 Having accepted with due obeisance
Hayagrīva, daily worshipping the family
God Varada, he came again to Venkaṭādrī,
having overcome all hostile systems of
religion.
- 90 भक्तान्ततत्त्वज्ञपयत्तु चक्रः श्री श्रीनिवासः
शिष्य एव नान्यः ।
इतीव श्रीवैराचिते विवाहे तत्पत्न्ययं प्राह
यतीश्वरोपि ॥
- 90 'Sri Srinivasa, without his characteristic
weapons, disc and conch, which had been
given over to his devotee (Tondamān
Raja) is Siva and no other' argued the
Śaivas; Yatiśvara (Rāmānjan) prescribed
them a test (that the image was that
of Viṣṇu).

- 91 निश्चित्य सर्वेष्वयस्त्रयचक्रे शूलं च
निक्षिप्य तदालयान्तः ।
कषाट्माबध्य ततः प्रभाते उद्घाट्य सर्वे
इदृशुः सहैव ॥
- 92 भङ्क्त्वा त्रिशूलं धृतचक्रचक्रं श्री श्रीनिवासं
च समीक्ष्य चोलाः ।
प्रधावेताश्चाशु यतीश्वरेण श्रीशैलपूरणीपि
सुमोद भूरि ॥
- 93 ततो यतीशो गुरु वीक्षितः सन् श्रीरङ्गना-
मस्य समस्तशिष्यैः ।
वेदान्तसिद्धान्तविचक्षणोभून्मतान्तरस्थाश्च
ततः कृतैर्व्याः ॥
- 94 दुर्बोधितशीलवृषोऽयं साधून् शिवात्परं ना-
स्तिलिखेतिपत्रे ।
निर्बन्ध्यचारैरपि तं यतीशमाहूतवांस्तदिदितं
च शिष्यैः ॥
- 95 काषाढधृत्कूरपतिरिदं प्रोक्तं प्राधान्यहापूज
शुतस्तु तत्र ।
वात्स्येयमुच्यते सहितो यतीशः शूकाम्बरः
प्राप दिशं प्रतीचीम् ॥
- 96 तत्रकश्चित्कैश्चन शिष्यभूतैः काषाढदण्डा-
दि-समर्पितं सः ।
द्यालोक्तमार्गेण पुनः प्रगृह्य यथाक्रमराध-
नतत्परोभूत् ॥
- 97 यतीश्वरं तत्र नृपथं काचित् केचिद्विजाम्पा-
श्च समाधिस्तासम्
निविष्टदेहा अपि जैनवर्गा महान् प्रभावः
प्रकट्य कृतश्च ॥
- 98 नारायणः स्वप्नगतो यतीशं श्रीशारदाश्रावि-
भूतकान्तः ।
वर्ते प्रतिष्ठापय मां इदं च श्वेतां गृहाणेद्य
वदस्त तत्र ॥
- 99 ततो यतीशः सहसा प्रहटः कल्याण-
तीर्थेष्ववगाह्य गुरुः
तद्वृत्तसंघातितं सविमाने चक्रे स नारायण-
मुपतिष्ठान् ॥
- 91 Having agreed, they then placed within the
sanctum the disc and conch and the
trident; and locked up the door. In the
morning all of them together opened the
door and examined.
- 92 The Saivas seeing Sri Srinivasa wear the
conch and disc, having broken the trident
were driven by Yatisvara (Rāmānuja);
Sri Sailapūrpa felt highly pleased.
- 93 Afterwards Yatisā, with the full grace of
his uncle (guru) having returned to
Srirangam with all his disciples, lived
actively working for the establishment of
the Vedānta. The followers of other
persuasions grew jealous of him.
- 94 The ill-advised Choja, then, compelled these
good men to write down 'there is nothing
higher than Siva' and sent messengers to
fetch even Yatisā (Rāmānuja). This
came to the knowledge of his disciples.
- 95 Kūrapathi (Kūrattālvān), wearing the
brown robes and bearing the triple rod,
started, with Mahāpūrpa for the Choja
Capital. With Vātsyēśa and other disci-
ples, Ramanuja, wearing white robes,
went to the west.
- 96 At some spot in the west country, resum-
ing with all the prescribed ceremonies
the brown robes and rod, supplied to him
by some that became his disciples, Rāmā-
nuja devoted himself to the worship of
God as before.
- 97 There some kings and some great ones
among the Brahmīns became his followers.
Even the Jains had their bodies wrung¹²
and Rāmānuja displayed great powers.
- 98 Nārāyaṇa, approaching Rāmānuja in a dream,
said, "I am now beneath the surface of
the earth in Yadavādri; establish me;
take the white earth"
- 99 Yatisā, delighted with this and pure after
bathing early in the waters of the
Kalyāṇi (tank) established God Nārāyaṇa
in the Vimāsa (shrine) that he dis-
covered after search near the tank.

¹² Referring to the story current that the Jains were ground in oil-mills after defeat. Regarding this matter see my Life of Ramanuja, (G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras) and Mysore Review for March 1905.

100 श्वेतां वृषं शिष्ययुतः प्रगृह्य धृत्वाथ रामप्रिय-
विपदं तम् ।
अन्विष्य दिङ्मोक्षसुतागृहस्थं संपस्तुताग-
च्छमनेत्यवोचत् ॥

101 तमागतं रामहिं त नीत्वा कृत्वा स नारा-
यणमुत्सवाद्यैः ।
सम्पूज्य नोदमवापतथ दिङ्मोक्षपुत्र्यन्तर-
धात्तमेत्य ॥

102 पुनर्विद्युरेश्वरनेत्रहानिं श्रुत्वा तस्य हृदितरो
यतीशः ।
निशम्ब कुरेश्वरोगमाशु चाळं तथा दुर्मृत-
माप हर्षम् ।

103 तीर्थं कल्याणमासीत्तदपि पुरवरे तच्च नारा-
यणकथम्
श्रीशः सम्पत्कुमारो यतिरूपतिष्ठस्य-
नमासीत्तत्तत् ।
किं च श्रीमान् यतीन्द्रः स्वपदगतजनश्रे-
यसे स्वीयमन्त्रम् ।
रूपं प्राप्य तस्माद्यतिगिरिदितितद्यादयन्त्रि-
स्तु नाम ॥

104 नत्वा सम्पत्कुमारं यदुगिरिकलाकुलनारामनेतम्
शिष्यानाविद्युतवाच्यं कतिपयं सञ्छिद्य-
क्तोयतीशः ।
गत्वा श्रीरङ्गनाथं ससहितनयनः प्राण-
मर्त्यहृदः
वचनस्तत्तद्वीचुः शठमयनगिरामुत्सवं सञ्चि-
कन्दम् ॥

105 तत्र श्रीमान् यतीशः कनपि यदुगिरिं
संप्रतिष्ठाप्य तेन
श्रीरङ्गनाथीश्वरस्वाध्वजननहनहोविष्टकं कार-
यित्वा ।
पञ्चाक्षैश्चिद्यन्त्रैः स्वविषयककथन्तं प्रव-
न्धं भित्तिरथा
रङ्गः संस्थाप्य चक्रे स तद्विद्वत् महासुरि-
गोक्षमतिष्ठान् ॥

100 With his disciples, Rāmānuja took the white
earth and wore it (on his forehead)
along with them; then going in search of
the idol (and finding it) in the house of the
daughter of the Delhi king, Rāmānuja called
out to the idol "My son, Sampat, come."

101 Rāmānuja having brought away Ramapriya
that came over to him (on being called
as above) and having placed him along
with Nārāyaṇa made himself happy by
worshipping these by festivals, etc., the
daughter of the Delhi king, having
arrived there passed out of sight.

102 Considerably moved on hearing that both
Pūrṇārya and Kūrēśa had had their eyes
hurt, Yathīśa (Rāmānuja) felt pleased
when he was told that Kūrēśa came to no
harm thereby and that the Chola King
came to an evil end.

103 There was the Thirthā Kalyāṇi and the
town which became Nārāyaṇa by name.
There was Śrīśa (God) Sampatkumāra
and so, that place became the scene of
victory of the king of ascetics (Rāmānuja).
Then again Śrīmān Yatīndra (Rāmānuja)
presented, for the prosperity of those that
sought his protection, his own form in the
shape of an idol. For that reason it is
that the name of Yadugiri assumes the
form Yatigiri.

104 Worshipping Sampatkumāra and God
Nārāyaṇa with his consort Kamala of
Yadugiri, giving his instructions to his
disciples there, Yathīśa, with some among
them accompanying him, reached
Srirangam. With great joy, his eyes full
of tears, Rāmānuja prostrated himself
before God Sri Ranganātha. His disciples
there then told him that the festivities
connected with the annual recital of the
work of Saṭamathana (Nammāṭṭar) had
been stopped.

105 There Śrīmān Yathīśa having set up some
other image of Saṭaripa (Saṭārī or
Nammāṭṭar), through him (i.e., the image
of the Ṭṭar) celebrated the twenty days'
festival of Adhyayanōtsava for God
Ranganātha; and having collected, along
with the Prabandha works of others, the
poem relating to himself (Rāmānujanūṭ-
ṭandādi) and having recited it before God
Ranganātha, he set up the images of the
other Ṭṭars and Gōḍā (Āṇḍā).

106 तद्विषयस्थलेष्वप्यधिनाहिसु सन् सुरि-
गोशमतिष्ठां
कृत्वा सर्वत्र तं चाभ्ययनमहमपि प्राप्य
हृदयङ्गवीनम् ।
प्राप्यकीरोडुडानं वृषभगिरिपतिमीनार्यं
निवेश्य ।
श्रीमान् रामानुजायः कृतबहुमतैरप्यास
गोदाकरैः ॥

107 नीतं गोविन्दराजं रहसि निजतलाद्देव्याद्रेस्तु
सानो
संस्थाप्याचांद्दशारिप्रभृतिगुरुततैः शिष्यस
हैर्यतीशः ।
गत्वा रङ्गं स पञ्चदशरमतज्जनां स्वाभ्या-
नेवकुर्वन् ।
शिष्यान् काञ्चिद्विभज्य क्रमतइह तदा
विश्वरः सम्मुनीन् ॥

108 पीडाधीशांश्च काञ्चिच्चतुरधिगणनायुक्त
सप्तत्यनिक्यान्
तथाप्यध्यांश्च काञ्चिच्चतुरहहतया भाष्यासि-
हासनेद्यान् ।
तत्र ज्ञानात्मजं तं तदुभयानिगमान्ताभ्यामा-
प्येश्वरं च
श्रीमान् रामानुजायौ यतिनृपतिमहादेशिके-
न्द्रश्चकार ॥

109 सप्तत्यतिश्चतुर्निर्यतिनिरपि तथा सप्तसत्याङ्गतश्रीः
अभ्येक्ष्यैकान्तिमिथ द्विचतुर्धनितैस्तैः सहस्रैः
समेतः । ज्येष्ठान् कुरेशमुख्याननुजमपि तथा
चौरसं ज्ञानपुत्रं
वीक्ष्यस्वाप्यखवाहान् ! यतिनृपतिरभिद्रेक्ष्य
सम्प्रीदनाय ॥

110 शास्त्राचारिकवश्यैर्बिहितमुचरितैः शिष्यवर्गैः
समेतः कैश्चित् सम्प्रापितः सन् यतिपतिरपि-
चातिङ्गुच रुद्रिप्रशस्तीन् ।
भीरुङ्गे भूतपुत्रानपि च बहुगिरीस्थाप्यमेतच्चयं
चैखुक्त्वा तस्या च तेषां जगदखिलमवह-
नां कदाशैः स पावान् ॥

106 In the same manner, setting up the images of the holy ones and Gôda in the holy places of great merit, and arranging similarly for the Adhyayana festival (festival where the prabandhas are chanted), Srimân Râmânujârya lived elevated by the grace of Gôda (as he fulfilled her wish) by providing on a large scale, for the dedication, for the special pleasure of God on the Rishabhagiri (Tirumâlirumâôlai) of rice prepared with an abundance of ghee and sugar.

107 Having set up at the foot of Venkatâdri, Govindarâja who had been brought there in secret from his place (i.e., Chidambaram), as also the images of the Âjvârs, Yâtîa with his disciples went to Srirangam and with a view to bringing into his fold those of other persuasions, he organised his disciples into a regular order and lived thereafter in happiness and without fear.

108 Srimân Râmânuja, prince of ascetics, a great Indra among preceptors, made 74 among his followers occupy apostolic seats; in the same manner, he made four among them successors in the apostolic seat in the teaching of the Bhashya; and among these latter, he made his son (in intellect; Pillân) occupy the highest place as teacher of the two Vedantas (Sanskrit and Tamil) and the Bhashya.

109 In the company of the 74 first disciples, of the 700 ascetic followers and of the 12,000 elect quite close to the Divine, Râmânuja of wonderful lustre, felt happy at seeing even the elder disciples like Kurêsa and others, conduct themselves in obedience to Pillân (Râmânuja's son in intellectual descent) in the manner of elder adopted son towards the younger born son.

110 With the college of disciples ever under the control of conduct as prescribed by the Sâstras and known only for their good conduct, Râmânuja (Yâtîpati) at the importunate entreaty of some, embraced the three images of his (made on the occasion) and ordered that they be set up in Srirangam, Bhûtapuri and Yadugiri. So saying he gave them to those disciples and protected the earth. May such a one protect me.

- 111 सर्वत्रोत्साराविस्वाप्यगतवसति माम्-
कार्पायतस्त्वम्
तस्मात्सम्प्राप्तकाले मतमविभक्तः क्षीनविद्ये
रापेहम् ।
भुखेत्यक्तिकलेरप्यधयति वृषतिः श्रीरामाय
प्रपन्नो जीवाश्चयाहते मे मतमिति च वदन्
पालयेन्मां कटाक्षैः ।
- 112 जीवाश्च्रीयामुनार्थैस्तुपश्चितमहापूर्णगोष्ठिपुरो-
रात्पूर्वश्रीशैलपूर्वैरपिनहिमनिधोरङ्गमालाधरायैः ।
प्राचीनाराधनं स वरदमपि हयमीवनामं च वाण्या-
वत्वा ज्ञानाल्मजाय विभुवनतिलकीभूतकीर्तिर्वै-
सीतः ॥
- 113 काचित्कस्मिन्दिधेयं प्रतिनियततया सन्निवो-
द्वान्तरङ्गान्
तत्र क्षीरार्थकृत्वे प्रतिनियत-नहोदासमप्ययनहम् ।
कुर्वन् श्रीमान् यतीन्द्रः स्वपदविनततहासवासानु-
दासम्
मानप्यव्यन्तनकं स्वहितमिव तदा गोपयन्सो-
विजीवान् ॥
- 114 कमलेश मुखयगुरुपाङ्क्तिवैभव
प्रतिकर्मशोभितराजवैभवम् ।
यद्वैपदन्तिकलिकल्मषापहम्
तद्वैविभूतिश्रुगमायकाधुवम् ॥
यतिराजवैभवं सम्पूर्णम्
श्रीमते वदुर्कपूर्वाय नमः ॥
- 111 "As you have driven me out everywhere and thus left me homeless, so when I get the opportunity, I shall bring about a revolution in your religion. This I assert most solemnly," said Kali (evil principle). Hearing this vow of Kali, Rāmānuja, saying, "May my teaching prevail unharmed," placed himself under the protection of the First One. May such a one protect me with his look of kindness.
- 112 Yatisa, whose fame beautified the three worlds, who derived his greatness from Yāmunārya and his disciples Mahāpūrṇa, Gosāthipūrṇa, Śrī Sailapūrṇa Rangēśa and Mālādhara, gave to his adopted son the image of Varada, he had been long worshipping, and that of Hayagrīva he obtained from Vānī. May he prosper.
- 113 May he prosper, who allotted to some of his more confidential disciples particular duties, and who set to me, most underserving among them, the duty of looking after the milk supply, he, Śrīmān Rāmānuja, who always protected me, servant of servants to those that sought refuge at his feet, as if I were his friend, near his heart.
- 114 Those that read this Yatirājvaibhavam, which shines like a jewel to the Vaibhavas (accounts of the greatness) of all the Gurus (preceptors) beginning with Kamalēśa (Viśva) and which drives away sin, certainly gain the right to the two kinds of wealth (wealth of a good life here and of a good life hereafter).

NOTES AND QUERIES.

GREEK CEMETERY NEAR ATTOCK.

DURING the discussion which followed the reading of the late Mr. Simpson's paper entitled "The Classical Influence in the Architecture of the Indus Region and Afghanistan" (Trans., Roy. Inst. Brit. Architects, 1894, p. 115), the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Emerson, referred to 'the well-founded belief that Alexander crossed the Indus itself at a place called Attock,'¹ where there was till recently a bridge of boats, not very far from which some engineers, in making a railway, discovered

an ancient Greek burial-ground. A note of the discovery was sent to the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, and it appeared, as was expected to appear, in one of the official reports.

I have never seen any notice of the alleged discovery. Can anybody give information concerning it?

VINCENT A. SMITH.

2nd April, 1909.

¹ The actual crossing-place probably was Ohind (Und, Waihind), 16 miles above Attock (E. Hist. of India, 2nd ed., p. 55).

Vol. 10, No. 1, 1881

The first of the series of papers in this volume is by Mr. J. D. Dana, of New York, on the subject of the "Geology of the State of New York." This paper is a continuation of the work of Mr. Dana in the "Geology of the State of New York," published in 1843, and is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the geology of the State.



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WALA CLAY SEAL OF PUSHYENA.

Front view.



Side view.



Full-size.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH SUPPLIED BY J. F. FLEET.

THE WALA CLAY SEAL OF PUSHYENA.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D., HALLE (SAALE).

THE legend on this seal was published by Bühler in this Journal, Vol. XII, p. 274 f. The seal is now in the British Museum. At the desire of Dr. Fleet, who sent me an excellent photograph of the original, I subjoin a fresh transcript, to accompany the illustration which is given for the first time.

Regarding the provenance of the seal, its dimensions, and the alphabet of its legend, I may refer to Bühler's article. The letters of the inscription are sunk in and reversed. Consequently the letters of the metal or stone matrix, of which it is an impression on clay, must have borne raised letters which had not been reversed by the engraver.¹ As stated by Bühler, the last letter of the fourth line is damaged, and the end of the third line is lost. Also at the end of the second line the photograph shows the beginning of a letter which is cut away, but can be supplied from the context.

There is only one important detail in which the subjoined transcript differs from Bühler's. In the first line of the seal the name of Pushyēṇa's ancestor is not Jayaskandha, but Jayadratha. According to the Mahābhārata² this is the name of a mythical king of Sindhu-Sauvīra, who was killed by Arjuna.

TEXT.³

- 1 Ā Jayadrathād-avyavachebhinna⁴-rāja-
- 2 vanśasya śrīr-mmahī[r]āj-Ā[h]ivarma . . .⁵
- 3 sūnō[r*]=mahārāja-mahā
- 4 pati⁶-Pushyēṇa[śya] [n*]

TRANSLATION.

(The seal) of the Mahārāja Mahā[sēnā]pati Pushyēṇa, the son of the glorious Mahārāja A[h]ivarman, whose family of kings (i. e., whose pedigree of royal ancestors) is uninterrupted from Jayadratha downwards.

NOTE ON THE USE OF IMAGES IN ANCIENT INDIA.

BY STEN KONOW.

In the introduction to his well-known essay on Buddhist Art Dr. Grünwedel remarks that the art of ancient India owes its rise to Buddhism, and he, as well as other authorities, lays stress on the fact that it is essentially ornamental. M. Foucher says,¹ "the ancient Indian sculpture did not know detached statues . . . it is a well-known fact that the later Indian school only counts some few ones which have not been placed against a wall or a pillar. The reason is that sculpture was considered as a purely ornamental art." Dr. Grünwedel has also shown how wood-carving and the goldsmith's craft have existed in India from the oldest times and paved the way to an Indian school of sculpture. The oldest Indian sculpture known up to the present time is found on old

¹ [From the fact that the legend is reversed and sunk, and from the shape of the mass of clay which bears it, it would seem that the impression was made for the purpose of stamping the legend on documents, cloth, or any other non-metallic substance. In the accompanying illustration, the seal is presented so that the legend reads direct, — not in reverse as it does on the original. — J. F. F.]

² See Prof. Jacobi's Index, p. 269.

³ From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.

⁴ The subscribed s of 'chakāśinaś is faintly visible on the photograph.

⁵ As implied by Dr. Fleet's translation (*Indian Epigraphy in The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, p. 39), this is probably a mistake of the engraver for śrī-mahārāj. The ā of -Āivarma is damaged and hence looks almost like d or j. Restore -Āivarmanah.

⁶ Bühler proposed to restore mahāsēnāpati.

⁷ *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, Vol. 30 (1894), p. 337.

Buddhist monuments. The Buddha himself is not, however, represented. It is only when a new school of art had been started under the influence of Greek artists on the North-Western Frontier, that we meet with statues of the founder of the religion. I think M. Foucher is right in maintaining (*l. c.* pp. 333 and ff.) that the Buddhist art of Gandhāra was not, at least originally, the work of Indian artists. It would, however, be unwise to infer that the Indian learnt to worship images from the Greeks or that the practice of adoring images of the Buddha was inaugurated by the semi-Greek population of the Panjab, as maintained by Fergusson and Cunningham (see Foucher, *l. c.* p. 326). I do not intend to take up the question where and when the practice of making images of the Buddha was first started. My intention is only to remind of a few facts which show that the Indians had been making images before the rise of the Buddhist art of the Gandhāra school. It is probable that Professor Macdonell is mainly right when he says², "In the pre-Buddhistic phase of Indian religion from which Hinduism is directly descended, carved images of the gods and temples for worship were equally unknown. It is hardly to be expected that the very rudimentary art of that early age should have attempted to represent in an anthropomorphic form gods which were still felt to be the deifications of natural phenomena, such as sun, fire, sky, wind. And in the absence of images, structural places of worship would not be wanted." I do not, however, think that this characterisation applies to the time immediately preceding the rise of Buddhism. The gods who repeatedly play a rôle in the career of the Buddha are very far remote from being "felt as the deifications of natural phenomena," and there are no *a priori* reasons to show that they were not represented in images. On the contrary, it is a well-known fact that we find representations of Hindû gods on Buddhist monuments from a time previous to the rise of the Gandhāra school, which, so far as we know, first introduced images of the Buddha. It is, for my present purposes, sufficient to mention the representations of the goddess Sri in Udayagiri, Bharhut and Sanchi. The stereotype way in which she is everywhere represented points back to a long development and shows that there is no real objection against the theory that there existed images of Hindû gods at a comparatively early period.

The oldest Indian statues cannot, with any certainty, be ascribed either to Buddhism or to the Hindû Pantheon. They are the female statue found at Besnagar and the Parkham image, which is now in the Mathurâ Museum. The former is described as follows by Cunningham:³ "Close by . . . there is a colossal female statue, 6 feet 7 inches in height. The figure was broken in two pieces, and half buried in the ground. The arms are unfortunately gone, and, as there is no trace of either of the hands resting on the figure, the action is extremely doubtful. There is a small fracture above the right hip, where the right hand may have rested, but the fracture seems too small for such a purpose. But the statue is otherwise interesting on account of its curious and novel costume. The head-dress is a kind of turban of ornamented cloth twined with the hair in the shape of a bowl, which completely covers the top and back of the head from the brows to the neck. At the back two long broad plaits of hair hang down to the loins. In the ears are large massive ear-rings, like those of the Bharhut sculptures. There are several garlands and necklaces round the neck, the former hanging low down in front between the breasts. The body is covered by a jacket rounded in front, and it is ornamented with a broad border. Below this, there is the usual female *sâri*, or sheet petticoat, with the gathers over the stomach, and hanging down in formal folds in front. But this petticoat reaches only to the mid-leg, and beneath it there appears a second, reaching down to the massive anklets on the feet. A broad sash or girdle passes round the body above the hips, and is tied in above in front of the stomach. Below it is the usual row of five strings of ornament resting on the loins. It is possible that this may be a portrait statue of Mâyâ Devi, for the profusion of ornament shows that it is not a religious figure. The similarity of the costume to that of many of the females in the Bharhut sculptures seems to point to the age of Asoka as the date of this statue, and this is

² *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. LVII., 1909, p. 317.

³ *Report X.*, p. 44.

confirmed by the decency of its clothing, which is undoubtedly earlier than the scanty costumes of the Sānchi and Mathurā sculptures, which belong to the Indo-Scythian period. From the pose of the figure, I think that it must originally have been placed on the top of a pillar. Altogether this is a very curious and interesting piece of sculpture, as it is the only specimen of a female statue in the round that has yet been discovered of so early a period."

The Parkham image has been described by Cunningham as follows⁴ :—

"The statue is a colossal standing figure of a man cut in the round, 7 feet in height from head to foot and 2 feet broad across the shoulders. The left knee is slightly bent. Both arms are broken, and the face has been nearly obliterated by repeated libations and anointments with ghee and red lead, which have left a very hard and unsightly crust of dirt on the breast. The figure is clothed from head to foot in a loose flowing garment, which is secured by two broad bands, one round the waist, and the other round the loins. The whole body is much too bulky; and seen from the side the two bands look exactly as if they were intended to support its pot-belly.

The statue is made of grey sandstone, and still retains many traces of having been highly polished. The figure is called *Devata*, or "the God," and has been in its present position for an unknown length of time. All the other remains at Parkham are of red sandstone, and comparatively modern. Both arms being broken off just below the shoulders, it is difficult to say what was the action of the figure. But I suspect that the statue was that of a *yaksha*, or attendant demi-god who carried a *chauri* over the right shoulder. The dress is very peculiar, and has nothing whatever in common with that of the later figures of the Indo-Scythian period. There is a short garland or necklace round the neck, which is ornamented at the back with four dependent tassels.

But the most interesting point about this statue is an inscription in two lines on the upper surface of the base pedestal, one line outside the left foot, and the other line outside the right foot. As the characters are those of the Asoka period, the statue must belong to the 3rd century B. C. . . . The inscription I read as follows :—

Left.—Nībhadaṇḍarā garate . .

Right.—Kunīkāteṇasīnā gomātakena katā⁵

I cannot see anything in these descriptions which can help us to decide which figures are meant. We can, however, safely assume that they are not intended to represent the Buddha or his mother Māyā. The oldest certain anthropomorphic representation of Hindū gods therefore are the images of Lakshmi Sri mentioned above.

⁴ Report XX., pp. 40 and f. and plate VI.

⁵ There is a third line, between the two feet, which was not noticed by Cunningham. It seems to begin *oḥa*. I have not got sufficient materials for trying to improve upon Cunningham's reading of the inscription. The first sign, which he reads *ni*, is very uncertain, and it is possible that the inscription begins with *bhāda* (*bhadra*). The last sign in the left hand line is perhaps *sa* and not *te*. *Gomātakena* perhaps corresponds to a Sanskrit *Gomātakena*. I am not, however, certain of the reading. There is a small hook on the right hand bar of *ma*, and it is possible that we should read *Gomātakēna*. Compare the name *Gōmitra* of old Mathurā *rājā*. I would, with every reserve, suggest the following reading of the inscription :—

Left *Om Bhadaṇḍarā* *ga-rana*.

Centre. *oḥa* *hi*

Right. *Kunīkāteṇasīnā Gōmātakēna Katā* from *Bhadaṇḍarika*; made by *Gōmātaka* (*Gōmītraka*) the *attendant* (*attendant*) of *Kunīka* in the 8th (year of) the King . . *ga*, (in winter).

Now Dr. Bloch has shortly* maintained that the ancient Indians did not originally represent their deities in anthropomorphic form, but only by means of symbols. In the famous Jamálgarhí relief which represents the prince Siddhárthi in his palace and in the moment when he leaves his wife in order to renounce the world he identifies the animal which has hitherto been considered to be meant for a bull, as a boar, and this boar, he maintains, is the symbol of the god Vishnu. He further mentions the *linga* of Siva, and he is inclined to explain the four animals on the capital of the Sárnáth Asoka pillar as representations of Hindú gods. "It is," he says, "only hypercriticism to doubt that we have to see in the elephant a symbol of Indra, in the humped bull a symbol of Siva and in the horse a symbol of Súrya." With regard to the lion, Dr. Bloch is in doubt whether it should be explained as the *odhava* of Durgá or Párvatí. The conclusions to which he arrives may be summed up as follows: the old Indians represented their gods by means of symbols, and they did not begin to represent them in an anthropomorphic form till a comparatively late date, when the Greeks had become their teachers in art.

I am unable to accept this theory, for several reasons.

In the first place, the representation of a stereotype Lakshmi on old monuments necessarily carries the anthropomorphic representation of at least this goddess back to a time when it is difficult to think of Greek influence. Professor Minayeff⁷ has analysed the gods represented in the Bharhut sculptures. Kubéra and Virújhaka, both designated as *yakkhó* (*yaksha*) are depicted in human form. I cannot help thinking that these figures, as also the gods represented in Sanchi, were taken over from older non-Buddhist models. We may here think of wood carvings or of roughly dressed logs, perhaps similar to those mentioned by Dr. Bloch (l.c., p. 652) from Puri. The Parkham image seems to me to be an evident imitation of such a log. I have not seen any representation of the Bernagar image, and cannot therefore judge about it. At all events, it seems to me that the Parkham image, whether it represents a Hindú god or a Buddhist saint, cannot possibly be explained as a result of Greek influence. The Greek influence on Indian sculpture can hardly be pushed farther back than the times of Menander, in whose days Dr. Bloch seems to place the best Gandhára art. The Parkham image, however, is apparently, to judge from the inscription, older. So far as I can see the existence of images in India can be proved for a much older time, as it is presupposed by Pānini, who, according to tradition which I see no reason to doubt, lived under the Nandas. In V-3-96 he teaches that the suffix *kan* gives the meaning of likeness when an imitation of a thing is to be expressed. Thus, *śivaka* an imitation of a horse, V-3-99 then runs *jivikārttho ca-āpanyé* (an elision of the suffix *kan* takes place) also (when the figure is made) a means of livelihood, it being presumed that no traffic is driven thereby. The old scholia give as examples Vāsudēva Siva, Skanda, Vishnu and Āditya, which words are here used in the sense of images of Vāsudēva. Siva, Skanda, Vishnu and Āditya, respectively, I am unable to see how this can be explained otherwise than as a direct proof that Pānini knew of statues and images of the gods. The examples given by the old glossators do not, of course, prove anything for Pānini's time. But, so far as I can see, his rule itself proves that images existed in his times, that is to-day before we can well assume the influence of Greek art. It can be objected that these images may have represented animals and other symbols of the gods. This would, however, be against the explanations of later grammarians including Patañjali, and such an explanation is *a priori* very unlikely. The old *Kārikā* to Pānini V-3-100 sums up the instances in which the suffix *kan* is elided as follows:—

arckāsu pājanārtthāu chitrakarmmadhvajéshu cha |
itrā pratikṛitta lōpan kanō dēvapathādīshu ||

the affix *kan* denoting a likeness when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed, is elided when the imitation is (1) an image for worship, (2) a picture, or (3) a design on a flag, and (4) when the

* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. LXII., pp. 546 and 5.

⁷ *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, Paris 1894, pp. 128 and 5.

suffix should be added after the *gaṇa dēvapaṭha*, &c. As instances of images are given *Siva* and *Viṣṇu*, and of pictures *Ariana* and *Duryōdhana*. The juxtaposition of *archā* image, and *chitrakarma* picture, shows that the author of the *Kārikā* thought of real images and not of symbols, and I feel no doubt that here he is in full accordance with Pāṇini himself.

Patañjali's commentary on Pāṇini V-3-99 has been fully discussed by the late Professor Weber* and others. Patañjali says *apaṇya ity=uchyati tat=ēdān na vidhyati* : *Sivāḥ Skandāḥ Viśākhā itī kiṁ kāraṇam* : *Mauryair=hiranyārthābhir=archāḥ prakalpitāḥ* : *bhavit=āsu na syāt* : *yās=te=kētāḥ* : *sampratipuṣārthāsu bhaviṣyati* || it is said (by Pāṇini) provided that no traffic is driven thereby." In such cases the rule does not apply to (images of) *Siva*, *Skanda* and *Viśākha*. Why? The Mauryas had images made from greed. Well, the rule does not apply to such (images) but to such as are for immediate worship (i. e., such images which are made a means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmaṇas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door). There cannot be the slightest doubt that images of the gods made for the purpose of worship existed at the time of Patañjali, and that these images represented Hindū gods such as *Siva*, *Skanda*, and *Viśākha*, the god of war. The images which the Mauryas had caused to be made were called *Sivaka*, *Skandaka*, &c., that is to say, the image was considered as a likeness so long as it was an article for sale. But the image of *Siva* which the priest carried about and allowed to be worshipped for money was no more "an image of *Siva*" it was "a *Siva*." The fact that the Mauryas thought of making money out of the trade in images, shows that the demand was considerable. It is not, however, possible to infer anything about how long time such images had been in use. All we can conclude is that at Patañjali's times, and most likely also in the days of Pāṇini images of the Hindū gods were in existence in India.

THE TROUBLES OF LOVE.

A Panjabi Song.

BY H. A. ROSE.

(With an Introductory Note by the Editor.)

[THIS typical production of a Panjabi bard is interesting in many ways, but chiefly because it contains references to nearly all the love-tales that are familiar in every household in the Panjab. The list is delightfully eclectic as usual. Thus we have allusions to the Hindu mediæval folktales of *Pūran Bhagat* and *Nāmdēv*, the *Dyer*, and to the Hindu classical stories of *Hiranyakaśipu*, *Prahlāda* and *Hariśchandra*, and are favoured with a brief outline of the legend of *Stiā* and *Rāma*, as it has descended to the modern Panjab. Then we have the Muhammadan classical tales of *Yūsaf* and *Zulaikhān* and of *Laili* and *Majnūn* and the more modern *Shirin* and *Farhād*. Next we have the essentially Panjabi modern, but nevertheless classical, tales of *Mirzā* and *Sāhibzād* and of *Hir* and *Rānjhā* and of the great story of the Southern Indus region, *Sassi* and *Punnōn*. And lastly there is an allusion to the characteristic Panjabi "saintly" tale of *Roḍā Shāh*. All these tales will be found either given at length or explained in the *Legends of the Panjab*, but the allusion to the story of *Milki* and *Kimā* is new to me and I have never seen it before.—Ed.]

Text.	Translation.
Ishqon nalfā' kisi ne na pāyā; sau ghar patke, ek na basāyā.	None has profited by love; destroying a hundred houses, it has filled not one.
Pūran baḍh khū bich pāyā; Mirzā jau dī heṭh marwāyā.	It threw Pūran into a well: it killed Mirzā under a <i>jas</i> tree.
Yūsaf haṭo-haṭ bikhāyā; Laili ne Majnūn te haṭ garāyā.	It sent Yūsaf for sale from shop to shop; Laili made Majnūn talk to the well-wheel.
Shirin dī khātir Farhād nabaṛ lāyā.	For Shirin's sake Farhād dug a canal.

5 Harnāshak ghabbe dar de dhāyā; Pahlād
tateyān thambān de nāl banhāyā.

Sassi ne Punnū bich thallān de tapāyā.

Milki ne Kimā bāndh Mughalān de pāyā.

Nām De Chhipā dhare jhāl phirāyā.

Hari Chand Chuhārū de ghar bikhāyā.

10 Rām Chand biyāh ke Sitā nūn lāyā.

Āke ban bich kullā pāyā.

Sitā nūn chhaḍ ke shikār nūn dhāyā.

Mūrakh ne jogī dā bhes banāyā:

Dināsūr chhalan Sitā nūn āyā.

15 Leke bhichchhā niklī Sitā; Dināsūr ne
daghā kamāyā.

Chukke Sitā rath par leḷlāl; Lankā de
raste pāyā.

Shikār khelke Rām Chand āyā; sūni
kutiya pāyā.

"Sitā, tū bich hai?" Nahīn! Itthī Rām
Chand ghussā khāyā.

Hanumān, Māt Anjanī kī betā, Sitā de
bhāl charhāyā.

20 Hanumān ne rūp kīg dā banāyā.

Kol Sitā de āyā; munderā Rām Chand dā
jholī Sitā dī pāyā.

Utthoṅ ukhe Rām Chand de kol āgayā:
Sitā dī khabar lāyā.

Angad barge sadliye jodhe; Lankā nūn
dhā karāyā:

Rām Chand kī bahutī fanjān pul sam.
undar pāyā.

25 Bich Lankā ke Rām Chand āgayā; āke
jnj machāyā.

Dināsūr dā sir baddhiā. "Rannūn dā
bhed kisī na pāyā."

Rām Chand, leke Sitā nūn, āyā.

Rānjhā maggar majjhi de lāyā:

Bhukkā mardā put parāyā; Rānjhe ne
Khere jāke nād bajāyā.

30 Sahti ne khīr chīne dā pāyā:

Rānjhe haṁsā, bhau gauwāyā.

Roḍē badh daryā meṁ pāyā; munderā
Sulaimān nūn thāyā.

5 It caused Harnāshak to be slain upon his
threshold, and Pahlād to be bound to
a red-hot pillar.

Sassi made Punnū wander through the
deserts.

Milki bound Kimā and gave him up to
the Mughals.

Nām Dev, the Stamper,¹ became famous
through the world.

Hari Chand was sold into the Scavengers'
house.

10 Rām Chand brought Sitā home in
marriage.

He went into the wilderness and built a hut.
Leaving Sitā, he went out to hunt.

Mūrakh put on the dress of a jogī:

Dināsūr came to Sitā in fraud.²

15 Sitā came out bringing alms: and
Dināsūr deceived her.

He picked up Sitā and laid her in his
chariot, and took the road to Lankā.

After his hunt Rām Chand came home
and found his hut empty.

"Art thou within, Sitā?" No! Whereon
Rām Chand was angered.

Hanumān, the son of Mother Anjanī,
went on the search for Sitā.

20 Hanumān assumed the form of a crow.

He came to Sitā and threw the ring of
Rām Chand into Sitā's lap.

Flying from thence he came to Rām
Chand, and brought him news of Sitā.

Warriors, like Angad, were collected and
Lankā was attacked.

Rām Chand led a great force by a bridge
over the ocean.

25 Rām Chand entered Lankā, and joined
battle.

He cut off Dināsūr's head. "None ever
fathomed the secrets of women."

Rām Chand took Sitā and returned home.

Rānjhā was set to graze buffaloes:

Dying of hunger he took to begging;
Rānjhā went to Khera and sounded his
conch.

30 Sahti gave him a mess of pulse pottage:
Rānjhā laughed and broke his cup of metal.

Roḍā was cast into the river, and took
the ring to Sulaimān.

¹ I. e., the Calico Printer.

² The reference is to Rāvapa.

ASOKA NOTES.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH.

*(Continued from Vol. XXXVII, p. 24.)*No. X.—Asoka in Fa-hien's *Travels* — with notice of some Discoveries near Patna.

The facts and traditions concerning Asoka recorded by the Chinese pilgrims are of such importance for the history of his reign that readers of the *Indian Antiquary* probably will be glad to have the relevant passages brought together in a convenient form. The earlier pilgrim, Fa-hien (399-414 A. D.), has not much to say on the subject. The present paper will be confined to the collection and brief discussion of his scanty observations, and on another occasion I hope to be able to treat in a similar way the much more voluminous notices of Hsien Tsang (629-45 A. D.).

Asoka may be assumed to have died in either 232 or 231 B. C. It is not possible, for various reasons, to fix the date with greater precision, but for all practical purposes it may be regarded as accurately known, and if 232 B. C. be assumed as the year of the great emperor's decease no material error can occur. The visit of Fa-hien to India, therefore, occurred some 632 years after the death of Asoka, and Hsien Tsang's 230 years later still. Thus, even at the time of the travels of the first pilgrim, the Maurya dynasty belonged to a remote and, in large measure, legendary past. During the interval the Sungas, Andhras, and other dynasties had passed away, and many changes in language, script, customs, and political organization had taken place. The testimony of the Chinese pilgrims to the history of Asoka, consequently, must be interpreted as the voice of tradition speaking of distant and half-forgotten antiquity. If we imagine an English chronicler at the time of the Norman Conquest trying to call up a vision of the Roman occupation of Britain we shall be able to appreciate the width of the gulf of time which yawned between Asoka and Fa-hien, not to speak of Hsien Tsang.

My quotations from Fa-hien are made in the first instance from Legge's version, which is the best on the whole, but his rendering will be checked by comparison with the rival versions of Rémusat and Klaproth as Englished by Laidlay, of Beal, in the revised form published in *Records of the Western World*, and of Giles as given in the little volume published at London and Shanghai without date, but issued, I believe, in 1877. The translation by Beal on which Prof. Giles showered such merciless criticism was that published separately in 1869, which was superseded (except for the notes) by the corrected edition included in volume I of the *Records*. These preliminary observations may serve as sufficient introduction to the four passages in Fa-hien's *Travels* dealing with Asokan history which I now proceed to collect and annotate.

*Passage No. I.**Chapter X.—Dharma-vardhana, son of Asoka.*

'The travellers going downwards from this [*scil.* the *stupa* marking the place where Buddha ransomed the dove with a piece of his flesh] towards the east, in five days came to the country of Gandhâra, the place where Dharma-vivardhana, the son of Asoka, ruled.' Legge notes that *Fa Yi* is the Chinese form representing Dharma-vivarhâna, and that this is the first mention of Asoka.

Laidlay gives the Chinese words as follows:—

wei = Gandhâra of Legge; *Fa i*, meaning 'extension of the Law,' = *Dharma vardhana*; and *Ayu*, more frequently designated *Wou-yu* = Asoka, whose name is also transcribed as *A shou kia*. The history of Asoka, as known in 1848, is then discussed in long notes, which need not detain us now.

Giles' version is:— 'From this point descending eastwards for five days, they arrived at the country of Chien-t'o-wei, which was governed by Fa Yi, the son of King A Yü.' *A Yü = Asoka.*

Beal translates:— 'From this, descending eastward, journeying for five days, we arrived at the country of Gandhāra (*Kien-to-wei*). This is the place which Dharmavardhana, the son of Asoka, governed.'

The full name of Asoka, according to the Purāṇas, was Asoka-varḍhana, and it seems to be plain that Laidlay and Beal are right in reading his son's name as Dharma-varḍhana, not Dharma-vivardhana, as Legge does.

Watters (*Chinese Review*, VIII, 222) writes the geographical name Khian-tho-wei as Chien-t'ê-wei and doubts its identity with Gandhāra. In Chapter XII Fa-hien notes that he and his companions after leaving Khian-tho-wei and going southwards arrived in four days at the kingdom of Parushapura. But Giles' version is discrepant, and runs thus:— 'From the Chien-t'o-wei country travelling southwards *two* days, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Fo-lou sha.' Beal agrees with Legge in making the journey one of four days. We may take it, therefore, that the principal place in the kingdom of Khian-tho-wei lay at a distance of four days' travel in a direction approximately north of *Fo-lou-sha* (*Fo-lu-sha*, Beal), which certainly must be rendered as Parushapura = Peshāwar. A distance of 50 miles, equivalent to about four days' travelling in hilly country, measured on Stanford's *Sketch Map of the North-Western Frontier of India* (scale nearly 10 miles to inch) brings us to the Malakand and neighbouring Passes NNE of Peshāwar. There is no definite spot due north to which such measurement can be made. The Swāt River, running at this part of its course from east to west, passes to the north of the Shāhkōt and Malakand Passes to join the Panjkōra. It would seem, therefore, that *Khian-tho-wei* must mean the country to the north of the Swāt river. But, if this be the case, where are we to place the kingdoms of Woo-chang and of Su-ho-to (Ch. VIII)? A detailed examination of Fa-hien's route would carry us too far from Asoka, and I must be content to leave in some uncertainty the exact position of the principality among the mountains where Asoka's son had ruled according to tradition. But it seems to be fairly certain that Gandhāra cannot be the correct equivalent of Khian-tho-wei. The existence of the doubt is a good illustration of the need for caution in interpreting the Chinese travellers' narratives and fully justifies Watters' scepticism concerning the plausible transliteration of *Khian-tho-wei* as Gandhāra.

Passage No. II.

Chapter XVII.—Asoka's buildings at Sankāśya.

The pilgrim relates the legend of the heavenly ladders or stairs of Sankāśya, and tells how, after Buddha's descent, 'the three flights all disappeared in the ground, except seven steps which continued to be visible.' He goes on to relate that afterwards King Asoka, wishing to know where their ends rested, sent men to dig and see. They went down to the "yellow springs" without reaching the bottom of the steps and from this the king received an increase of his faith, and built a viḥāra over the steps, with a standing image, sixteen cubits in height right over the middle flight. Behind the *viḥāra* he erected a stone pillar about fifty cubits high, with a lion on the top of it. Let into the pillar on each of its four sides there is an image of Buddha, inside and out (i.e., 'all through') shining and transparent, and pure as it were of lapis lazuli.'

Legge explains that the words "yellow springs" are a common expression for the subsoil where water is found, and Watters adds that there the dead are supposed to go. 'Fifty cubits,' Legge says, is a paraphrase of 'thirty *chow*,' the *chow* being the distance from the elbow to the finger-tip, but why he turned 30 into 50 I do not know.

The passage concerning *Asôka's* buildings is differently translated by Laidlay, who writes:— 'He caused therefore a chapel to be raised over the steps, and upon the middle one erected a full length statue (of *Foe*) six *toises* high. Behind the chapel was erected a pillar thirty cubits high, and thereon was placed a lion. Within the pillar on the four sides were images of *Foe*. The interior and the exterior were polished and resplendent as crystal.'

Concerning the measurements the notes state that 'six *toises*' are equivalent to about 60 English feet, and that the *chow* (*cheou*), or cubit, is variously estimated, some authorities making it out to be 0·610, and others to be 0·4575 of a *mètre*.

Giles paraphrases the 'Yellow Spring' as meaning the 'gate of hell,' and makes the image to be only 16 *feet* in height. The concluding clauses he renders thus:—'Inside the column at the four sides are images of Buddha. Both from inside and outside it is transparent (not 'shining'), and as clean [? 'clear'] as glass.'

Beal too makes out the image to be 16 feet high, and the pillar 30 cubits. 'Within the pillar,' according to him, 'on the four sides are figures of Buddha, both within and without it is shining and bright as glass.'

Thus it appears that the four versions differ much in detail.

Legge's statement that the statue was 16 *cubits* high, and Laidlay's that its height was 6 French *toises* = 60 English feet, are contradicted by Giles and Beal who state the height as 16 (Chinese) feet. The Chinese 'foot,' I believe, does not differ much from the English. Perhaps we are justified in assuming the correct version to be '16 feet.' All translators are agreed that the pillar was 30 *chow*, or 'cubits,' in height, equivalent to somewhere about 45 or 50 English feet, an estimate in accordance with the known measurements of some of *Asôka's* columns.

The monument evidently was composed, like the other *Asôkan* monolithic pillars, of fine grey sandstone polished, by an art now lost, as highly as glass. Travellers have mistaken the material of 'Firôz Shâh's pillar'—the *Asôka* monument brought by him to Delhi—for iron, brass, and so forth. Similarly, the high polish of the *Sankâsya* pillar evidently puzzled the Chinese visitor and induced him to believe that like glass the stone was translucent. The base of the pillar probably was quadrangular, with an image of Buddha in a polished niche on each face. The niche containing the Jain image on one side of the hexagonal portion of the *Kahloñ* column of Gupta age may be compared (Cunningham, *Reports*, XVI, Pl. XXIX).

Cunningham (*Reports* I, 272) used Julien's translation of Hsien Tsang, according to which the *Asôka* pillar at Kapitha = *Sankâsya* (*Seng-kia-she*) was 70 feet high, made of a hard fine-grained reddish stone, and brilliantly polished. The later pilgrim agrees with the earlier in stating that the animal on the top was a lion. But the capital found by Cunningham at *Sankisa* in the Farrukhâbâd District, U. P., which he identified with *Sankâsya* (*Seng-kia-she*) has on it an elephant, not a lion. The capital found undoubtedly belongs to an *Asôka* pillar, but Cunningham's theory (p. 278) that both the Chinese pilgrims mistook an elephant for a lion, seems to me, if I may express myself bluntly, simply incredible. Cunningham afterwards found the brick base on which the pillar had stood (*Reports*, XI, 22), but could not discover any trace of the shaft.

Watters (*On Yuan Chwang*, I, 334) translates Hsien Tsang (= Yuan Chwang,) as stating that at Kapitha (= *Sankâsya*) 'there was an *Asôka* pillar of a lustrous violet colour and very hard, with a crouching lion on the top facing the stairs; quaintly carved figures were on each side of the pillar, and according to one's bad or good deserts figures appeared to him in the pillar.' The 'lustrous violet colour' well describes the appearance of the polished grey sandstone when mellowed by age. *Asôka* never used 'reddish' sandstone. The red

sandstone from the quarries near Agra and Mathurā first came into use in Kushān times. It is out of the question to believe that a 'crouching lion' could have been mistaken for a standing elephant by both pilgrims. Sankisa may or may not represent Sankāśya, but the elephant capital there certainly is not the lion capital seen by Fa-hien and Hsien Tsang. Adequate discussion of the identity of the site would require a tedious topographical discussion and an essay of considerable length. I cannot go further into the matter here, and must content myself by remarking that the equation Sankisa = Sankāśya is by no means conclusively established. I observe that, according to Watters, Hsien Tsang does not state the height of the *pillar* at all, but says that 'the present *stairs* were above 70 feet high with a Buddhist temple on the top, in which was a stone image of the Buddha.' This version, I expect, will prove to be correct, for a monolithic pillar with monolithic capital could not well be 70 feet in height. None of the extant Aśoka pillars has any figure sculpture on the shaft, and it is interesting to learn that the Sankāśya monument differed widely from any now known. The confused description by old travellers of LAṭ Bhairo at Benares, which was destroyed by the Muhammadans during the riot of 1809, indicate that it too had carving on the shaft, but the records are not fully intelligible. The identity of that monument with one described by Hsien Tsang is proved in an article which will appear in the *Z. D. M. G.* during the current year.

Passage No. III. ✓

Chapter XXIII. — Aśoka's alleged proceedings at Rāmagrāma.

'East from Buddha's birthplace [*i. e.*, the Lambini Garden = Rummindēi], and at a distance of five *yojanas*, there is a kingdom called Rāma. The king of this country, having obtained one portion of the relics of Buddha's body, returned with it and built over it a tope, named the Rāma tope. By the side of it there was a pool, and in the pool a dragon, which constantly kept watch over (the tope) and presented offerings at it day and night.

When king Aśoka came forth into the world, he wished to destroy the eight topes (over the relics) and to build (instead of them) 84,000 topes. After he had thrown down the seven others, he wished next to destroy this tope. But then the dragon showed itself, took the king into its palace, and when he had seen all the things provided for offerings, it said to him, "If you are able with your offerings, to exceed these, you can destroy the tope, and take it all away. I will not contend with you." The king, however, knew that such appliances for offering were not to be had anywhere in the world, and thereupon returned (without carrying out his purpose).'

Laidlay's version agrees substantially. He notes that the Chinese word rendered as Rāma is Lan-mo, which name is also used by Hsien Tsang, who, however, writes the second syllable with a character different from that used by Fa-hien.

Giles differs by understanding that the dragon introduced Aśoka, not into his own palace under the waters, but into the interior of the *stūpa*.

Beal's rendering does not differ materially from that of Legge.

Thus it is clear that Fa-hien heard a tradition that this Rāmagrāma *stūpa* was older than the time of Aśoka, and that it had escaped destruction (? rebuilding) by him, whereas the other seven great *stūpas* of Sārnāth, Bodh Gayā, etc., had suffered that fate.

Unfortunately, the exact site of the *stūpa* has not yet been identified because it lies in Nepalese territory and is difficult of access without tedious formalities. But its approximate position is known and a moderate amount of local research probably would fix it definitely. The one absolutely certain point in the itinerary of the pilgrims in the

Nepalese Tardī is Rummindēi, the Lumbini Garden, a few miles beyond the north-eastern corner of the Basti District and on the western bank of the Tilār river. Lan-mo, or Rāmagrāma lay 5 *yojanas*, or 200 *li*, in a direction eastward from that fixed point. The distance of 200 *li* is stated by Hsien Tsang, according to the versions of both Julien and Watters. The figure 300 given by Beal (*Records*, II, 25) is undoubtedly erroneous, because 40 *li* = 1 *yojana*. The figure 500 *li* given in the *Life of Hsien Tsang* (Beal, p. 96) is a manifest blunder. Taking the *li* as equivalent to about one-fifth or one-sixth of a mile in level country and the *yojana* as 7½ miles, Rāmagrāma should be looked for in Nepalese territory a few miles from the British frontier at a spot between 35 and 40 miles eastwards from Rummindēi. I have shown (*J. R. A. S.*, 1902, pp. 151, 152) that Rāmagrāma must lie in or about 27°26' N. and 83°52' E. between the Little Gandak and Gandak rivers. Buddhist remains are known to exist in the neighbourhood, and I heard reports of a pillar. The work of a day or two on the spot should suffice to determine the site. Inasmuch as the stūpa guarded by the dragon was older than the time of Aśoka its identification and description would be of much interest. Perhaps the officers of the Archaeological Department may find an opportunity some day to make the necessary arrangements with the Magistrate of Gorakhpur and the Nepalese authorities for effecting the required local investigations in the locality indicated, which is not at all convenient of access. I have been at Rummindēi twice, but never had the chance of travelling to the east of the Tilār river.

Passage No. IV.

Chapter XXVII.—Aśoka and Pāṭaliputra.

'The town of Pāṭaliputra, in the kingdom of Magadha, the city where king Aśoka ruled. The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by spirits which he employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish,

King Aśoka had a younger brother who had attained to be an Arhat, and resided on Gridhra-kūṭa hill, finding his delight in solitude and quiet.' The king by the aid of the spirits made a hill inside the city for his abode, causing them to 'form a hill with the large stones piled on one another; and also, at the foot of the hill, with five large square stones, to make an apartment, which might be more than thirty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and more than ten cubits high.'

'By the side of the tope of Aśoka there has been made a Mahāyāna monastery, very grand and beautiful; there is also a Hinayāna one; the two together containing six hundred or seven hundred monks when king Aśoka destroyed the seven topes (intending) to make eighty-four thousand [see Passage No. III above], the first which he made was the great tope, more than three *le* to the south of the city. In front of this there is a footprint of Buddha, where a *vihāra* has been built. The door of it faces the north, and on the south of it there is a stone pillar, fourteen or fifteen cubits in circumference, and more than thirty cubits high, on which there is an inscription, saying, "Aśoka gave the *Jambudīpa* to the general body of all the monks, and then redeemed it from them with money. This he did three times." North from the tope 300 or 400 paces, king Aśoka built the city of Ne-le. In it there is a stone pillar, which also is more than thirty feet high, with a lion on the top of it. On the pillar there is an inscription recording the things which led to the building of Ne-le, with the number of the year, the day, and the month.'

The variations in the other versions are not important, except that Giles omits the words placing the palace 'in the midst of the city.' The extracts raise the question of the topography of Pāṭaliputra, on which a considerable volume might be written without any satisfactory result. A detailed survey and good map are preliminaries indispensable to fruitful discussion of the subject.

But it seems to be clear that there was a stone palace in the midst of the fortified city, and very probably its position is marked approximately by the buried stump of an *Asôka* pillar which exists at Kallû Khân's Bagh in the Zanâna premises of Amîr and Maulavi Muḥammad Kabîr in the Sadar Gali as ascertained by the late Bâbû P. C. Mukharjî, and mentioned in his unpublished Report, dated 1898, of which I possess a proof. A few scanty remains of Maurya stone-work have been found within the city.

The 'great tope three le to the south of the city' must, I think, be the Baṛî Pahârî, as supposed by Mukharjî. It was damaged by stupid excavations conducted by Dr. Führer in 1894-5.

There can be little doubt that the town of Ne-le, not mentioned elsewhere, is represented by the village of Kumrâhâr. Between the Kallû and Châman tanks on the north-west of that village Mukharjî found one large block and innumerable fragments of an *Asôka* monolithic pillar, which had been deliberately broken up by the action of fire. This monument seems to have been the one mentioned by Hsien Tsang as standing near the 'hell,' or prison.

Mukharjî found the remains of another *Asôka* pillar to the south of Kumrâhâr, but no trace of an inscription.

I have a strong suspicion that the alleged inscription recording the gift of Jambudvîpa never existed, that is to say, that the inscription really was of a different purport, and that the local monks made up the Jambudvîpa story. Even in Fa-hien's time the current script differed widely from that of the Maurya age, and probably few people, if any, could read the *Asôka* inscriptions. Those known are most matter-of-fact compositions, and a statement that the emperor professed to give away the habitable world three times is not at all in accordance with the style of his records. The purport of the Ne-le pillar inscription may or may not have been rightly understood.

It may be of interest to note that Mukharjî claimed to have traced no less than six *Asôka* pillars at and near Patna. In the Kumrâhâr mounds he seems to have found three, which he identified with the Jambudvîpa and Ne-le pillars of Fa-hien and the 'hell' pillar of Hsien Tsang. Two of these he specifies clearly, as already observed, but I cannot make out the third with certainty. He found two more at Lohânîpur, and heard of the sixth, mentioned above, inside the city.

His report, unfortunately, was too crude for publication as it stood, and never got beyond the stage of proof. He gave me a copy. His intention was that it should be illustrated by 58 plates and 4 photographs, but those, if they still exist, presumably lie buried somewhere in the Bengal Secretariat, or they may be with his family. Some of them, I know, were of interest and value.

As his report will never see the light I may honour his memory and interest my readers by quoting some passages:—

"On the north-west of the village of Kumrâhâr, between two tanks, Kallû and Châman, I exhumed, along with extensive brick buildings, innumerable fragments of an *Asôka* pillar, of which I could discover no inscribed portion (p. 15) On minutely examining the grounds at Kumrâhâr, I saw indications of walls on the south bank of the Kallû tank and on the west bank of Châman tank. The site between these two tanks is proposed by me to be identified with the 'earth-prison' of Kâlâsôka¹ (p. 17). He opened up certain old walls, and got down about 10 or 15 feet.

¹ The Bâbû believed in the separate existence of Kâlâsôka and advocated strange notions of Maurya chronology and history.

'Below the foundation wall, I discovered a large fragment of a Maurya pillar about three feet in diameter. I also found several smaller fragments, especially on the floor of the western cells, which appear to have been paved with them.' Continuing the digging he found 'a curious passage between two walls, 2' 1" and 3' 3" in breadth. It is 21' 4" south of the northern range of cells. East of this narrow passage is a sort of flight of steps, made of large bricks. Here also fragments of the Aśoka pillar were found.'

He also picked up close by a copper coin of Chandragupta II (cir. A. D. 400) of the 'bust' type, with Garuḍa reverse. 47 feet to the south he traced other walls, and then drove a tunnel, in which he found 'several fragments of the Aśoka pillar. But on the north of the [Muhammadan] tomb the stone fragments increased in number and size, of which three were between 2 and 3 feet in length and diameter. Below a stratum of yellowish or rather reddish soil, and about 10 feet deep, I came a cross a layer of blackish earth, composed of ashes, embers, and bits of lime [?], between 1 and 2 feet in depth. In this blackish stratum the fragments of the pillar were invariably found (see photograph, Plate IX a). I then began tunnelling the black stratum at the sides of the pit I had dug, especially towards the north and east, and brought to light innumerable fragments, large and small. In the northern tunnel I alighted on a heap of the stone fragments, of which some were more than 3 feet in height and diameter. The polished surface of all these fragments looked quite fresh and new. But no inscribed portion could I discover after all my attempts to search, which fact reminded me that the Chinese pilgrim [Hsien Tsang] did not mention the 'prison' ['hell'] pillar as inscribed.'

These interesting details prove that the Bābū discovered the actual site of one of the Aśoka pillars at Pāṭaliputra, or more accurately at Ne-le to the south of the city, which appears to be the 'prison' or 'hell' pillar mentioned by Hsien Tsang, and perhaps one of the two pillars described by Fa-hien. It is also clear that Mukharjī was right in inferring that the monument had been deliberately destroyed by heaping up combustibles around it and so causing the stone to split by heat. During the great Benares riot of 1809 the Muhammadans destroyed the pillar known as Lāṭ Bhairō by the same method. The considerable depth at which the fragments were found indicates that the Patna catastrophe was of early date, and it may well be that the act of vandalism was the work of Rājā Śaśāṅka (cir. A.D. 600) as suggested by Mukharjī. But it is also possible that the destroyers were the Muhammadan invaders about A.D. 1193.

The Bābū's account of the second Ne-le or Kumrāhār monolith is much briefer. He merely says that he traced ancient masonry near an old well called Khārī Kuīyān to the south of Kumrāhār, and at a depth of about 15 feet was 'glad to discover a fragment of a Maurya pillar' (p. 20).

Although the connection with Fa-hien's narrative is slight, I may quote Mukharjī's account of the fine sandstone capital of the Maurya period, which was dug up close to the railway on a bit of waste ground called Bulandibagh ('High-grove'), and which I saw lying there. 'It is in yellowish sandstone, and very large in size, the different faces showing ornaments of honey-suckle, *guilloché*² and other decorated bands' (p. 22). This remarkable object was figured in his unpublished Plate XLVII. So far as I remember, it was about 4 feet in diameter, and square.

In the fields at Lohtnipur, near the Bankipore railway station, he found 'two Maurya pillars of the Aśoka style' a so-called 'Buddhist railing,' etc. Five posts of the railing, which was plain, were *in situ*. At a short distance to the south-west, at a depth of about 11 feet, he discovered 'several large fragments of a Maurya pillar, more than 3 feet in diameter (Plate XXXIV).' Again, some 250 feet to the west of that object, his spade alighted on 'the top of the capital of the Aśoka pillar,' with a diameter of 3' 7½". 'The capital appeared to be of a flattened vase form, in the centre of which was a hole for the reception of the mortise of the lion or

² *Guilloché* is an ornament consisting of a band of twisted lines or strings.

some other animal, which must have originally crowned the pillar. Innumerable fragments of it, besides the capital, were found in the pit, some of which showed ornamental bands of lotus and guilloche. . . . The base of the capital is square, being 3' 6" on each of the faces, of which one has an ornament of lotus flowers or an inscription in shell or cup-mark characters, which no scholar has yet deciphered.' (p. 23). I saw this remarkable object lying in a potato field.

These fragmentary discoveries are tantalizing, and it is a pity that excavation in some one promising spot was not persevered in. As they stand no use can be made of them. The Bengal Government might consider the propriety of publishing the more important of Mukharji's drawings and photographs.

The 'Jamuna Dhih' mound on the south of the Mar-Sôn, or ancient bed of the Sôn, and to the west of Bankipore railway station, evidently was a monastery, as broken stone stools, such as were used by Buddhist monks, are found there (p. 26).

At Lohânpur the Bâbû also found 'the base of another pillar of the Asôka style but rather smaller in proportion. It is a circular stone, of which the diameter, 2 feet 10½ inches, decreased in five steps to 2 feet 3 inches as it rose to a length of 1 foot 9 inches, and on the top of which is a circular hole about 7 inches ['feet' in text] deep to receive the copper tenon of the shaft' (p. 29).

Mukharji says that he found stone railings of four distinct kinds, but he describes only three in detail. Lohânpur yielded the perfectly plain one, about 3½ feet in height. The second example, found at Dargâh Arzâni in the city had stouter posts, and the bosses were carved with tigers and other animals. The railings were rectangular in section, not lenticular as usual. The third railing, specimens of which were found at Kumrâhâr, was the most ornate of the four. The central bosses were sculptured in relief, 'one being a group of standing husband and wife, the latter horse-faced (*kienari*) and having a child on her lap. The other group is a seated gentleman, rather corpulent, clasping two children at his sides.'

The fourth railing was found on the south-west of the Seval tank. They were all delineated in Plates XL—XLIII, which probably exist somewhere. I presume that the objects were sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

After this long digression I will now return to Fa-hien.

The legend in Chapter XXXII, Passage No. V, concerning the meeting of Asôka in a former birth with 'Sakya Buddha,' according to Beal, Laidlay, and Giles (*Shih-chia*), or Kâśyapa Buddha, according to Legge, is mere folklore of the Jâtaka kind, which need not be discussed. There is nothing more about Asôka in the *Travels*.

The amount of traditional history recorded by the pilgrim is not large.

Passage No. I informs us that a son of Asôka named Dharma-vardhana, ruled a principality in the hills some 50 or 60 miles to the north of Peshâwar.

Passage No. II is mythological, but is interesting for its bearing upon the generally-accepted, although doubtful identification of Sankâśya or Kapitha with Sankisa in the Farrukhâbâd District. Fa-hien and Hinen Tsang both testify that the Asôka pillar at Sankâśya or Kapitha was crowned by a lion, whereas the pillar at Sankisa is surmounted by an elephant, and cannot possibly be the same monument. Perhaps there were two Asôka pillars at the site. Mr. Marshall has recently proved the existence of two such pillars at Râmpurwâ in the Champâran District, one with a lion, and the other with a bull capital.³ The question of the identity of the site requires re-examination after local enquiry.

³ J. R. A. S., 1908, p. 1085. Plate I, fig. 1, 2.

The legend recorded in passage No. III shows that the *stūpa* at Rāmagrāma in the Nepalese Tarāi was older than the time of Aśoka. The site probably is capable of identification.

Passage No. IV is by far the most important and tells us a good deal about Aśoka's connection with Pāṭaliputra. It mentions two monolithic pillars to the south of the city, both inscribed. The Sankāśya monument is the third of the three such pillars mentioned in the *Travels*, none of which is identical with any now standing.

The remains of both those near Pāṭaliputra seem to have been found, but no trace of the inscriptions. Fa-hien, like Hsien Tsang, describes Aśoka's religious relative as being his brother; not his son. He is the person called Mahendra or Mahindo by Hsien Tsang and the chroniclers of Ceylon. Although Fa-hien visited Ceylon, stayed there two years, and relates the legends locally current, he does not name Aśoka in connection with the island. He merely says (Chap. XXXVIII) that 'a former king of the country had sent to Central India and got a slip of the *patra* [= *śa*] tree, which he planted by the side of the hall of Buddha, where a tree grew up to the height of about 200 cubits.' He does not make any allusion to the story of the conversion of the island as told by the chroniclers.

A PRIMER OF DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY.

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Section I.

I.—Vowel system.

(1) From a comparative study of all the Dravidian dialects it is inferred that the Primitive Dravidian parent language had the following vowel system : —

Short vowels	...	...	...	...	a, i, u, e, o.
Long vowels	...	...	...	...	ā, ī, ū, ē, ō, ẽ
Nasalised long vowels	...	...	...	...	ã.

Note. — The Primitive Dravidian vowel system was simple. It had no diphthongs nor vocalic consonants.

(2) The pronunciation of these vowels is as in Italian. *α* is the long form of the vowel in the English word 'man.'

II. — Changes.

This system did not undergo many changes in the various separate Dravidian languages, but the few changes that it underwent may be summed up under the following headings¹ : —

(a) — ISOLATIVE CHANGES.

(1) Prim. Drav.² final *α* > *ai* in Tam.³; *æ* in Mal.⁴; *e* in Can.⁵; and Tu.⁶ and *ε* in Te.⁷ —
e. g. : —

Tam. *talai* 'head' is Mal. *tata*; Can. and Tu. *tale* and *tare* respectively; and Te. has *tala*.

¹ I shall give here only one example to illustrate each change, and more examples, if needed, will be found under the detailed treatment of the vowels.

² Primitive Dravidian.

³ Canarese.

⁴ Tamil.

⁵ Tulu.

⁶ Malayalam.

⁷ Telugu.

- (2) Prim. Drav. α > yâ, â in Tam. and â in Mal.
 > â, rarely ê, yâ in Can.
 > ê, sometimes â in Tu.
 > ê in Te.

Tam. *ā du* (goat) is Mal. *ā du*, Can. *ā du*; Tuḷu *ēdu* and Tel. *ēḷa*.

- (3) Prim. Drav. nasalised $\tilde{\alpha}$ > yâ, nâ, nâ — Tam.
 > n'â, n'ê — Mal.
 > â, nâ, nê — Can.
 > yâ, nâ, nê — Tu.
 > ê, nê, nâ — Te.

Tam. *yân*, *n'ân*, *nân*, 'I' is Mal *nân*. Can. *ā nu* and *nā nu*; Tu. *ā nu*; Te. *nē nu* and *ē nu*.

In short this sometimes lost its nasalisation, sometimes its fronting, sometimes both.

4. Prim. Drav. initial *a*, *i*, *e*, became aspirated in Mid and New Canarese, in some cases, and were represented by *ha*, *hi*, *he*. This is probably due to the influence of Marāṭhi, the northern neighbour of Canarese and Tuḷu, which has very many aspirated sounds. Tuḷu shows this tendency. For example. *Adappam* 'bar' in Tam. is *haḍappa* in Can. and Tu; *appaḷa* 'a special Bengal gram cake' in Tam. is *happaḷa* in Can. and Tu.

(b) — COMBINATIVE CHANGES.

(1) Changes in quality.

(α) *i* and *u* > *e* and *o* respectively in Can. Tu. and Te. and also in New Tam. and New Mal. before cerebrals and liquids and when followed by *a*. This change, I shall call — *a-umlaut*.

Tam. *iḍam* 'left' is Mal. *iḍa*; Can. and Tu *eḍa*; Te. *eḍamu*.

Note. — These *i* and *u* are always initial.

(β) Pr. Drav. initial *a* when followed by *i*, sometimes becomes *e* in Te. Tam. *aṛi* 'to know' is Te. *eṛugu*.

Through the influence of an *i* in the stem an *u* in the inflexions may be changed to *i*; *e. g.* — *pulī* Nom. case 'tiger' *puliki* Dat. but *biḍḍa* 'child' and *biḍḍaku*.

This change I shall call *i-umlaut*. Dr. Caldwell calls all these changes harmonic sequence of vowels.

(γ) Very often in Can. and Tu., and mostly in Te. the final half pronounced enunciative *u* of words changes an *a* of the preceding syllable into *u* and sometimes an *i* of the preceding syllable into *a*. This change, I shall call *u-umlaut*. For example. *Kaḍalu* 'to shake' is *kaḍulu* in Can., Te. and Tu.

(δ) By metathesis and by contraction due to accent change (see *infra*) with the following *a*, *i*, and *u* in Telugu respectively became *ē* and *ō*. Tam. *iralai* 'deer' is Te. *lēḍi*. Here *r* and *e* have interchanged. Tam. *ural* 'mortar' Te. is *rōlu*.

(2). *Change in quantity.*

(a) By the loss of nasals, *h* or *g*, *v* or even *y* (Pr. Drav. *g* or *g'*) the vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, were often lengthened.

Tam. *aḥappai* 'ladle' is *āpe* and *hāpe* in Can. Tu.

Tam. *iṇan* 'this man' is Tel. *iṇḍa*.

Note.—This change is often attended with metathesis in Telugu.

(b) These vowels, if long, became short when they were used as part of inflexional particles, e. g., *nān* or *nēn* 'I' became *en* in inflexions.

III. — The Great Accent change.

Before proceeding to a detailed treatment of the vowel changes in the various separate Dravidian languages, I shall give here an account of the **Great Accent Change** in Primitive Dravidian, which plays so important a part in the explanation of the difficult forms that most of the words of Telugu, Goṇḍi and the other North Dravidian languages have assumed.

In Early Primitive Dravidian, as it is even now in Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese, the accent rested on the root or stem syllable, which is almost always the first syllable.

But later on, in late Primitive Dravidian, before the great Tamil works, viz., *Kuraḷ* and *Dṛṇvakāśintṭamāṇi* were written, perhaps about the beginning of the first century A. D., the accent showed a tendency to shift to the last syllable. As a result of this tendency, the final consonants of words began to be pronounced with distinct stress and with an enunciative half-pronounced *u*. The consonants that were thus affected in all the languages were *g*, *i*, *dʒ*, *ḍ*, *d*, *b* and *ṛ*.

But with this only result, the tendency was more or less completely stopped in the Central and the South Dravidian dialects. Kumarila Bhaṭṭa, who was the great controversial writer of the seventh century, uses "*iṣṭṛ*," "*pāmp*," "*ḍḷ*," and "*vayir*," which are exactly the Tamil words *iṣṭṛu*, *pāmpu*, *ḍḷ* and *vayir*, showing thereby that the tendency for the accent change had not developed till the close of the 6th century.

The tendency seems to have completely died out in the South Dravidian languages. For Malayalam, which branched off from Tamil as a separate language at the commencement of the 7th century A. D., began to develop a reaction against this tendency: so much so that at the present day all the inflexions are lost in the verbal forms in New Malayalam, the accent strongly resting on the root syllable. In Tamil, the tendency stopped at affecting only the consonants mentioned above.

In the Central-Dravidian languages, the tendency did not die out, but was only checked for a time. Dr. Kittel says that even in ancient literature there was a tendency to add a final *u* to consonants and sometimes also *i* (Kittel's *Kannāḍa Grammar*, article 54).

All this while, from the 1st to the 7th century, great changes were taking place in the North Dravidian languages. The accent had shifted to the last syllable: the initial and the medial syllables had become contracted; all the final consonants had taken an enunciative *u* which was no more pronounced only half, but with full and clear stress. The final vowels in the extreme North dialects had become lengthened, where short originally.

The Central Dravidian was once more affected by its nearness to the North Dravidian languages. Canarese and Tuḷu, the chief languages of this family, added a final *u* to all words ending in any consonant, and this final *u* began to affect the vowels of the preceding syllables as in the North Dravidian languages. But with these results the tendency had stopped in them.

I will now sum up and illustrate the results of the great accent shift : —

(1) *The lengthening of original final short vowels : —*

In Goṇḍi, which is the extreme North dialect, the accent had completely changed to the last syllable and every vowel is lengthened ; e. g. : —

Tam. *viraku* 'wood' is in Goṇḍi *rājugū*.

Tam. *paṭu*. Tel. *paru* is Goṇḍi *prīū*.

Tel. Tam. *ēlu* 'wisdom' is Goṇḍi *ēlū*.

Tel. *mrdnu* 'tree' is in Goṇḍi *mrdnū*.

Tel. *illu* 'house' is in Goṇḍi *iddū*.

Tel. *kālu* 'leg' is in Goṇḍi *kādū*.

Examples may be multiplied, as almost every word has a long vowel at the end in Goṇḍi.

(2) *Dropping of initial vowels and contraction by metathesis :*

This is characteristic of all the North Dravidian languages ; and the words affected are mostly the unstressed post-positions and the pronominal forms ; e. g. : —

Tam. *uḷ* is in Tel. *lā*, in Goṇḍi *lāi* 'in'.

Tam. *ural* is Tel. *rōlu*. Tam. *ilānu* is in, Tel. *lētadu* 'tender.' Tam. *ēru* is Telugu *rīdu* 'this man,' etc.

(3) *Voicing of initial consonants*, through lack of stress and also of medial ones. This is characteristic of all except the South Dravidian family, viz., Tamil and Malayalam ; and this change generally takes place when the initial consonants are followed by cerebrals, doubled consonants and liquids ; e. g. : —

Tam. *tihil* 'fear' is *ḍigilu* in Can., Tu. and Te.

Tam. *taiḷi* 'screen' is *ḍaḍḍi* in Can., Tu. and Te.

Tam. *oṭṭar* is *oḍḍar* in Can., Tu. and Te.

(4) *Final enunciation :* —

This has been already explained in the general treatment of accent shift.

IV.-a.

(1) *The initial a of Primitive Dravidian remains in all its dialects : —*

	Tamil	Mal.	Can.	Tuṣ.	Telugu.
1	ahal (extend)	ayalaya ...	agalu ...	agalu ...	agalu.
2	aḍi (foot)	aḍi ...	aḍi ...	aḍi ...	aḍaga.
3	aṭṭai (leech)	aṭṭe ...	aṭṭe ...	aṭṭe ...	aṭṭa.
4	aṭṭam (obstruction) ...	aṭṭam ...	aḍḍam ...	aḍḍam ...	aḍḍamin.
5	aral (flower)	aral ...	aralu ...	aralu ...	aralu.
6	atti (fig)	atti ...	atti ...	arti ...	atti.

(2) Primitive Dravidian medial *a* also remains :—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	kal (stone)	kal	kalla	kalla	kalla.
2	kannam (hole)	kannam	kannamu	kanna	kanna.
3	taṭṭu (to tap)	taṭṭu	taṭṭu	taṭṭu	taṭṭu.
4	nahu (to laugh)	naṣu	nagu	naga	nagu.
5	pattu (ten)	pattu	hattu	hattu	paḍi.

(3) Pr. Drav. final *a* in stem syllables becomes—

- ▷ (ai) (through æ) in Tamil.
- ▷ æ (written a) in Malayalam.
- ▷ e (in Canarese and Tulu).
- ▷ a in Telugu.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	talai (head)	tala	tale	tare	tala.
2	karai (shore)	kara	kare	kare	kara.
3	malai (hill)	mala	malo	male	maia.
4	aṭṭai (sole of the foot)	aṭṭa	aṭṭe	aṭṭe	aṭṭa.
5	arai (half)	ara	are	are	ara.
6	valai (net)	vale	bale	bale	vaia.

(4) Special development of *a*.

(a) Canarese.

(1) Can. initial *a* ▷ *p* (h) *a*, and *ha*.

In Canarese the initial *a* mostly becomes aspirated through the influence of Marāṭhī. Then it was written as *pa*, for *p*, at that period, was an aspirated consonant : (vide the development of *p* under consonants). And this *p* again became *h*. For example :—

Tam. *aḥappai* 'ladle' is in Can. *ḥaps*.

Tam. *aḍappam* 'bag' is in Can. *ḥaḍapa*.

Tam. *aṇai* 'approach' is in Can. *paṇe* and *ḥaṇe*.

Tam. *aṭṭi* 'fig tree' is in Can. *hatti*.

Tam. *ari* 'to cut' is in Can. *hari* (*vide Kittel's Kannada Dictionary*, page 2, for more examples).

(2) *Pr. Drav. final a* \searrow *e*, later weakened to *i*, *a*.

Pr. Drav. final a which becomes *e* in Canarese and *ai* in Tamil, was further weakened in Canarese either to *i* or to *a*; e. g. :—

Tam. *kaḷai* 'to weed' is in Can. *kaḷe* and *kaḷi*.

Tam. *kaṛai* 'stain' is in Can. *kaṛe* and *kaṛi*.

Tam. *kaṛai* 'to call' is in Can. *kaṛe* and *kari*.

Tam. *kaḍai* 'to churn' is in Can. *kaḍe* and *kaḍi*.

again : Tam. *malai* 'mountain' is Can. *malē* and *mala*.

Tam. *ilai* 'leaf' *ele* and *ila*.

Tam. *kaṭai* 'stick' *kaṭe* and *kaṭa*.

It may be noted here that the weakening of *e* into *i* is found in verbal forms and the weakening of *e* into *a* in nouns.

(3) *a* \searrow *ā*, *o* in inflexional forms of Canarese. The genitive and the accusative signs become lengthened. Gen. *a* \searrow *ā* and the acc. *am* \searrow *ā*; again *avam* 'he' appears as *arom*. Plural sign *ar* \searrow *or*. (*vide Kittel's Canarese Grammar*, pages 24, 180, 212 and 47, 51, 53, 58, 111, and 112).

(4) *a* \searrow *ā* by contraction, e. g. :—*agape* 'ladle' becomes *āpe* and *hāpe*.

(5) *ai* \searrow *i* (*i* shortened) in the formation of second person singular of the future and imperfect :—e. g., *iddi*, *iruvī*, etc. (*vide Kittel's Kannada Dictionary*, page 178).

(6) Tamil.

(1) In Tamil the *medial a*, which is not in the first syllable, is generally pronounced as *æ*, though written *a* :—e. g., *maḍal* is *maḍæ* 'a petal'. It is also written as *e* by the vulgar people.

(2) *Pr. Dravidian final a* is preserved in Tamil in a few words as *kara* to milk, *ira* 'to beg', *naḍa* to walk. These have final *e* in Canarese and Tulu and *a* in Telugu. This final *a* of Tamil is, hence, very probably a weakening of *ai*.

(3) *a* \searrow *ā*, *ē* by contraction; e. g. :—

viṇṇasar \searrow *viṇṇār* "gods."

periyavar \searrow *periyār* and *periyōr* 'elders.'

aḥappai \searrow *āppai*. Here the contraction is due to the disappearance of *medial h* or *v*.

(4) The final *ai* \searrow *Pr. Dravidian a* is always written as *a* and pronounced as *æ*, when it becomes medial by the addition of suffixes; e. g., *malai* 'hill,' but *malanḍu* 'a hilly country' (*vide Nannāl-Sātram*, 123).

(c) Malayalam.

The medial *a* in Malayalam has a great tendency to become *e* and is written as *e* by the vulgar people. Again Pr. Dravidian final *a* which is written *a*, but pronounced *e* in Malayalam is regularly written *e* when it becomes medial by the addition of suffixes; e. g. :—

Tam. *amai* 'to fit' is *ameyaya* in Mal. Tamil *alai* 'to move' is *ayekka*. Tamil *alai* 'head' is *talikka* dat. of *tala*. (Vide Gundert's *Mal. Dict.*, page 1.)

(d) Telugu.

1. In Telugu initial *a* \searrow *e* by *i*-mutation, e. g. :— Tam. *ayi*, to know. Telugu *erugu*.

(2) Initial *a* \searrow *u* by *u*-mutation. Tam. *mu'ai* 'to sprout' is Tel. *molatsu* and *molufsu*; Tam. *malai* 'to wander' is Tel. *malagu* and *malugu*; *kadalu* and *kadulu*, to move.

(3) In the inflexional suffixes, *a* \searrow *ā* through the dropping of a nasal. Tam; *avan* is Tel. *vādu*, and the *ādu* of *vādu* is added in verbal inflexions. Again Tam. *tangu* to remain, is Telugu *dāgu*.

V.—ā.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial *ā* remains :—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telegu.
1	āḍu (slay)	āḍu	āḍu	āḍu	āḍu.
2	āṇi (nail)	āṇi	āṇi	āṇi	āṇi.
3	āru (to be full)	āru	āru	āru	āru.
4	ā (cow)	ā	ā ... ..	.....	āvu.

(2) Pr. Drav. medial *ā* remains :—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telegu.
1	kāḍu (forest)	kāḍu	kāḍu	kāḍu	kāḍu.
2	pāl (ruins)	pāl	pāl	hālu	pāḍu.
3	tākku (attack)	tākku	tāgu	tāgu	tāgu.
4	nāṭṭu (fix)	nāṭṭu	nāṭu	nāṭu	nāṭu.
5	vānam (sky and rains)	vānam	bān	bāne (hill)	vānamu.

(3) Pr. Dravidian final *ā* is found in the following words :—(1) Tam. *ā* 'cow'; (2) *kā* 'to protect'; (3) *īdā* 'to die'; (4) *tā* 'to give'; (5) *pā* 'song'; (6) *vā* 'to come.'

But the Pr. Drav. final *ā* was later either shortened to *a* or received a formative suffix *ku*, *ṭu* or *ṭu* or *pu*; so that the above words appear as *āvu*; *kāpu*, *vāru*, *pāṭu*, *vāru* in Can., Tel. and Tulu. In Tamil, we have *vāru*, *kāpu*, *pāṭu* and *vāru*.

(4) The development of Pr. Drav. final *d*.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	â (cow)	â	âvu ... ..	.....	âvu.
2	kâ (to defend)	kâ	kâ	kâpu	kâpu.
3	ââ (to die)	tâ	sâ	sai	tâtâtâ.
4	tâ (give)	tâ	tâ ... ..	.....	tâtâtâ, tât.
5	pâ (song)... ..	pâtu	pâtu ... ..	.....	pâtu.

(5) Special development of *d*.

In Telugu initial *d* drops through accent-change and the next vowel is lengthened as a compensation; e. g., *âga lêdu* (cf. Tam. *âharillai*) becomes *kêlêdu*.

VI-i.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial *i* remains in all the languages.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	iḍu (place)	iḍu	iḍa	iḍe (a)	iḍa.
2	iru (two)	iru	iru	iru	iru.
3	il (house)	il	illa	illa	illa.
4	in'tḥu (shrink)	in'tḥu	iḥu	iḥu	iḥu.
5	irukku (squeeze)	irukku	irku	irku	iruku.

(2) Pri. Drav. medial *i* remains in all the languages.

Note.—(Here the *i* is in the first syllable of the illustrating words).

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	âḥu (small)	tḥiḥu	kiḥu, kiḥi	kiḥu	kiḥi.
2	tḥi (twist)	tḥi	tḥi	tḥi	tḥi.
3	kḥi (parrot)	kḥi	giḥi	giḥi	tḥiluka.
4	tâli (string)	tâli	tâli ... ..	.....	tâli.
5	vil (to sell)	vil	bel (n)	bile (n)	vilatḥu.
6	migu (to exceed)... ..	miyu	migu	migu	migula.

(3) Pr. Drav. final *i* remains in all the languages.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	aḍḍi (delay)	aḍḍi	aḍḍi	aḍḍi	aḍḍi.
2	atti (fig)	atti	atti	atti	atti.
3	katti (knife)	katti	katti	katti	katti.
4	taṭṭi (screen)	taṭṭi	taṭṭi	taṭṭi	taṭṭi.
5	paṛutti (cotton)	paṛutti	paṭṭi	paṭṭi	paṭṭi.
6	y'evi (ear)	tʃevi	kibi	kibi	tʃevi.

(4) *i* > *e* (by *a* -umlaut).

i before cerebrals and liquids and followed by *a* becomes *e* in Classical Canarese, Tulu and Telugu and also in New Tamil and New Malayalam.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	iḍam (place)	iḍa	eḍa	iḍa	eḍa.
2	iḍadu (left)	iḍa	eḍa	eḍa	eḍamu.
3	iṇai (couple)	iṇa	eṇa	iṇa	eṇa.
4	iraval (borrowing)	irava	erava	erava	erava.
5	iraṅgu (descend)	iraṅgu	eragu	eraguru	eragu.
6	ilai (leaf)	iḷa	eḷa	ere ... ..	...
7	iḷai (thread)	iḷa	eḷa	eḷa	eḷa.
8	iḷam (young)	iḷa	eḷa	iḷi	iḷa.

(5) Special developments of *e*.

(a) Canarese.

(a) *iya* > *i* (1) as in the accusative singular; (2) in the genitive singular; (3) in the locative singular; (4) in the infinitive; (5) in the nominative plural.

The examples respectively are —

binṇi takkoṇḍa; *gāḷi soḍa*; *hāḍi iṣṣa bīru*; *ḥagittōru* (vide Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, page 204).

(b) The ancient dialect $i \rightarrow e$ in some verbs. *isu* \rightarrow *etstfu* (draw); *kiru kettu* (scratch), etc. (Kittel's *Can. Gr.*, art. 66.)

(c) In some verbs $i \rightarrow a$: *kaḍidu* \angle *kaḍadu*. (Kittel's *Can. Gr.*, p. 95, art. 157.)

(d) Medial $i \rightarrow u$ though final u -mutation: e. g., *kaḍiku* and *kaḍuku* 'a cut'; *kaḍiku* and *kaḍuku* 'the stalk of millet.'

(b) *Telugu.*

(1) $i \rightarrow a$ by $a(u)$ -umlaut:—e. g. Tamil *eli* is Tel. *elaka* 'rat'. Tamil *kari* 'to bite' is Tel. *karatfu* and *karutfa*.

(2) $i \rightarrow u$ by u -umlaut:—e. g.:—*edir* 'front' in Tamil, becomes *edura* in Tel. and Canarese, and Tuju. Tamil *kadir* 'a spindle' is Tel. *kaduru*.

(3) $i \rightarrow e$ by contraction with a , through metathesis of liquid consonants. Examples are:—

(1) Tamil: *iraṇḍu* 'two' is Tel. *reṇḍu*; (2) Tam. *iralai* 'deer' is Tel. *lēdi*; (3) Tam. *iladu* 'not' is Tel. *lēdu*; (4) Tam. *iḷa* 'young' is Tel. *lē*.

This change is sometimes found in New Tamil and Malayalam as in *reṇḍu* 'two.'

VII-1.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial \tilde{r} remains:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuju.	Telugu.
1	\tilde{r} (fly)	\tilde{r} ... ..	.....	.....	<i>iga</i> .
2	\tilde{r} stfu (date)	\tilde{r} ta	\tilde{r} sal	\tilde{r} filu	<i>ita</i> .
3	\tilde{r} n (to give birth)	\tilde{r} nnya	\tilde{r} n ... ..	.....	<i>inu</i> .
4	\tilde{r} u (nit)	\tilde{r} u	\tilde{r} u ... ..	.....	<i>iru</i> .
5	\tilde{r} u (match)	\tilde{r} u	\tilde{r} u	\tilde{r} u (pledge)	<i>idu</i> .

(2) Pr. Drav. medial \tilde{r} remains in all the languages:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuju.	Telugu.
1	\tilde{r} ippu (bunch)	\tilde{r} ippu	\tilde{r} ipu	\tilde{r} ipu	\tilde{r} ipa.
2	\tilde{r} iru (scratch)	\tilde{r} iraya	\tilde{r} iru	\tilde{r} iru... ..	<i>giru</i> .
3	\tilde{r} iru (finish)	\tilde{r} iraya	\tilde{r} iru	\tilde{r} iru	<i>tiru</i> .
4	\tilde{r} iru (fish)	\tilde{r} iru	\tilde{r} iru	\tilde{r} iru	<i>minu</i> .
5	\tilde{r} iru (to fan)	\tilde{r} iruyu	\tilde{r} iru... ..	\tilde{r} iru	\tilde{r} iru.

(3) Pr. Drav. final *i* is found in the following words:—*i* (give), *ti* (fire) &
(purse) *tʃi* (fire), *pi* (human excrement).

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	<i>i</i> (give)	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i> ... ..	... ..	<i>i</i> .
2	<i>ti</i> (sweet)	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i> .
3	<i>ti, tû</i> (fire)	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i> and <i>si</i>	<i>tû</i> ... ..	.....
4	<i>pi</i> (man's dung)	<i>pi</i>	<i>pi</i> ... ..	.....	<i>pi</i> .
5	<i>tʃi</i> (fire)	<i>tʃi</i>	<i>tʃi</i>	<i>tʃi</i>	<i>tʃi</i> .

VIII-u.

II. — Laws of Dravidian Syllabification.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial *u* remains.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	<i>umi</i> (spit)	<i>umi</i>	<i>ugi</i>	<i>ugi</i>	<i>usin'tʃu</i> .
2	<i>uppu</i> (salt)	<i>uppu</i>	<i>uppu</i>	<i>uppu</i>	<i>uppu</i> .
3	<i>uyir</i> (life)	<i>uyir</i>	<i>usira</i>	<i>usira</i>	<i>usira</i> .
4	<i>uṇḍai</i> (round)	<i>uṇḍe</i>	<i>uṇḍe</i>	<i>uṇḍe</i>	<i>aṇḍe</i> .
5	<i>uṇḍu</i> (black gram)	<i>uṇḍu</i>	<i>uddu</i>	<i>uddu</i>	<i>addala</i> .

(2) Pr. Dravidian medial *u* remains.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	<i>kutta</i> (blow)	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kutta</i> .
2	<i>kuri</i> (aim)	<i>kuri</i>	<i>guri</i>	<i>guri</i>	<i>guri</i> .
3	<i>tumbal</i> (aneaze)	<i>tambaya</i> ... ..	.....	<i>tambila</i>	<i>tamma</i> .
4	<i>muḍi</i> (knot)	<i>muḍi</i>	<i>muḍi</i>	<i>muḍi</i>	<i>muḍi</i> .
5	<i>tuḍi</i> (end)	<i>tuḍi</i>	<i>tudi</i>	<i>tudi</i>	<i>tudi</i> .

(3) Pr. Drav. initial *u* > *o* by *a*-umlaut.

Pr. Drav. initial *u* becomes *o* when followed by *a* and before cerebrals and liquids. This change is found in classical Can., Tel. and Tuju and also in New Tamil and Malayalam :—

	Tamīl.	Mal.	Can.	Tuju.	Telugu.
1	uḍal (body)	uḍal ...	oḍala ...	oḍalu ...	oḍalu and oḷḷu.
2	udai (kick)	udai ...	ode ...	.....	.....
3	urai (scabbard)	urāe ...	ore ...	ore ...	ora.
4	ulai (large)	ulāe ...	ole ...	ule ...	ula.
5	uḷavu (secret),	uḷavu ...	oḷava ...	oḷavu ...	oḷavu.

(4) Special developments of *u*.

(a) Telugu.

In Telugu *u* > *ō* by contraction; e. g. :—Tam. *ural* 'grinding mortar' is Telugu *rōlu*; Tam *uḷ* (in) is Tel. *lō*; Tam. *uḷir* 'claw' is Tel. *gōru*.

IX.-ū.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial *ū* remains :—

	Tamīl.	Mal.	Can.	Tuju.	Telugu.
1	ūḍu (blow)	ūḍu ...	ūḍu ...	ūḍu ...	ūḍu.
2	ūr (village)	ūru ...	ūru ...	ūru ...	ūru.
3	ūḷai (howl)	ūḷāe ...	ūḷ ...	...	ūla.
4	ūḷizan (work)	ūḷiyam ...	ūḷiga ...	ūḷiga ...	ūḷigama.
5	ūṇṇu (to fix)	ūnnu ...	ūru ...	ūru ...	ūnu.

(2) Pr. Drav. Medial *ū* remains :—

	Tamīl.	Mal.	Can.	Tuju.	Telugu.
1	kūḍu (nest)	kūḍu ...	gūḍu ...	gūḍu ...	gūḍu.
2	tūkkam (weight)	tūkka ...	tūka ...	tūka ...	tūka.
3	nūlu (thread)	nūlu ...	nūlu ...	nūlu ...	nūlu.
4	mūṇṇu (three)	mūnnu ...	mūṇu ...	mūji ...	mūḍu.
5	mūlai (corner)	mūlāe ...	mūle ...	mūle ...	mūla.

(To be continued.)

A BALLAD OF THE SIKH WARS.

Taken down by M. Longworth Dames between Jhang and Chiniot in 1875.

Communicated by H. A. Rose.

Introductory Remarks by the Editor.

THIS Panjābī Ballad, like most of its kind, contains a fine confusion of history, though it is, in point of date, close to the events it purports to record. It may be divided into two equal parts. Part I contains references to the First Sikh War of 1845-6 and to the Battle of Sobrañ, near Firozpur, on 10th Feb. 1846. Part II refers to the siege of Multān and to the Second Sikh War, both in 1848-9. To explain the allusions in the Ballad it is necessary to relate something of the real history of the time.

The series of dynastic troubles, astonishing even in the history of an Oriental State, which arose on the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839, resulted eventually, in 1845, in the regency of his widow, Rānī Jindān, on behalf of her son, Dalip Singh, the titular Mahārājā of the Panjāb. Her minister was her favourite and reputed paramour, Rājā Lāl Singh, a Brāhmaṇ. They had abundant evidence that the Army of the Khālsā, or Sikh Commonwealth, was not only practically their master, but was also far from loyal to them, and, in pursuance of a deep scheme to break its power, they made every effort to involve it in a war with the British Government. They finally succeeded in inducing the Khālsā Army to cross the Satluj into British Territory. Strategically the object of the movements made was to separate the Cantonment of Firozpur, a strong but isolated outpost of the British Indian possessions at that time, from its supports at Ludhiānā and elsewhere. This led to a series of important battles at Mūdkī on 18th Dec. 1845, at Ferozeshah (Pherushahr) on the 21st Dec., at Aliwāl on the 27th Jan. 1846, and finally at Sobrañ on the Satluj on the 10th Feb., followed the next day by the capture of Kasūr on the Labor side of the river. In these operations the Sikh Army was overwhelmed and for the time being crushed. All the above places, except Aliwāl near Ludhiānā, are near to Firozpur.

The references in the Ballad to the Battle of Sobrañ are in the main correct. That fine old Sikh warrior, Shām Singh of Atārī, strongly advised the Sikh Army not to interfere with so powerful a neighbour as the English, but finally, when they would not listen to him, he joined them at Sobrañ, and deliberately went to his death during the battle, in circumstances which have made his name cherished by the Sikhs to the present day.

When driven back from their entrenchments by the British, the Sikhs endeavoured to swim or ford the Satluj in their rear, but a rise of the river in the night had swept away their bridge of boats and made the crossing dangerous in any circumstances. It was during their retreat that the great slaughter at Sobrañ took place, and the river was so choked with corpses that Lord Gough, who commanded, is said to have remarked that he could have walked over to the other bank by stepping from one to the other.

Rājā Lāl Singh behaved treacherously throughout all the fighting with the British, as part of the plan of securing the defeat of the Khālsā Army, and though he managed to keep his post of minister even after the disastrous treaty that followed on the defeat at Sobrañ, he was eventually convicted of treacherous conduct towards the English and banished to Benares in Dec. 1846.

One of the immediate effects of the defeat at Sobraon was to place the Dogrā Chief, **Mahārāja Gulāb Singh of Jammūn**, a great figure of the time, in power over the Khālsā. He became the chief intermediary with the British and in the end their ally, receiving for his services from Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General, the great fief of Jammūn and Kashmir, now held by his descendants, under the celebrated agreement, long afterwards known as the "Sale of Kashmir."

The reference in the last line (St. V., l. 4) of the Ballad relating to the Battle of Sobraon is very obscure. Rājā Lāl Singh is represented as saying that he has complained to Gulāb Singh about Sher Singh. This Sher Singh cannot be the Mahārāja Sher Singh, as he had been murdered three years previously. It might refer to Jawāhir Singh, the brother of Rāni Jindān, a notoriously evil genius of the Sikhs at that period, but he had been murdered more than a year before. The prominent Sher Singh of the time was **Rājā Sher Singh of Atārī**, who was one of the Council of Regency on the banishment of Rājā Lāl Singh in Dec. 1846, and afterwards the leader in the Second Sikh War of 1848-9. He must always have been a personage not at all likely to have been friendly with Rājā Lāl Singh.

The allusions in the second part of the Ballad are much more obscure than those in the first part, and require a good deal of explanation. The Second Sikh War was the direct outcome of the First, as the Sikh power had only been scotched, not destroyed, at Sobraon. The first fruit of the trouble that arose after the treaty ratified at Lahor on 26th Dec. 1846, was the rebellion of Mūl Rāj, the Diwān of Multān, in 1848, which began with the treacherous murder, on 19th April, 1848, of Messrs. Vans Agnew and Anderson, who had been sent to Multān to look after the administration at what may be fairly called Mūl Rāj's own invitation. Vans Agnew exhibited a splendid courage in the circumstances of the attack that led to his murder, and managed to send news of it to Sir Frederick Currie, the Resident at Lahor, and to Sir Herbert Edwardes and General Cortlandt at Bannū and Dera Ghāzi Khān, respectively. Edwardes raised a Muhammadan force at Bannū, which steadily defeated Mūl Rāj's troops in fight after fight, until he reached Multān itself on July 1st and invested it, while awaiting the arrival of General Whish on the 4th Sept. with a siege train. Then commenced regular operations to reduce the important fortress into which Mūl Rāj had converted the fort and city of Multān.

Part of the arrangements made at Lahor for assisting Edwardes was the despatch of a Sikh force under **Rājā Sher Singh of Atārī**, which was disaffected from the commencement, and while Edwardes was investing Multān, Sher Singh's father, Chhatar Singh of Atārī, had raised a formal revolt against the British in the North. After much hesitation Sher Singh threw in his lot with the rebellion, and went over with his forces to Mūl Rāj on the 14th Sept. Eventually he quarrelled with Mūl Rāj and took himself and his men off to his father, and finally became the leader of the Sikh armies in the Second Sikh War, until the crushing defeat at Gujrat on the 21st Feb. 1849.

A curious small fact of this episode is brought out in Stanza 9, in a manner not uncommon in Oriental ballads:—"From without **Sher Singh** wrote a letter and smuggled it inside—"we are going into the fort: give us support." In the evidence adduced at the trials of Mūl Rāj and his fellow-rebels it was said by them that Rājā Sher Singh¹ "never wrote but one letter to the Dewan all the time he was at Mooltan and that was the night before he came over. We were astonished: for though we knew all the Rajah's soldiers were our friends, we believed the Rajah himself was our enemy. . . . when, therefore all at once he proposed to join us we suspected treachery and would not admit him within the walls, but made him encamp under the guns of the fort."

¹ Edwardes, *A Year on the Panjab Frontier*, Vol. II, p. 611.

The line in Stanza 9 which says — "You killed the Rājāh, Sher Singh, who can trust your word," seems, however, to refer to a totally different story of the time—the gallant death of Fath Khān Tiwānā in Bannū when besieged at Dalipgarh. When it was no longer possible to go on he sallied out sword in hand and was recognised by the Sikhs as one of those who had caused the murder of Peshorā Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh. Peshorā Singh was popular with the Sikh soldiery and claimed the throne in 1845. The story goes that Fath Khān came out of the Fort and called out "I am Malik Fath Khān Tiwānā. Don't shoot me like a dog, but if there are any two of you who are equal to a man, come on." The Sikhs replied: — "You are he who murdered our Prince, Peshorā Singh, and we will murder you"—, and shot him dead.

Sher Singh's defection caused the siege of Multān to be raised and it was not again commenced until the arrival of reinforcements from Bombay on Dec. 27th. Multān was finally reduced on 22nd Jan. 1849, when Mūl Rāj unconditionally surrendered.

The most difficult allusions in the Ballad are those to "Muhammad Bakhsh," no doubt meant for "Muhammad Khān," a name so common as to afford hardly any clue for identification. There were several prominent Muhammad Khāns at the time connected with the movements of Sir Herbert Edwardes.

There was Muhammad Khān Khosā, who was killed in the first great defeat inflicted on Mūl Rāj's troops at Dera Ghāzi Khān by Gen. Cortlandt, the Khosās being a Baloch tribe who supported General Cortlandt and forces. Then there was Shah Muhammad Khān Dād-putrā, one of the principal officers of the Nawāb of Bahāwalpur, who helped Edwardes throughout his operations. This officer was killed during Edwardes' victory at Sadāsām, close to Multān. But the circumstances connected with these two names are anything but shameful, as the Ballad infers.

The actual Commander of the Bahāwalpur force was Fath Muhammad Khān Ghorī, an ineffectual old man with doubtful antecedents and not altogether unsuspected of treachery at the various fights he was supposed to assist in, but his end, so far as this story is concerned, was merely removal from his post by the Nawāb.

The personage most likely to be referred to was Sādiq Muhammad Khān Badozai, a Multānī Pathān and of one of Mūl Rāj's principal officers, who blew hot and cold all through the rebellion and finally joined and helped Edwardes.

Text.*	Translation.
Qissa I.	Part I.
1.	1.
Chañhi karāi Khālsā; chā hast sandhāre:	The Khālsā ³ army set out on its march with elephants dyed red,
Kaṇḍhī dhar 'amāriyān, vāṅ gumbaz hanjīre.	And garlands hung on their <i>haudās</i> , like the domes of mosques.
Hath gāne badhe, Shām Singh; Sikh phiran amūre.	The affairs of Shām Singh went awry; the Sikhs tied his hands.
Murde vich daryā de ḍar bhane pūre.	The corpses were swept down by the current of the river (Satluj).
Sikh ākhdeh ih dīhāre maṭ de bah kichan pūre.	The Sikhs say that on this day death came in the mud of the stream.

* [The dialect is that of the South-West Panjāb, and contains a number of words not traceable in the Panjabi Dictionary of Bhai Maya Singh. E. g., *chharak*, *dārāh*, *hakhāā*, etc., etc. The Panjāb spelling of *lakh* would be *lakh*, of *pay*, *payy*, etc.; but of *khatt*, *khat*.]

³ The Khālsā was the term for the Sikh Commonwealth.

2.

Kūch taiyāre Landanēn Sāhib cbharak kaṭāi :

Gore, kāle, Rājput. Kar āhū dhāl !

Is takht Lāhor dī Sikh andhar āhl.

Chih āniyān liyā Angrezān ; sab in manāi.

Chhāoni vich Firoz de ā goriyān lāe.

3.

Sardār Mahān Singh kī lakh ūrd sipāhī.

Jihre naukar howān bādshāhān nūn sāmhe
unhān kītī buriyāi ;

Sandhā-waliyān māryā Sher Singh ; unhān kītī
buriyāi.

Likhe Bibī te Lāl Singh : — " Main 'arzi
pahunchāi.

Is se takht Lāhor dī main hiḍak lāhl.

4.

Dalān dūhān muqābila sach ākhyā lāhiyān :

Is se takht Lahor diyān main hiḍakān lahiyān." ,

Likhe Bibī te Lāl Singh : — " Main araiyān
pahunchāiyān.

5.

Dere vich Lāhor dī Sāhib Shālā Bāg ;

Milyā ān Angrez nūn Rājā Gulāb.

Sardār Mahān Singh dī Sinkhān kītī kharāb.

Is māre Rājā te Sher Singh dī main kītī faryād."

2.

The Sāhibs (English) prepared their march
and led an expedition from London :

White and black and Rājputs. See how they
set forth !

Blindness came upon the Sikhs of this throne of
Lahor,

The English came and respected all the laws
(of war).

The white men came from the Cantonment of
Firozpur.

3.

The army of the Mahān Singh's State² was
a camp of a hundred thousand men.

All the servants who were before the King did
evil.

The Sindhānwāliyas slew Sher Singh :⁴ they did
evil.

Wrote Lāl Singh to the Queen :³ " I sent
a petition.

By this I brought trouble on the throne of
Lahor.

4.

I have said truly that I raised the dense smoke
of war,

And by this I have brought disasters on the
throne of Lahor."

Wrote Lāl Singh to the Queen : — " I have
sent petitions.

5.

The Sāhib is in camp at the Shālā (Shālīmār)
Gardens at Lahor.

Rājā Gulāb (Singh) has come and joined the
English.

The State of Mahān Singh the Sikhs (them-
selves) have destroyed.

Therefore have I complained to the Rājā about
Sher Singh."

² Mahān Singh, the founder of the Sikh State of the Panjāb, was the father of the great Ranjit Singh of the Panjāb.

⁴ Mahārājā Sher Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, was murdered by the Sindhānwāliyas during the shocking tragedies of the 15th Sept. 1843 and the following days.

³ Rāni Jindān, the reputed mother of Dalip Singh by Ranjit Singh.

Qissa II.

6.

Charñ hakūān Sāhibān : tūn ākhe lag.
 Paindā karnā be rāt din, jā pahunchiñ jab.
 Variñe vich Multān de, pī kaif sharāb.
 Kilā kacheriyān baiñhakān. Tūn vekhiñ rāj.

7.

Muhammad Bakhsh sipāhī vich kidīle muñh
 dhārī pag.
 Us kañhī dhrūh miyān vichon ; alimbā ag,
 Vadh kitoson takre do tote hañ.
 Ghatyār vich Multān de dhādhā adbrajja.
 Kilā diwāñhīn hathiñ apne ; hun lagdi lajj.
 Mant manhiyān sir te : lañāi bhaiye phab.

8.

Dhrāh peyā Multān vich : do mare lāt.
 Iphī te khabarāñ pahunchiyāñ vich Bannū Tāk.
 Dere vich Multān de ā hol ī nāch.

9.

Bahroñ likhī Sher Singh ; khatt andar ghale :—
 "Assāñ varāñ kile vich, dewan asā nuñ jhale."
 "Tusāñ mārýā Rājā te, Sher Singh, visā kahñ
 gale ?"
 Jāññ dītthe māñjiyāñ ; kar miloñ thile,
 Tis din mardā vich Multān de lakh paundus pale.

Part II.

6.

The Sāhibs set out on their march, as I will
 relate to you.
 Travelling night and day they arrived quickly.
 They entered Multān and drank spirits and wine.
 They made forts and courts. You know their
 (way of) rule.⁶

7.

Muhammad Bakhsh, the soldier, hid his face with
 his turban in the Fort (?)⁷
 He drew his sword from its scabbard and lit the
 fire.
 He split the bone into two pieces (?)⁸
 He burst into Multān with great violence.
 He took the fort with his own hand ; now shame
 is upon him.
 Death came upon his head ; in the fight was he
 destroyed.

8.

The sword fell upon Multān and there was
 violence.⁹
 The news came to Edwardes¹⁰ in Bannu and
 Tāk.
 In the camp at Multān this dance took place.

9.

From without Sher Singh wrote a letter and
 smuggled it inside :—
 "We are going into the fort : give us support."
 "You killed the Rājā, Sher Singh : who can
 trust your word ?"
 The boatmen saw the procession and went to
 meet them.¹¹
 On the day that Multān was taken, they found
 lakhs of treasure.¹²

⁶ Allusion to the arrival of Vans Agnew and Anderson at Multān.

⁷ These phrases are obscure.

⁸ The reference here may be to a story of the siege, when MacMahon, a British volunteer, cut down the leader of the defending party, a powerful Sikh, in the presence of Sir Henry Lawrence. He killed him with one blow which divided his head. Edwardes, *A Year in the Panjab*, Vol. II, 659, 723.

⁹ Reference to the deaths of Vans Agnew and Anderson.

¹⁰ Iphī means Sir Herbert Edwardes, being an attempt to pronounce both names.

¹¹ Allusion to the number of canals and water-courses about Multān.

¹² Sāwan Mall, Mōl Rāj's father, had been Diwān of Multān for 23 years and left an enormous hoard of money, to which his son succeeded.

10.

"Dalān dohān muqābila, kal phire chapāṭī."

Angrezān mār leṣā Kilā Multān dā jīhrā āhā
yāki.

Singh Panjābōn nikale ho toṛe udāet.

Hukm hoīā Angrez dā ; likh toṛe khāṭī.

Dākān khabarān kitiyān, chaṛ rāto-rāṭī.

10.

"In the meeting of the two armies, the *chapāṭī* will circulate to-morrow."

The English slew all the rebels that were in the Fort at Multān.

The Sikhs passed out of the Panjāb in despair.¹⁹

The rule of the English was established, and the news of it was sent.

The post carried the news, travelling night by night.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MEANING OF "BRAHMAN."

It appears to be generally believed (*vide ante*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 370) that the word *Brahman* throughout the *Rigveda* signifies without exception "prayer." There is at least one exception.

The word occurs in *mandala* 1, hymn 10, verse 4, and has been explained both by Yaska and Sāyaṇa as "food," and this appears to be the more appropriate meaning from the context.

S. SITABANAITA.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WAS TOBACCO IN VOGUE IN 1000?

SIR, — Mr. Vincent A. Smith published a query in Vol. XXXVII, p. 210, headed "Is tobacco indigenous to India?" with reference to the assertion made by an anonymous writer in the *Times* on the 22nd November, 1902, that there could scarcely be a doubt that 'certain varieties of tobacco were indigenous in India.' He observed that the writer quoted gave no authority for statements which seemed to be opposed to well-known evidence. He regretted that nobody had answered his question, but proceeded to solve it himself on the basis of an article by Sir Ray Lankester which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of March 28th, 1908. Sir Ray referred to De Candolle's *History of Cultivated Plants*.

Mr. Smith says that new varieties of the tobacco plant produced artificially in parts of Asia have been erroneously supposed to be indigenous, and that no Asiatic language has any native word for the herb, which is not mentioned by any writer on China earlier than 1680. In answer to this I may say, however, that this statement is not at all true. At any rate there is the Sanskrit word 'तमक' (*tāmaka*), and its Bengali abbreviated equivalent 'তামাক' (*tāmāka*). I can quote many Sanskrit verses in support of my statement, if necessary.

Now let me turn to another point. According to Mr. Smith tobacco was brought from America for the first time in 1658 and was then quickly spread over the world through the agency of the Portuguese, English and Spanish peoples. But this can hardly be correct, because the Sanskrit term above mentioned was used by the natives of India at a very early period, long before the reign of Akbar, which is practically the earliest European period in India.

In support of my views, the Chinese pilgrim, Hsien Tsang, relates that some of the columns at Sārnāth in the Benares Division were erected by Asōka the Great. And in fact the ruined columns and edifices there were erected by Asōka, Kanishka and Aśvaghosha from the 3rd century before Christ down to 12th century A. D. I visited Sārnāth in 1905. Among the ruins I saw two red earthen *hukka*s or hubble-bubbles, carefully preserved by Mr. F. O. Certeel. Now Mr. Smith says that the *hukka* is not mentioned before 1600, but if that were the case and if tobacco was not in vogue in ancient times, then why should the hubble-bubble appear at Sārnāth?

GANAPATI RAY,

Librarian,

Bengal National College.

Calcutta, 22nd January, 1909.

¹⁹ Allusion to the departure of Eber Singh after his quarrel with Mōl Rāj.

THE GUMANI NITI.

COMPILED BY PANDIT REWADHAR UPRETI.

(Communicated by G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt.)

[Introductory Note.]

[In the *Indian Antiquary* for 1885 I published a few curious verses by a poet named Gumāni, which I had collected in Tirhut. The first of these will be found on p. 124 of that volume. I was at the time unable to give any information regarding their author, whom local tradition wrongly made out to be a native of Patna on the Ganges. A short time ago, through the kindness of Pandit Ganga Datt Upreti, the well-known author of several works on the languages, folklore, and ethnology of Kumaon, I came into possession of a small pamphlet containing over seventy similar verses by the same poet.

It appears that his full name was Gumāni Pant, that he was a native of what is now the district of Almora, and that he flourished about a hundred years ago. He was a prolific author, both in Sanskrit and in Hindi. His works are still greatly admired in the land of his birth, but his reputation in the plains of India, which, as we have seen, extends to Tirhut, some five hundred miles away, depends, so far as I am aware, on the short verses of which I published a few in 1885.

A favourite literary diversion in India is known as *Samasyā-pūrti*. It consists in one person setting a single line of a stanza, and challenging another to complete the whole. These verses, so completed, are sometimes in Sanskrit, sometimes in one or other of the modern vernaculars. The verses of Gumāni partake of the character of these *samasyās*, but have one peculiarity. The line, which is usually first composed by the setter of the competition, and on which the other lines are founded, is in this case some familiar Hindi or Kumaoni proverb. He uses it as the last line of a four-lined stanza, and completes the latter by composing the three preceding lines in Sanskrit, in such a way that they poetically describe some situation which is aptly illustrated by the concluding apothegm. Each stanza, therefore, consists of three lines of Sanskrit, followed by one line in an Indian vernacular, and in adjusting most of his proverbs to the procrustean bed of Sanskrit prosody he has succeeded in displaying considerable ingenuity.

These verses are not always easy. Gumāni was a learned man and dearly loved a rare word, while an unusual acrostic possessed an attraction that he was incapable of resisting. Pandit Rewadhar Upreti has been kind enough to send me, through Pandit Ganga Datt Upreti, as full a collection as possible of these verses of Gumāni, which it now gives me great pleasure to prepare for the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. The last-named gentleman has added to his kindness by writing an English translation of the text. As this seemed to me to be of too detailed a character for the readers of this Journal, all of whom may be supposed to be familiar with the story of the Mahābhārata, I have taken the liberty of preparing a fresh translation, largely basing my version on his. At the same time, as I have done this, I must accept the responsibility for any mistakes that may be noticed in what follows.—GEORGE A. GRIERSON.]

Text.

बलाधिकान्धन्वविक्रमपापान्
हत्वा यणे तान्मृत्युपुत्रान् ।
शशाङ्क धर्मलज्ज एव राज्यम्
आशिर्भजे का जगदे नृनाम् ॥ १ ॥

Translation.

1. Although the sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra were powerful and well-versed in strategy, still as they were sinful, they were all killed in the battle, and Yudhishṭhira alone became the ruler of their kingdom. "In this world, it is the good man's end that is good."

पापः परहिदं परतापकारी
परापवासी परदारहता ।
बभ्रंश राज्यासनसो दशास्यो
नीयत नही" तो बर्कत कहीं से ॥ २ ॥

जगद्गुरुभ्यां विविने सद्यं
संरक्ष्यमाणायि रघुत्तमाभ्याम् ।
अहारि सीता दशकन्धरेण
हीनी इह भिन रहती नही" है ॥ ३ ॥

प्रज्ञावन्तो वीर्यवन्तो बनेषु
चरुः पार्था दुःखिता वीर्यकालम् ।
आसीद्वासा धार्तराष्ट्रः कुबुद्धिः
जग मे" सारी बात है वन पड़े की ॥ ४ ॥

वस्तिन्येनो निर्गुणे निर्दिष्टे
न कापि स्वादेदशास्वार्थचर्चा ।
प्रातः प्रज्ञाहीनवत् नव तिष्ठेत्
कीजे काणै देश मे" आँख काणी ॥ ५ ॥

रामवधूनहरवशक्तो
बन्धनमाप सुधेव समुद्रः ।
स्वक्तमसज्जनसंगफलं तद्
दुर्जन के डिग बास न कीजे ॥ ६ ॥

दूमजरोमुतसंगरभीतो
दुर्गेमभीकरदम्भसि कृष्णः ।
तत्र गतोऽपि सशंकमतिष्ठत्
दुर्जन की भय होत बढ़ी है ॥ ७ ॥

देवकजाह्ननाय धृतासि
कंसनवेश्वरये वसुदेवः ।
गोवचरत् कटु किञ्चन वाक्यम्
दुर्जन से गम खाव भली है ॥ ८ ॥

बन्धुगुणायननुष्ठितहर्ष
भ्रातरमात्मन एव कुबेरम् ।
हन्त बबन्ध रघो दशकण्ठी
दुर्जन का अपना नहि" कोई ॥ ९ ॥

2. Rāvaṇa, the ten-headed, the sinner, the hater of others, the oppressor of others, the slanderer of others, the ravisher of another's wife, fell from his throne. "If there be not unselfish thoughts, whence can come the blessing?"
3. Although assiduously guarded in the forest by Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, the masters of the world, still was Sītā ravished by the ten-necked Rāvaṇa. "That which is destined cannot remain unfulfilled."
4. The Pāṇḍavas, though wise and heroic wandered wretched in the forests for many a day, whereas the wicked Duryōdhana became king (in their place). "In this world everything is but (a matter) of luck."
5. In a country in which there is no virtue and no common sense, in which there is nowhere any study of the Vēdas or of the Scriptures, there let the wise man conduct himself as one void of wisdom. "In a one-eyed country let your sight be one-eyed."
6. The ten-headed Rāvaṇa carried off the spouse of Rāma, and for no fault was the Ocean subjected to bonds (owing to its being near to Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa's abode). Manifestly was this the fruit of company with the wicked. "Never abide thou near an evil man."
7. Terrified by the warfare with the haughty Jarāsaṇḍha, Kṛishṇa built a fort (Dwārakā) in the midst of the ocean. But even there did he remain full of apprehension. "Great is the fear caused by the wicked man."
8. When Vasudāva beheld Kāṁsa in his chariot, with sword drawn to slay the daughter of Dēvaka, still uttered he not a single harsh word. "Right is it to show patience when dealing with the wicked."
9. Although Kubēra had all the virtues of kinship, although he was full of love for Rāvaṇa, although he was his own brother, nonetheless did the Ten-headed bind him in the battle. "To the wicked man no one is a relative."

शम्भुशिरःस्थितिलब्धगुरुस्वाम्
पूज्यत एककलात्मक इन्दुः ।
पूर्णात्मो ऽपि तथा न स बन्धः
सज्जन की नित संगति कीजे ॥ १० ॥

पूर्वजशुद्धिनिपातिह गंगाम्
आहतवान् स भगीरथकृपः ;
बन्धुरभूज्जगतः परमो ऽमी
सज्जन है सब का उपकारी ॥ ११ ॥

वीरुपार्थ नद्यमानान्महाकेशे
लेभे जज्ञी लोकबन्धां मुकुन्धः ।
कालप्रख्यं कालकूर्डं कपाली
जो किस्मन् ने है लिखा सो निजे है ॥ १२ ॥

विश्ववसस्तनया राजिपुत्राः
कश्यपजाः कुरवी यवयव ।
नेशुरवाप्य परस्परनेषम्
फूट भली नहि आपस की है ॥ १३ ॥

वधूर्लोकवीरस्य लङ्केश्वरस्य
प्रसूनेवनादस्य कन्या नयस्य ।
रतो देवरे हन्त मन्दोदरी सा
भई रौंड नारी गई लाज सारी ॥ १४ ॥

अश्वत्थामा सेनापालस्तस्य ही संयन्-
मध्ये शिष्टो भोजाचार्यो योद्धारी तावत् ।
इत्येवैव रेजे सर्वा वत्सेनासंपत्
नीची जी के तीनीं कपड़े सूत नाना बस् ॥ १५ ॥

पार्यः प्रोषे कि भीत्या
वैरादे हिंसहत्याः ।
शुभ्रस्वैर स्व शस्त्रा
वाचन् निकसी धूगद क्या ॥ १६ ॥

10. The crescent moon is worshipped, for it obtaineth honour by its home on Siva's head. Even when full it is not so greatly revered. "Ever make thou thine association with the good."

11. With intent to purify (the ashes of his) ancestors did that king Bhagiratha bring down the Ganges to the earth. Thus, too, became he a supreme friend of the world. "The righteous man doeth good to every-one."

12. While he churned the ocean for the sake of nectar, Vishnu therefrom took out Lakshmi, the adored of the world, while Siva took out the death-manifesting *kālakūṭa* poison. "Whate'er be written in his fate, that doth man receive."

13. The offspring of Viśravas (Hāvaṇa and Vibhishana), the sons of Rājī (?), those born of Kaśyapa (the demons), the Kauravas, and the Yādavas, all perished through mutual dissension. "Not good is family discord."
(Who those born of Rājī were, I do not know.—G. A. G.)

14. Spouse of the world-hero king of Lāṅkā, mother of Mēghanāda, daughter of Maya, yet did Maudōdarī woo Vibhishana, her husband's brother. "A woman became a widow; all chastity went its way."

15. When Aśvatthāman became the general (of the Kauravas), on the battlefield in his army he had but two warriors left, Bhōja (*i. e.*, Kṛitavarman) and The Master (*i. e.*, Kṛipā). Only in these did the glory of his troops consist. "His Honour has but three articles of clothing: (1) his trousers, (2) the tape to tie them with, and (3) nothing else." (Utter poverty.)

16. (When Uttara, the son of Virāṭa, was deputed by his father to fight the Kaurava army, he ran away. On this occasion Arjuna thus addressed him :—) Vairāṭi, now that thou art here, what hast thou to do with fear of the onslaught of thy foes? Fight thou with all thy might. She came out to dance. Why doth she veil her face?

नाशत्पूर्व बाणो मायी
कृष्णभस्त्रो दुष्टस्थायी
पश्चादासीत्कन्यायायी
शम्भु मारी किर लिच्छवी स्थायी ॥ १७ ॥

ननुपति नूनं यदि मङ्गले
पापमशीपं प्राप्नुकुसंगे ।
तर्हि शिवं मे दास्यसि गंगे
बाप मर्त्ये बैल बट्टे ॥ १८ ॥

वनमुत्तिकुम्तीमिष्य द्राक्
सविपदमूचे कृष्णः प्राक् ।
स्वजसि किमर्थं चक्षुर्वाह
जड कश्च मंगा सोके पार ॥ १९ ॥

सावद्रामः शस्त्रासारी
मायातीह स्वसंशारी ।
सावसास्त्रे देवा मारी
क्यू भीमे त्वू कम्बल मारी ॥ २० ॥

शम्भो स्वामनुतमः
चैद्यः संधि चिकीर्षतीत्युक्तः ।
कृष्णो ऽथ वृत्तमुचे
यो ह्येव गई विजायत कू ॥ २१ ॥

प्राह भीमो नृपं मुखं मानं कृपा
स्वं हृत्तेनारिभिर्बोधनीयो बुधि ।
आसि बुद्धोधनो नामतो नार्थतो
नाम के नैनहृत् आद्यं सीनुं नहि ॥ २२ ॥

मुक्तीनां प्रकृतिः किल घोरः ।
मानसवृत्तिरतीव कठोरा ।
शब्दरूपवा सवृत्ती रसपुरा
हृत् पर राम बगद पर छुरा ॥ २३ ॥

17. At first the treacherous Bāṇa refused to give (Ushā to Aniruddha), but afterwards, when conquered by Kṛishṇa in the battle, he gave his daughter in marriage. "He killed a fish, and then had to eat the guts." (Killing a fish is looked upon as sinful.)

18. O Ganges, (thou sayest that) thou wilt not give me thy blessing till all the sins within my body, infected as it is by evil company, shall be destroyed. "When the father dies, the bullocks will be divided." (Waiting for a dead man's shoes. The point is that the speaker is similarly waiting for the death of his sins.)

19. Once upon a time Kṛishṇa came to Kuntī, as she was lamenting in the forest, and said to her, — Why art thou shedding tears from thine eyes? "Some time or other the Ganges will get across Soron." (He consoles her by saying that some time or other she will ultimately get through all her troubles. Just as the Ganges will ultimately get across the whole of Soron, where the sixty-thousand sons of Sagara are buried.)

20. (Mandōdarī addresses Rāvaṇa :—) Before Rāma, the pourer forth of arrows, cometh here to attack thee, do thou restore to him his wife. "The more the blanket soaketh, the heavier doth it become."

21. When the ambassador said to Kṛishṇa that Śiśupāla of Chēdi, who had abused him, now repented and desired peace, Kṛishṇa replied: "That drop has now gone to a far country." (*i. e.*, spoken words are past recall.) (Metre, *Aryā*).

22. (Bhīma addresses Duryōdhana :—) Quoth Bhīma to the prince, — Abandon thou thy vain pride. Easy art thou to be conquered by thine enemies in the battle. Only in name, but not in truth, art thou Duryōdhana (*i. e.*, hard to conquer). "His name was Nayana-sukha (eye-bliss), but he is blind of both eyes."

23. Horrible indeed is the nature of the wicked, and very hard is the disposition of their souls, though full of flavour and like to nectar are their words. "Rāma on the mouth, and a dagger in the armpit."

जानन्नपि निजबन्धनं
तद्बुलं लब्धकलाय ।
जाले पतति पतहरो
लालचं बुरी बलाय ॥ २४ ॥

विजितो ऽसकृद्युपिडितो
युत्तं न परिग्रहात् ।
मल्लमधिकं पुनरापरे
हुवा मीमी हार ॥ २५ ॥

नाजगरो ऽहनमपयति
रचयति कपी न धान ।
विहगः कमपि न सेवते
सब के सता रान ॥ २६ ॥

धनक्षपितोर्यशस्तेषु च
गंगस्वममलेतोय ।
सिन्धो वातमयेयतां
रान करह सो होय ॥ २७ ॥

विष्वक्स्नातु प्रकीर्त्याः
सद्यो मृत्युर्जातो ऽन्धायाः ।
प्रासूत श्वक् पुत्रं प्राया
दस् को बहा इस् मे आया ॥ २८ ॥

अल्पवृत्तं सीतान्नेपापाय
शयोः सूनुः प्रागुत्पाय ।
मुलः सद्यस्तत्कार्याय
को बोले सो पी कू जाय ॥ २९ ॥

बुधि वैराटे प्राह किरीटी गंगहसनहना
बोहुं प्राया कौरव्यैषा सेना विपुवहना ।
न तु भेतव्यं पिष्टुना भवता धार्या धीमहना
नामर्षी तो वैर्षं लूता ने नार मार तो कहना ॥ ३० ॥

24. Although he knoweth that the grain is scattered beneath the snare in order to entangle him in the net, still doth the bird fall therein. "Greed is an evil calamity."

25. Although he was defeated many times, still did not Yuddhishtira cease from gambling, but over and over again increased his stake. "Gambling losses are like sweetmeats" (and the player still wants more).

26. The bee hath not to beg for his food, nor hath the snake to build a house. The bird hath to serve none for wages. "God giveth all to all."

(This is a translation of Mulūk Dās's famous Hindi couplet:—

*Ajagara karai na chāharī
pachchhī karai na kama,
Dāsa Malūka kuhi gae
saba kā dātā Rāma.*

27. (Addressed to the Ganges). Although thou wanderest past countless bathing places, and still retainest the pure water of thy Gangeshood; yet in the sea thou becomest undrinkable. "What God decreeth, that cometh to pass."

28. Three were we in family, and on the very day that my old mother died my wife bare a son. "The loss on the one hand (was balanced by) the gain on the other."

29. When once upon a time Hanumān, the son of the Wind, advised the starting on the search for Sītā, he was at once sent off to make that search himself. "He who speaks of *gM*, is he who is told to go and fetch it."

30. (Virāṭa sent his son Uttara in charge of an army to pursue the Kauravas who had raided his cattle. Uttara showed signs of fear.) In the battle Arjuna addressed Uttara saying, — Here, before thee, are the enemy-destroying troops of the Kauravas, the raiders of thy cattle. Though thou art but a young lad, still shouldst thou not fear. Take thou deep courage. "Even though God has given weakness to a man, still should he cry out 'strike,' 'strike,'" (i. e., bluff often saves the situation).

रण्डा बालिवुवविरभीका
सुपीवोत्सुकइयानीका ।
तारा वेषमकुत निह्रीका
नकदी नौख चन्वन का टीका ॥ ३१ ॥

पूर्वमसुप्यत येन खट्वा हाटकमट्या
तेन नलेन प्रापि वनेष्वापादि तृणसट्या ।
वक्ति गुमानी देवशक्तिरिह नूनमजट्या
जिसि बिधि राखे रान उसि बिधि रहना भट्या ॥ ३२ ॥

पार्यनाह हरिरेव विधाय
कैतवं तु गडुनिर्विजिगाय ।
यूतमवश्यमवेष्टाशिवाय
धरमहार धन कोई लाय ॥ ३३ ॥

पार्यान्वीक्ष्य विद्युन्संताप-
वन्धात्मानमुखं सुप्ताय ।
पुनान्तं भूतगहो ऽवाप
जिव् का पाप उसी का बाप ॥ ३४ ॥

यावदायः कृष्णेनाज्ञो न भवस्तो भवसंवेगी
तावत् बालुं नमा देवी तामूचे हरिरावेगी ।
अथ श्री वा हन्तव्यो ऽयं पुनस्ते जगदुद्देगी
बकी अपने बचे कारन कब लो खैर मनावेगी
॥ ३५ ॥

उद्धव कृष्णो वक्तव्यो वत्सव वित्तस्तेना
इवा चेत्किमु वेमिण निवृत्ता सा गोपीसेना ।
कृतइतवेहाप्येष्टः स येन न धले ना
उत् शता से मून भला श्री पहले कर देना ॥ ३६ ॥

31. On the death of Bâli, Târâ his spouse, became a hapless widow. Yet, even then, feared she not to let her heart incline to Sugrîva, and shamelessly did she proceed to adorn herself. "The noseless woman adorned her forehead with spots of sandal." (Disgrace renders a person callous to further loss of reputation.)

32. Once did Nala sleep upon a golden bed. In the days of his misfortune that same Nala was glad to take in the forest a couch of withered grass. Saith Gumâni, — In this world is the power of fate invincible, "Brother, remain thou in that state in which it may please God to place thee."

33. Saith Hari to Yudhishthîra, — This Sakuni hath defeated thee by cheating. Look thou upon gambling as naught but a cause for thy misfortune (and cease therefrom). Replied Yudhishthîra, "I regret not wealth taken from me at the cost of the taker's honesty."

34. Dhṛitarâshṭra slept in proud content when he had seen the young Pāṇḍavas (banished and) in distress. But also did he witness the death of all his sons. "Sin is the father (the master, or punisher) of him who commits it."

35. While Bâpa was as yet undefeated by Kṛishṇa in the battle (his mother Kōṭṭavi) Dēvi came naked before Kṛishṇa, and in terror prayed for his life. To her said Hari hotly, — This day or the next must this son of thine, the molester of the world, be slain. "How long need a she-goat care for the welfare of its kids (destined for the butcher)." (See Hari-vamān, 10720 ff.)

36. (The Gôpis address Uddhava:—) O Uddhava, say thou to Kṛishṇa, — If thou must desert the young Gôpis of Vraja who stole away thy heart, why didst thou entangle them in love? That man who proffereth not love at all is better than he who awakeneth passion and then abandoneth it. "If it were to be arranged beforehand, a miser is better than such a giver."

दैवः साधनकोत्प्रे कुम्भमुत्सेका-
 बन्धप्रभुस्य प्रहा सातामुदेका ।
 को कोपो वा पुष्टा वृत्तिर्नसूतोरेका
 अपना सीना खोद क्या बन् परलन्हारे का ॥ ३७ ॥

छिन्नाङ्गो वो रामपवित्रा पुरा समुद्रे पदं चकार
 तं मारीचं प्राप्य भीरुके वृषाननो द्राघुकाजहार ।
 सीतानीहे हर्तुमय मे बने सहायो भवार्यकार
 कुत्ता रोवे रई मान मे निर्या कहे शुन् चलो
 शिकार ॥ ३८ ॥

रुक्मिरथर्यो दुर्बोधान्
 भङ्गं लब्ध्वा गोविन्दात् ।
 खिन्नस्तारं चैवो ऽयात्
 शरे भीर्यो दाही हास ॥ ३९ ॥

कोरवेन्द्रवत्समाप्य राजलक्ष्मणतार-
 मुजवद् रणे ऽर्कसुमुहुरतश्चकार ।
 तं विलोक्य बाहुबो गिरं समुञ्जयार
 भीक्ष मांगि दुक्कड़े बजार मे उकार ॥ ४० ॥

शीघ्रितके स्मरमुनरतन्वतपाशुहृतो गृहशीकपरो वै
 कीक्ष्य तयाविधमैनमेज्जन्त बाणजया इति
 शीकनरो वै
 तां च तयावुशुशीच सुतानय बाणवधूरवलोक्य
 पुरो वै
 रोषत मा धिय कू-धिय जार कू-जार वने
 परवार कू रोवे ॥ ४१ ॥

37. Hiraṇyakaśipu in anger said contemptuously to Saṇḍa and Marka (to whom he had entrusted Prahlāda's education), — What fault is it of yours that this Prahlāda hath so little wisdom? It is my son's character that alone is vile. "If my own gold be counterfeit, it is not the fault of the assayer."

38. When the demon Mārīcha had already been maimed by Rāma's arrow (during Viśvāmitra's sacrifice), and had taken refuge in the sea, Rāvaṇa arrived and addressed him as he lay there terrified (and with his wounds not yet healed), — O thou who carriest out my aims, be thou now my helper in the ravishing of Sitā. (To whom Mārīcha replied), "While the dog is still whining from the pain in his buttocks, his master calls him to the chase."

39. Śiśupāla of Chēdi, when in his presumption a claimant for the hand of Rukmiṇī, suffered defeat at the hands of Kṛishṇa, and then it was that he showed repentance. "Not till my Lord is vanquished, does he seize his beard." (It requires a beating to humble him).

40. When Karna, the offspring of the Sun, had received the kingdom conferred upon him by Duryōdhana, he strutted proudly, shouting in the battle-field. To him, on seeing him, cried out the Wind-born Bhīmasēna, "He lives on scraps obtained by begging, and belches in the market-place" (to make people think that he has just enjoyed a sumptuous feast).

41. In the city of Śāṇitapura, when in days gone by Aniruddha, the son of Smara, was bound in the noose (of snakes) by Bāpāsura, he called to mind his home and family and was distraught with grief; to Ushā, too, when she saw him thus bound, was born a burden of grief; and Bāpa's spouse, her mother, seeing her daughter in sorrow, mourned for her. "The mother weeps for her daughter, the daughter for her lover, and the lover for his house and home."

शस्य कचे ऽर्कजं वाक् सवेष्टुक्तटा
सारथी ते मयि स्निग्धता दुर्धरा ।
नन्वपवां चमूपास्ततास्तुद्धरा
यो नईं जोगिनी गाण भे हे अदा ॥ ४२ ॥

दुर्धरे वीरभीरवानस-
-मानं श्रोणासीनन्वास ।
भीमे जातः त्वहावासः
सब के मुह मोर्धन दास ॥ ४३ ॥

को ऽमि ऽहं स्वादिस्थापुष्टो राजा सवेहम्
नोप्येणोक्तं कृष्णः पुंस्यस्त्वक्त्वा सवेहम् ।
तत्तापुष्टवेद्यः प्रोचे नैतन्मन्येऽहम्
तुम् किम् ने कनयि हो जी आपी फर्मे हम् ॥ ४४ ॥

मान्यारेणः सर्वान्मे सैनिकताशं किं मयि नो
बुध्यन्निर्व्यसंखयातो ऽहं सूरजनानां संयति नो ।
मन्वध्वं तदीरे राजो मानुजभूतं मां रथिनां
ने बुद्धम् की मौसम् लागू मोहि गिनो रे मोहि
गिनी ॥ ४५ ॥

स्वपिपु वरपु पापों
हारावस्थाभिवण्डधूम्रुत्वा ।
अहरदहसि सुभद्रां
नज्जु वची सो माल सेस्ते का ॥ ४६ ॥

योगी भूत्वा निःस्वादी
निर्गच्छार्थं कृत्वा होः ।
मिथ्या सर्व मुञ्चाओ
दिना एक न देना हो ॥ ४७ ॥

42. (When Karna was appointed general of the Kaurava army, and asked for Salva as his charioteer, the latter said, (alluding to Karna's alleged low birth), — Thy words are raging as arrows. If I am to be thy charioteer, hard is it to be mild in speech. Forsooth, a new army leadership is this, and very eminent. (The concluding proverb will not bear translation. A decent parallel is *mayā jōgi aur gājar kā sukhi*, "a jōgi so new that he has only a carrot for his conch-shell.")

43. Heroism in battle and pride of splendour abounded in Drōṇa and his fellows, but it was in Bhīshma that there was love and trust (and therefore he was the first commander of the Kauravas). "Gōvar-dhana Dāsa is the spiritual guide of all." (Cf. *sabhi bhām Gōpāl hī*, God is the God of all the world. According to the dictionaries, the acrist of the root *pyai* occurs only in the *Aitarēya Āraṇyaka*).

44. When Bhīshma was asked at the *Āśvamedha* who was to be honoured first of all, he lovingly replied, — Without doubt Kṛishṇa is to be worshipped. But there, though not asked, Śiśupāla objected that that was not his opinion. "Who asked for your opinion? I asked for it myself."

45. Sakuni, the king of Gāndhāra addressed all (the Kauravas), — Am I not worthy of being elected a general, that you have not counted me in the battle of heroes? Consider ye me as a hero, for I am the uncle of the king, ye charioteers. "I am the bride's step-mother. Regard me, regard me!"

46. While the Yādavas were distracted (with other things), Arjuna, in the guise of an ascetic, carried off Subhadrā from Dvārakā. "As soon as a thing is out of sight, it becomes the property of my friends (the thieves)."

47. Become thou an ascetic, devoid of all worldly desire. Lift up thine arms towards the sky and go thou forth. First of all resign thou all this false (dream of the world). "Take not one, when thou givest two." (I.e., see that thou gettest the worth of thine actions).

कृष्णः पार्थनिबन्धितो
यहससति वज्राज ।
पैयं चाप जवान युधि
एक पन्थ दो काज ॥ ४८ ॥

गोपस्त्रीषु हरिर्वया
प्रीतिं ब्रजे चकार ।
न तथा मथुरासुपगतो
मत्तलव के सब वार ॥ ४९ ॥

अवदत् कृष्णो पद्मं गीमिह जहार गोपिका
प्रोचे राधा वंशी लब्धारण्ये मयेति निर्भीका ।
रास्वाम्येनां मुक्तामङ्ग ने देया स्वया च सन्धिका ।
वमडी का जो शिर हमार उस् का टका
सुडाई का ॥ ५० ॥

स्तोकं दत्तं गृहजनैर्
निक्षुरातुभिः कुञ्ज ।
सात पौंच की लाकडी
एक जने का बोझ ॥ ५१ ॥

कलौ नाय पदोक्तवे युधि हवे स्वां वीक्ष्य शक्तिं हतां
तुष्टः प्राह शचीपतिः शिवमहो पार्थशिरःजीवितः ।
एतद्भीममुतस्य साधु निधनं नन्वे स्वसुखोर्ध्वतः
छोरा आरुनु मनं चाञ्जित वरु भीते कुँहोरा
मरोस् ॥ ५२ ॥

शस्त्रपुरितो रथः पुनश्चमूरः
सारथिर्बृहन्नडः स्वयं धनुर्धरः ।
कौरवैस्त्वय्यत्नं न योद्धुमुत्तरः
कोई की करी बिरालि म्बाई की कर ॥ ५३ ॥

48. Krishna, invited by Yudhishtira, went to the assembly of the sacrifice. And there also slew he Sisupala in battle. "One journey, two things done" (two birds with one stone).

49. As Krishna loved the herd-maidens in Vraja, so loved he them not when he had gone to Mathurā. "Every one is in love with his own object." (I. e., the world is selfish).

50. Said Krishna,—Some herd-maiden hath carried off my flute. Saucily answered Rādhā,—I found it in the forest. I will give to thee, but thou must give me a fine garland of pearls in return. Replied Krishna, "My head is worth but a quarter of a pice, yet costs it two pice to be shaved."

51. A beggar feeds himself to repletion on the small offerings of many households. "Sticks collected by five or seven, make a full load for one."

52. (Indra had given Karna a magical "sakti"-weapon, which could not fail to kill him against whom it was directed, but which could only be used once. Karna intended to employ it in killing Indra's son, Arjuna, but actually used it in slaying Ghatōtka, the son of Bhīmasēna, Arjuna's brother.) When Ghatōtka was killed by Arjuna in the battle, and Indra saw that the virtue of his sakti-weapon was exhausted, full of joy he exclaimed,—Good Luck! Now Arjuna will live long. Better, I ween, is the death of this son of Bhīma than the slaying of my son. "May my friend's son die rather than my own."¹

53. (Another reference to Uttara's cowardice). With a chariot loaded with weapons, also with a mighty army, with Brihannaḍa (Arjuna) for his charioteer, and himself armed with a bow, still Uttara did not dare to fight the Kauravas. "Who can teach a wooden cat to mew?"²

¹ This proverb is in Kūmaṇi.

² This proverb is also in Kūmaṇi.

स्वरिपून्विहितानिवन्दनान् ।
धृतराष्ट्रो वत पाण्डुनन्दनान् ।
शृङ्गपाल इवाश्रितोऽवशो
नकदा लाज न हन्तरा मयो ॥ ५४ ॥

शुधि येन निकृत्तमेकतो
बलिना पुत्रघातं समं पयोः ।
कुरुराह तमनुश्रितोऽवशो
नकदा लाज न हन्तरा मयो ॥ ५५ ॥

पाण्डवेषु यावत्प्रहाहकैतवानि
दुष्टधीः सुबोधनश्चकार हन्त यानि ।
मृत्यवेऽमवलिपादमण्डलस्य तानि
रीटिकीरि आपिपानि दुबला किं यानि ॥ ५६ ॥

ये नागता रणो स्वान्
प्रियानवन्तो मयातुराः प्राणान् ।
अवधीज्जरास्रतस्तान्
कपूत चैलान् कटक को डान् ॥ ५७ ॥

स्वप्रगतस्मरसूनुनिमित्तम्
कामलमाववतीमधिचित्तम्
हेतुमपृच्छदुषामिति बाणी
पीड कुर्वार किं वैद्य जिवाणो ॥ ५८ ॥

बालसुतं शुधि हतं कुरुमिस्तयानु-
चोचन्तमभ्यवनमप्य शिरोऽधिजानु ।
पार्थ इवन्तमवददुषेवसूनुः
सैर्वाज का मरिय सौ कब लेग रुपु ॥ ५९ ॥

54. (After the conclusion of the war of the Mahābhārata), Alas! Dhṛitarāṣṭra was compelled to take refuge, like a house-dog, with his enemies the Pāṇḍavas, who ordained that he should do them homage. "No shame is there to a noseless man, and no soot is there from a (burning) rag (*hantarā*)."² (I. e., so low had he sunk).

55. (Another version of the foregoing.) Dhṛitarāṣṭra lived helplessly under the protection of that mighty (Bhīma-sēna) who had slaughtered, one by one, his hundred sons, like so many brute beasts. "No shame is there, &c."

56. The treachery of burning the lac-house that was practised by the wicked Duryōdhana upon the Pāṇḍavas, resulted in the death of the family of Nishādas. "It is the oppression (*āni-pāni*) of the poor that (people) again and again (*ritiphārti*) desire (*chāni*) (in this world)."³

57. It was those (princes) who, distracted by fear, saved their own dear lives, and went not into battle, that Jarāsandha slew. "A collection (*kaṭak kōḍān*) of worthless sons (*chāḍān*)."⁴

58. When Ushā fell fainting on account of the dream-seen Aniruddha, her father, Bāpa, asked of her the cause (but on account of shame, she could not tell). (Like a woman who has) "a pain in a place she cannot mention, and the only doctor is her husband's elder brother" (towards whom she is bound to be exceptionally modest).⁵

59. When his young son (Abhimanyu) was killed by the Kauravas, Arjuna, mourning for him, took his head upon his lap and wept. Then did Kṛishṇa, the son of Vasudēva, thus address him, "How long (*kaḥ lēg*) (into the night) dost thou weep for him who died in the evening (*saisāj*) (i. e., in early life)."

² Proverb again in Kumaoni.

³ Proverb again in Kumaoni. Metre *dryā*.

⁴ Proverb again in Kumaoni.

⁵ Proverb again in Kumaoni.

⁶ Proverb again in Kumaoni.

प्रतिकूलतामुपगते हि विधौ
विकलस्वमेति बहुसाधनता ।
कपिलेक संग पनि रावन ले
क्यहि पार पाड न सकैन वहाँ ॥ ६० ॥

यादृक् विप्रः प्राप वशिष्ठां
तादृक् वेदमाधीते ।
जैसी तेरी तिल-चावलिया
तैसी मेरी गीते ॥ ६१ ॥

दग्धावां पुरि रावणो
रयमग्रुटनवाप ।
आग लगती झोपडी
जो निकले सो लाभ ॥ ६२ ॥
अशपन्मनिर्वेशिष्ठो भूप
स वशिष्ठं शशाप ।
डूबते अजनान पुरोहित
ले कर डूबे आप ॥ ६३ ॥

बालो झूते देवा करी
पिचारेका नो बर्करी ।
लडका माँगे धी-खिचरी
घर मे नशी लोन की डरी ॥ ६४ ॥

मन्त्रिनिरतोमिलिते कृतो
हतरात्र्यः सुख्यो हि ।
चौरहि कुतिया तिल मष्ट
पहरा किस का होय ॥ ६५ ॥

पर्वणि शाननिवा द्विजं
वृष्टान्तर्वेत्ताज ।
अन्धेषुर्वणिगाह तं
पा लागत महाराज ॥ ६६ ॥

इस्तिनां वाजिनामूर्जितं संपदा
यत्र कंचन प्रेक्षतेऽवे वश ।
तं बुनक्तवाणिषा वीनविप्रस्तदा
स्वस्ति कन्वाण अजनान तेरे सदा ॥ ६७ ॥

राधा कथयस्वस्वद्वनतो नन्दसूनुना मनोहरा
मस्करवादिध्वजा रचिता रन्ध्रवती सा कलास्वरा ।
संज्ञा मुत्लीखेवं तस्या विहिता लोक महत्तर
मेरे घर से आग ले गई ताहि वैदवानर नाम धरा ॥ ६८ ॥

60. When destiny is against a man, his best-laid schemes "gang aft agley".
"(The mighty) Rāvaṇa could in no way withstand the monkeys."

61. The Brāhmaṇa reads the Vēda to the exact extent of his fee. "My song is just as long as your (gifts of) sesame and rice."

62. When Rāvaṇa's city was burnt down, he rescued but one unscorched chariot. "When the hut takes fire, whatever is saved is profit."

63. Vāsiṣṭha cursed King (Nimi), and Nimi cursed Vāsiṣṭha in return. "The priest seizes the hand of his sinking client (to rescue him), and is drowned himself."

64. The child says to his father,—Give me an elephant. The father has not even a single she-goat. "The son asks for spiced hutch-potch and gāf and in the house there's not even a pinch of salt."

65. King Śuratha was dethroned by his ministers who conspired with his enemies. "When the thief and the watch-dog have become friends, who will do the guarding?"

66. On a holy day, when the shopkeeper saw the Brāhmaṇa, he hastened into the inner rooms of his house, for fear that he should be asked for a present. Next day (he has no hesitation) in greeting him in public with, "Let me fall at your Reverence's feet."

(Look the other way when the collection plate comes round).

67. When he sees anyone well supplied with wealth of elephants and horses, then does the needy Brāhmaṇa furnish him with blessings, saying "My client, may God bless you with health and wealth."

68. Rādhā says, "The son of Nanda (*i. e.*, Kṛishṇa) has cut a bit of bamboo out of our jungle. He made holes in it, so that it gave forth pretty music. Then he gave it a grand name and called it "flauto." (It is just as if) a woman had taken fire from my house, and (when she brought home with her) called it The Devouring Element."

रैवत कन्या प्राग् जनिता तु
सा परिणीता सीरभृता तु ।
सोऽभवदस्याः स्ववमाजानु
ववे-जे नूति खसम-वे नानु ॥ ६९ ॥

इतमरुचैरसकुन्वायी
कुरुते काकः पुरतः स्थायी ।
अहिरासूनां गृहभृतायी
काणो कन्वायी कुनो अन्वायी ॥ ७० ॥

शरणे स्वादहनायतो
रामचन्द्रं रघुराज ।
कर्तव्या मयि सर्वथा
बहि महे को लाज ॥ ७१ ॥

69. When Rêvati, the daughter of Raivata, was married to Balarâma she was older than he. The bridegroom was no higher than the knees of the bride. "Wife big, husband small"*

70. When the snake was lying hidden at the entrance to the home of the rats, the cunning crow stood in front of the door and several times cawed loudly. "The one-eyed man is by nature a babbler, and the lame one an oppressor." (The crow is said to have only one eye, and to interfere in what does not concern him. The snake, on account of its crawling gait, is said to be lame.)

71. O Râma-chandra, thou king of the house of Raghu ! to Thee am I come for refuge. In all respects endow thou me with "The humility of one whose arm is grasped" (by a loving Friend and Saviour).

In this last *Dôhâ* alone of all the verses here given, is the Sanskrit in syntactical construction with the Hindi. *Kartavyâ* is feminine in agreement with the Hindi *laj*, shame, modesty.

A PRIMER OF DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY.

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(Continued from p. 170.)

(3) Pr. Dravidian final *â* remains in all the languages ; but there are only three examples. Even these often take a final enunciative *â* ; thus *â* > *âvu*.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Teju.	Telugu.
1	pû (flower)	pû, pûvu ...	pû ...	pû ...	pûvu.
2	tû (fire)	tû ...	.....	tû ...	...
3	kû (cry)	kû ...	kûga ...	kûgu ...	kûvu.

* Proverb in Kamasani.

X.-e.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial *e* remains:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	eṇ (count)	eṇ	eṇṇa	eṇṇa ...	ennu.
2	edir (front)	edir	edira ...	eduru ...	eduru.
3	ellām (all)	ellā	ella	elle	ella.
4	eradu (ox)	eradu	edda ...	era	edda.
5	ettu (to lift)	ettu	ettu	ettu	ettu.

(2) Pr. Drav. medial *e* remains:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	kevi (ear)	tfevi ...	kebi ...	kobi ...	tfevi.
2	teppam (float) ... ..	.....	.....	teppa ...	.....
3	veppu (heat)	veppu ...	beni ...	beppu ...	veppa.
4	veri (madness)	veri ...	beragu ...	beragu ...	verri.
5	perahu (to grow)	peraya ...	petfɪɸa ...	pertɪɸa ...	peragu.

(3) Primitive Dravidian *e* was not finally used.Note: *e* > *o* occasionally in Tulu:—Tamil *veḷḷi* 'silver' is *boḷḷi*; *eṇṇam* 'wanted' is *boḷḷ*.Special developments of *e*.

(a) Canares.

(1) As an initial it is very often pronounced as *ye* or *yē* and written accordingly.(2) *eya* > *ē* in (1) the genitive; (2) the accusative; (3) in the locative; (4) in the affix *aneyā*; (5) in the infinitive. (*vide* Kittel's *Kannada Dict.*, p. 287.)(3) The initial *e* is connected with *pe* and *he*, i. e., it is often aspirated (*vide* Kittel's *Dict.*, p. 262), e. g., *eṭṭeṭṭu* 'to increase' > *heṭṭeṭṭu*; *eṭṭu* 'a blow' > *heṭṭu* and *peṭṭu*.

(b) Telugu and Tulu.

In Telugu and Tulu, too, initial *e* is often pronounced and written *ye* by the vulgar people (*vide* Manner's *Tulu Dict.*, page 78).

(c) Malayalam.

(1) In Malayalam initial *e* is pronounced distinctly with *y*, and Dr. Grundert in his *Dictionary* always writes *ye* for *e*.(2) In Malayalam *e* > *i* or *u*:—e. g., *erumbu*, *irumbu* and *uru*; *ṭu* 'ant'; this is after *r*.

XI-6.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial é remains.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	ēṛu (to rise)	ēṛu ...	ēṛu ...	ēru ...	ēṣu.
2	ēḷu (seven)	ēḷu ..	ēḷu ...	ēḷu ...	ēḍu.
3	ēṇi (ladder)	ēṇi ..	ēṇe ...	ēṇi ...	.....
4	ērāḷamu (much)... ..	.....	.....	hērāḷam ...	ērāḷamu.
5	ēgu (go)... ..	.....	.....	.....	ēgu.

(2) Pr. Drav. initial é remains.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	kēḍu (loss)	kēḍu ...	kēḍu ...	kēḍu ...	tṣēḍpaḍu.
2	kēḷ (to hear)	kēḷṟa ...	kēṇu ...	kēṇu ...	.....
3	tēkku (teak)	tēkku ...	tēgu ...	tēgu ...	tēku.
4	tēr (chariot)	tēr ...	tēru ...	tēru ...	tēru.
5	tēḷ (scorpion)	tēḷ ...	tṣēḷ ...	tṣēḷ ...	tēḷu.

XII-o.

(1) Pr. Drav. initial o remains:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	ottu (press)	ottu... ..	ottu... ..	ottu... ..	ottu.
2	oṟṟi (pledge)	oṟṟi	otti	otti	oṟṟu.
3	oṟṟu (total)	oṟṟu... ..	oṟṟu... ..	oṟṟu	oṟṟu.
4	oḍuṅga (to shrink)	oḍuṅṅu ..	oḍuṅgu ...	oḍuṅga ...	oḍuṅu.
5	olluḥa (lone)	olluḥa ...	ollugu ...	olume ...	ollu.

(2) Pr. Drav. Medial *o* remains:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	kombu (stem)	kombu ...	kombu ...	kombu ...	kommu.
2	koḷ (to hold)	koḷya ...	koḷ ...	koḷa ...	konu.
3	toḍu (touch) dress	toḍukka ...	toḍu ...	toḍu ...	toḍu.
4	pon (gold)	pon ...	ponnu ...	ponnu ...	ponnu.
5	poruḥa (to fight)	poruḥa ...	pordu ...	.....	pordu.

(3) In Primitive Dravidian *o* was not used at the end of words.(4) Special development of *o*.In Canarese and Tulu initial *o* is often pronounced and written as *o*, *oo*.In Canarese initial *o* is often aspirated and becomes *po* or *ho*; e. g.:—*oddike* 'union' is *hoḍḍike*.

XIII-3.

(1) Pr. Drav. *ḍ* remains initially:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	ḍama (boat)	ḍam ...	ḍamu ...	ḍa ...	ḍa.
2	ḍu (run)	ḍuḥa ...	ḍu ...	ḍu ...	ḍu.
3	ḍmbu (protect)	ḍmana (fond-ly).	ḍva ...	ḍmana ...	ḍmu.
4	ḍuḥa (read)	ḍuḥa ...	ḍu ...	ḍu ...	.....
5	ḍam (cry)	ḍam ...	.....	ḍu ...	ḍa.

(2) Pr. Drav. medial *ḍ* remains:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	kōṭṭai (fort)	kōṭṭe ...	kōṭe ...	kōṭe ...	kōṭa.
2	kōḍi (corner)	kōḍi ...	kōḍi ...	kōḍi ...	kōṛaḍi.
3	kōlu (stick)	kōlu ...	kōlu ...	kōlu ...	kōlu.
4	kōru (desire)	kōru ...	kōru ...	kōru ...	kōru.
5	kōḷi (fowl)	kōḷi ...	koḷi ...	kōri ...	kōḍi.

(3) Pr. Dravidian final *ô* remains :—

	Tamīl.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	pô (go)	pô	hōgu ... ..	.....	pô.

XIV-*æ*.

The Primitive Dravidian long front *æ* develops into *yā*, *ā* and *ē*. Telugu as a rule has *ē*; Canarese and Tuḷu have *ē* and *ā*; Malayalam has mostly *ā* and in a few cases has *ē*; Tamil has *yā* and *ā*; *yā* is characteristic of old Tamil and old Canarese. It is to be noted that *y* in *yā* shows the front character of the original vowel. Examples are :—

	Tamīl.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	yāḍu, āḍu (goat)	āḍu	āḍu	ēḍu	ēṭa.
2	yāṇḍu, āṇḍu (year)	āṇḍu	ēḍu ... ..	.....	ē(n)ḍu.
3	yāṟu, āṟu (river)	āṟu ... ..	.....	.....	ēṟu.
4	yānai, ānai (elephant)	ānai	ānai	ānai	ēanga.
5	āmai (turtle)	āmai	āmai, ēve	ēmai ... ..	.....
6	āḷuḥa (to rule)	āḷuḥa	āḷu	āḷu	ēḷa.
7	yār, ār (who)	ār	ār, yār	ēru	ēru, everu.
8	yakkai (body) ... ..	.....	.....	etʃʃi ... ..	.....

XV-*ā*.

The Primitive Dravidian long front nasalised *ā̃* had different developments. Sometimes it lost its nasalisation and developed into *ā* or *yā*, the *y* showing here the front character of *ā̃*. Sometimes the nasalisation was preserved, but its front character was lost as in the development *nā̃*. In some cases both were preserved as in *nẽ*; only here the fronting was greater than in Pr. Dravidian. Again its front character and nasalisation were represented as in *n'ā̃*. To sum up.

- Pr. Dravidian *ā̃* > *yā* (old Tamil).
 > *nā* (New Tamil).
 > *nā̃* (old Tamil).
 > *nā̃* (Malayalam).
 > *nā* (Canarese.) and *nẽ*.
 > *nē* (Tuḷu) and *yā̃*.
 > *nō̃*, *ō̃* (Telugu) and *õ* rā̃.

Note. — The developments marked * are only rare in those languages, and found only in one instance.

ā.

Pr. Drav. ā > yā, nā, nā (Tamil.)

> nā, nē (Malayalam.)

> ā, nā, nē (Canarese.)

> yā, nā, nē (Tulu.)

> ā, nē, nā (Telugu.)

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	yān, n'ān, nān (I) ...	n'ān ...	ān, nān ...	yān ...	ān, nēn.
2	yām, n'ām, nām (we) ...	n'ām ...	ām, nāvu ...	nāma ...	ēmu, memu.
3	n'āṇ, nāṇ (rope) ...	n'āṇ ...	nāṇ ...	nēṇ ...	.....
4	n'āyiru, nāyiru (sun) ...	n'āyiru ...	nēsaru ...	nēsaru ...	.....
5	nāru (young plant) ...	n'aru ...	nāru ...	nēdgi ...	nāru.
6	n'aludal, n'aludal (bang) ...	n'aluya, n'ēlu-yu.	nēlu... ...	nēlu ...	.....

Section II.

I.—System of consonants.

(1) The Primitive Dravidian parent-language had the following system of consonants:—

		Lip.	Teeth.	Roof.	Front.	Back.
Stops.	(1) voiceless ...	p	t	ʈ	k'	k
	(2) voiced ...	b	d	ɖ	g'	g
Continuants.	(1) voiceless ...	ɸ	...	...	...	...
	(2) voiced ...	w	...	l	...	...
Nasals	...	m	n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ
Liquids	...	...	l	l	...	...
	...	...	r	r	...	...
Semi-vowels	...	...	...	...	y	...

Note.—Stops are consonants which are formed by complete closure of the mouth passage, and may be pronounced with or without voice, i. e., with or without the vocal cords being set in action; in the former case they are said to be voiced; and in the latter voiceless. In the case of the continuants the closure of the mouth passage is only partial and not complete. These are also either voiced or voiceless.

(2) Pronunciation.

(a) *The lip consonants p, b and m* are all pronounced like the English *p, b, m* in *pin, but* and *mad*.

ɸ is voiceless and a bilabial. It is pronounced like the Scotch *wh* in *which, when, etc.*

w is voiced and a bilabial. It is like *w* in literary English *wet, wait, etc.* (See Wrights, *Dialect Grammar*, pp. 19 and 20).

(b) *The teeth consonants, t, d and n* are pronounced exactly like the Sanskrit dentals त, द, and न; i. e., by bringing the point of the tongue against the very edge of the upper front teeth. There are no English letters answering to these. The English dentals are formed at the gums and not at the point of the upper teeth.

l is like the English *l* in *lip, lad, etc.*; and is a gum dental.

r is like the English *r* in *ring, risk, etc.*

The dental *n* has two pronunciations. When initial, it is a pure point dental like the Sanskrit न. When medial and final it is gum dental like the English *n*.

(c) The Roof-consonants *ʃ, ʒ, ɳ, ʈ, ɽ* are also called cerebrals. These are all formed by curling back the tongue and forcibly striking the under part of it against the roof of the mouth. The Prim. Dravidian *ʃ, ʒ, ɳ, ʈ*, are pronounced exactly like the Sanskrit श, ङ, ञ, and ण.

ʃ and *ʒ* are sounds peculiar to the Dravidian languages alone. *ʃ* is formed by curling back the tongue and pronouncing the English letter *r*; e. g., in the word *farm* in a rather liquid manner. (Caldwell's *Gr. of Drav.*, p. 23: see also Kittel's *Can. Gr.*, p. 10).

ɽ is a very hard rough sound, and is formed at the roof by the curled point of the tongue. It comes nearer to the so-called Northumberland burr, but the latter is more uvular than cerebral (Wright's *Gr. of Dialects*, p. 14).

(d) The front consonants *k', g', and n'*, are also called palatals. These are identical with the Primitive Indo-Germanic palatals in pronunciation; and are formed by the middle of the tongue and the hard palate. These have a soft guttural pronunciation almost like the English *k* and *g* in *kid, get, etc.*

n' is exactly like the Sanskrit ण.

y is like the English *y* in literary English, *yellow, yield, etc.*

(e) The back consonants *k, g and ŋ*, correspond to Sanskrit क, ग and ङ. *ŋ* or *ṅ* has the sound of *ng* in the English word *king*.

3. I will give here the pronunciation of other symbols, which I shall have to use hereafter under 'dialectal changes':—

- (a) — *d* 3. Is like *j* and *dg* in literary English *judge*, and the *g* in such words as *gem*, etc.
- (b) *f* is like the *sk* in literary English *ship*, *fashion*, etc.
- (c) *ch* is like the *ch* in literary English *cheese*, *church*, etc.
- (d) *s* is voiceless and is like *s* in *sit*.
- (e) *h* is like the *h* in *hand*, *head*, etc.
- (f) *γ* is a velar-voiced spirant and corresponds to the pronunciation of *g* after *a* — vowels in some parts of Germany, as in the word *Lage*. This is the development of medial *g* in Malayalam. Tamil *aḥam* is Malayalam *ayam*.
- (g) *ts* is affricate like the German *s* in *zahn*, and this sound is found in Telugu as a development of initial *k*.
- (h) *v* is labio-dental and is like Sanskrit *व*.

II. — Laws of Dravidian Syllabation.

(1) Only a voiceless stop or a nasal can commence a word, and it can, in no case, be a roof consonant or cerebral.

(2) No voiceless stop is admissible in the middle of a word or even at the end, except when it is doubled.

(3) Any consonant may end a word.

(4) Compound consonants can never begin a word; and the only compound consonants that are admissible in a word, are:—

- (a) Voiceless stops doubled.
- (b) Combinations of nasals.
- (c) Nasal and consonant of the *varga*.
- (d) *y* or *l* with a voiced consonant or *y* or *l*, plus nasal and consonant of the dental *varga*.

III. — The Influence of Accent-change on the Laws of Dravidian Syllabation.

Through the influence of accent-change referred to in Section I, the above laws of Dravidian syllabation underwent the following modifications:—

(1) Some medial doubled consonant were voiced in Canarese, Tuḷu and Telugu: e. g., Tamil *tappai* 'a slit of bamboo' is *dabbe* in Canarese and Tuḷu and *dabba* in Telugu. Tamil *kappu* 'bad smell' is *gabbe* in Can., Tuḷu and Telugu.

(2) Some initial consonants in Canarese, Tuḷu and Telugu were voiced, especially when followed by a voiced consonant or liquid.

In the examples given above we find that *bb* influenced the initial *t* and *k* and changed them into *d* and *g*. Tamil *kāl* 'wind' is Canarese and Tuḷu *gāl* and Telugu *gali*.

Tamil *koṇḍai* 'a tuft of hair' is *gonḍe* in Canarese and Tulu and *gonḍa* in Telugu.

(3) The final consonant took an enunciative *u*, very short and only half-pronounced. All the languages were affected in various degrees.

(a) In Tamil, Malayalam and old Canarese, the final *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *ṣ*, *p* and the representative of Prim. Drav. *g'*, *iṣ*, *ś*, *ḍḣ* or *z*, took this final short *u*.

(b) In Mid. and New Canarese the rest of the final consonants were also affected and took this *u*.

(c) In Tulu and Telugu all the final consonants end in *u*.

(d) In New Tamil and New Malayalam, there is a great tendency for all the other final consonants, except *m* to take this *u*. Thus:—*kal* 'stone' is *kallu* in New Tamil and New Malayalam.

IV. The developments of the Primitive Dravidian Consonants in its various dialects:—

A.—The labials.

P.

1. *p*. remains in all the languages:—

	Tamil	Malay.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	pahal (day)	payal ...	pagalu ...	pagalu ...	pagalu.
2	pahai (hate)	paya ...	page ...	page ...	paga.
3	paḍahu (boat)	paḍayu ...	paḍagu ...	paḍāvu ...	paḍava.
4	pattu (ten)	pattu ...	pattu ...	pattu ...	pattu.
5	pal (tooth)	pal ...	pallu ...	paru ...	pallu.
6	palli (lizard)	palli ...	palli ...	palli ...	balli.
7	pāḍu (sing)	pāḍu ...	pāḍu ...	pāḍu ...	pāḍu.
8	pāl (milk)	pāl ...	pāl(u) ...	pēr ...	pālu.
9	paḍai (army)	paḍa ...	paḍe ...	paḍe ...	.....
10	puhai (smoke)	puya ...	page ...	puge ...	puga.
11	paḷu (worm)	paḷu ...	poḷa & paḷu.	paru ...	puragu.
12	pandu (ball)	pandu ...	.....	.....	banti.
13	paṭṭi (cloth)	paṭṭi ...	.....	.....	baṭṭa.
14	padil (exchange)	padil ...	.....	.....	badulu.
15	pattai (a bit)	pattā ...	.....	.....	badda.
16	pir (alive)	pār ...	.....	.....	bāru.

2. $p \succ \delta$ initially through the influence of accent in the case of examples 12 to 16 given above. This obtains only in Telugu as in Can. and Tuju $p \succ \delta$ initially.

3. $p \succ \delta$ in Mid. and New Canarese, and also in New Tuju. This change seems to be due to the influence of Marāthī, the neighbour of Canarese and Tuju on the north. In Marāthī, the aspirated stops become δ , e. g., *bhātas* 'I was,' became *bhāḍ*. Similarly in Mid and New Canarese and in Tuju p seems to have first become aspirated as $p\delta$ and then changed to δ .

	Tamil.	Malay.	N. Can.	N. Tuju.	Telugu.
1	pahal (day)	payal ...	hagalu ...	hagalu ...	pagalu.
2	pālu (ruin)	pālu ...	hālu ...	hālu ...	pādu.
3	.....	.....	hoḥḥe ...	hoḥḥe ...	poḥḥa (belly).
4	pahai (hate)	paya ...	hage ...	hage ...	paga.
5	paḍahu (boat)	paḍayu ...	haḍagu ...	haḍaga ...	paḍava.
6	pattu (ten)	pattu ...	hattu ...	hattu ...	pattu.
7	palli (lizard)	palli ...	halli ...	halli ...	palli.
8	parutti (cotton)	parutti ...	hatti ...	hatti ...	pratti, patti.
9	pani (mist)	pani ...	hani ...	hani ...	panniru.
10	pāmbu (snake)	pāmbu ...	hāvu ...	hāvu ...	pāmu.

Note.—(For authority, see *Sabdamañi-darpaṇa*, art. 159 and 160, and Kittels' *Canarese Dictionary*, p. 1618; *Manner's Tuju Grammar*, pp. 669-682).

2. This change $p \succ \delta$ is not universal in Tuju. There are some exceptions.

(3) The following words in Canarese have $pp \succ \delta$. [Vide *Sabdamañi-darpaṇa* (Smd.), art. 160].

These words are:—(1) *intappam*, *untappam* and *antappam* which become severally *intaḥam*, *untaḥam* and *antaḥam*.

(4) Sometimes the $\delta \prec p$ is lost and the vowel alone is left as initial. Thus:—

pagalu \succ hagalu \succ agalu (dog).

han'tſu \succ an'tſ + Telugu penku (tile).

parti \succ patti \succ patti \succ atti (cotton).

pāvu \succ hāvu \succ āvu (snake).

puppu \succ hunpu \succ nupu (sore).

(b) Medial.

(1) Primitive Dravidian had δ only after the nasal m . Even here it was pronounced with a nasal twang; so that it easily changed into m ; e. g. (1) *padi* Telugu 'ten' becomes *midi* in *tom-midi*. For *tom-midi* \prec *tom-bidi* \prec *ton-bidi* \prec *ton-bodi* \prec *tol-padi*—compare this with Tamil *on-padu* \prec *ton-padu* \prec *tol-pattu* i. e., 'old ten'; (2) In *pāmbu* 'snake' $m\delta$ is pronounced mostly as a nasal in Tamil and Malayalam. And in Telugu it is *pāmu*, δ completely dropping. In Can. and Tuju $m \succ v$ and we have *pāvu* and *hāvu*.

m.

(1) Initial *m* remains in all the languages:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	maṇḡu (dim)	maṇṇu ...	maṇḡu ...	maṇku ...	maṇka.
2	maṭṭam (level)	maṭṭa ...	maṭṭa ...	maṭṭa ...	maṭṭa.
3	maṭṭu (measure)	maṭṭu ...	maṭṭu ...	maṭṭu ...	maṭṭu.
4	maḍil (wall)	maḍil ...	maḍil ...	maḍulu ...	maḍulu.
5	maṇi (jewel)	maṇi ...	maṇi ...	maṇi ...	maṇi.
6	maṇ (mud)	maṇ ...	maṇ ...	mannu ...	mannu.
7	marundu (medicine)	ma r a n d u	maddu ...	mardu ...	mando.

(2) Medial *m* > *m* (in Tamil).> *m* and *v* (in Can and Tulu).> *m* in Telugu.> *m* in Malayalam.

Tamil *tāmarai* 'lotus'; Malayalam *tamarā*, Telugu *tāmara* is both *tāmare* and *tāvare* in Canarese and Tulu.

Tamil *iṃai* (eyelash) is *eme* and *eye* in Canarese.

Tamil *timir* 'to rub' is *timir* and *tirir* in Canarese.

Tamil *pāmbu* 'snake,' Telugu *pānu* is *hānu* in Can. Tulu Tamil *nām* 'we' is *nānu* in Canarese.

The change of medial *m* into *v* is not so common in Tulu as in Canarese.

(3) Final *m* > *m* (Malayalam).> *m* and *n* (Tamil).> *nu* or drops in Telugu.

> drops in Tulu.

> drops in Canarese, except in the nominative and accusative cases.

For example.

(a) In old literary Tamil final *m* generally becomes *n*; e. g., *maram* > *maran*; *aram* > *aran*; *kalam* > *kalan*. But modern Tamil uses only *m*.

(b) In Telugu in a few cases *m* > *nu*, *maram* > *mrdnu*, but *iḍam* place > *eda*, *vāram* > *vāna* = rain.

(c) In Tulu, *maram* and *vānam* > *marā* and *vāna*.

(d) In Canarese the *m* is preserved in the nominative, and in the accusative it is *n*, but it is dropped in all other cases. *Maram*, nominative case; *maranam*, acc., but *marake*.

In Tulu too, *m* is preserved as *n* in the accusative; e. g., *maronu* acc. of *marā*.

mb.

- mb > m̄b (in Tamil and Malayalam).
 > m̄b after short vowels, and ru or mu after long vowels, in Canarese and Tuḷu.
 > mmu and mu (in Telugu) after short and long vowels.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	kombu (horn)	kombu ...	kombu ...	kombu ...	kommū.
2	kembu (red)	kembu ..	kempu ...	kempu ...	kem.
3	nambu (trust)	nambaya ...	nambu ...	nambu ...	nammu.
4	tumbu (sneeze)	tambuya ...	.....	tumbilu ..	tumma.
5	kāmbu (stem)	kāmbu ..	kāmu, kāva.	kāmu, kāvu.	kāmu.
6	pāmbu (snake)	pāmbu ..	hāmu, hāvu.	hāvu ...	pāmu.
7	nōmbu (feast)	nōmbu ..	nōmpu ..	mōmpu ...	nōmu.

Note.—In Canarese and Tuḷu mb is sometimes also preserved, after long vowels.

w

(1) Primitive Dravidian *ɸ* has regularly become the labio-dental *v* in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu; but in Canarese and Tuḷu, it was first voiced to *w* and then became the bilabial voiced stop *b*. For example:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	vandī (cart)	vandī ...	bandī ..	bani ...	bandī.
2	vayal (field)	vayal ..	bayalu ...	badzilu ...	bayalu.
3	varu (come)	vara ...	baru ...	baru ...	vatʃʃʃu.
4	vāy (month)	vāy ...	bāyi...	bāyi ...	vāyi.
5	viḍu (let)	viḍu ...	biḍu ...	biḍu ...	viḍu.
6	vittu (seed)	vittu ...	bittu ...	bittu ...	vittu.
7	varai (write)	varə ...	bare ...	bare...	vrāy.
8	viral (finger)	viral ...	berelu ...	berelu ...	vrēlu.

Note. — (1) In a few cases as 1 and 2, Telugu too has *b* for *ɸ*.

(2) Initial *ɸ* sometimes drops in Canarese as *ɸandisu* > *andisu* 'to cook,' *ɸaṅki* > *aṅki*, 'a hook.'

w (medial).

(1) This undergoes the same changes as *ɸ*, *w* > *v* in Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu and it becomes *b* in Canarese and Tuḷu.

For example:

iruvār 'two men' is *iruvār* in Tamil and Malayalam, and *irbar* in Canarese and Tuḷu. Again, *ēvi* 'ear' in Tamil is *ēvi* in Malayalam and Telugu, but *kebi* in Canarese and Tuḷu.

V.—Teeth Consonants, t, d, n.

t (initial).

(1) *t* remains initially in all the languages:—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	tahodal (fit)	tayu ...	tagu ...	takku ..	tagu.
2	taṇi (to'cool)	taṇi ...	taṇi ...	taṇi...	taṇiṇu.
3	taṭṭa (to tap)	taṭṭa ...	taṭṭa ...	taṭṭa ...	taṭṭu.
4	talai (head)	talæ ...	tale...	tare ...	tala.
5	taviḍu (bran)	taviḍu ...	tavaḍu ...	tavaḍu ...	tavaḍu.
6	tāḷa (to bear)	tāḷuṇa ...	tāḷu ...	tāḷu ...	taḷu.
7	tulḷa (frisk)	tulḷaya ...	tulḷu ...	tulḷu ...	tulḷu.
8	tini (food)	tini ...	tini ...	tini...	tini.
9	tiru (finish)	tiraya ...	tiru...	tiru...	tiru.

(2) *t* > *d* (in Can. Tel. and Tulu) before voiced and doubled consonants and liquids and through accent change.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	taṇḍu (stalk)	taṇḍu ...	daṇḍu ...	daṇḍu ...	daṇḍu.
2	tappai (a slit of bamboo) ..	tappæ ...	dabbe ...	dabbe ...	dabba.
3	tāri (way) ... ..	.....	dāri ...	dari...	dāri.
4	tibil (fear) ... ..	.....	digilu ...	digulu ...	digulu.
5	tuṭṭa (coin)	tuṭṭa ...	daḍḍu ..	daḍḍu ...	daḍḍu.
6	taḍukku (rashness)	taḍakku ...	daḍḍuku ...	daḍḍuku ...	daḍḍuku.
7	toṭṭi (cowpen)	toṭṭi ...	doḍḍe ...	doḍḍi ...	doḍḍi.
8	tonnai (a cup)	tonnæ ...	donne ...	donne ...	donna.

(3) *t* > *ṭ* sometimes in Canarese, Tulu and Telugu.(a) In Canarese, *tagar* 'ram' becomes *ṭagar*; *toḷḷe* 'hollow' > *ṭoḷḷe*.(b) In Tulu, *tappa* and *ṭappa* > *ṭappa*; *tār* 'riverlet' becomes *ṭār*; *toḷḷe* 'hollow' becomes *ḍoḷḷu*.(c) In Telugu, *ṭakku* 'cheating' comes from *Thugs*, the historic robbers, whom Lord Hastings subdued. *Tāru*, 'place' becomes also *ṭāru*; *tēku* 'tenk' and *tenkāya* 'cocoanut' become *ṭēku* and *ṭenkāya*.

(To be continued.)

A PRIMER OF DRAVIDIAN PHONOLOGY.

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d (medial).

(a) This is rare in pure Dravidian words. It is generally preserved in all the languages without change, as *kadīr* 'ear of corn,' *kudī* 'heel,' *vidai* 'seed,' etc.

(b) $d \rightarrow r$ in the language of children in Tamil. There is one instance in which the change has become literary :—*vidai* 'seed' is also *virai*.

(c) $d \rightarrow i$: this is very common in Tamil. This takes place after front vowels; e. g., *peridu* 'big' \rightarrow *perīu*; *paḷayadu* 'old thing' *paḷaiu*.

(d) $nd \rightarrow nḍ$: this is also after front vowels. This change is mostly new Tamil and colloquial. *Aindu* 'five' is *aṇḍu*. This is a literary form. *Kāyṇadu* (dried) \rightarrow *kāṇḍadu*.

n.

The history of this nasal is very interesting. In Primitive Dravidian it was pronounced as a pure point-dental when it was initial, but as a post-dental mostly resembling the English *n*, but formed a little higher at the gum, when it was medial and final.

In Tamil, *n* is point-dental as an initial, but post-dental as a medial and final consonant. That, is to say, the Prim. Drav. pronunciation is preserved faithfully. Hence *nd* develops into *nṇu* in Tamil, as *r* is nearer to medial *n* than *d*.

In Canarese, and Tuḷu, all the *n*'s initial, medial and final, have become point-dentals; so that corresponding to *nd* of Can. we have *nṇ* of Tamil. But in Tuḷu the old pronunciation is seen in some cases, as $nd \rightarrow nḍ$. (See developments of *r*).

In Telugu; while the medial *n* became a pure point-dental, the final *n* continued to be pronounced as a post-dental. Hence, later on, a *ḍ* was added to it for the sake of easy pronunciation. Subsequently, the nasal dropped, leaving only *ḍ*, but after having lengthened the preceding vowel. For example: Tam. *aran* 'he' was in Old Tamil *araṇḍu* \rightarrow *vaṇḍu* \rightarrow *vāḍ(n)ḍu*, New Telugu *vāḍu*.

The other North Dravidian dialects added either *ḍ* or *ḍḍ*. Tam. *aran* 'he' is in Goṇḍhi *āṇḍḍu*. Tam. *iran* 'he' is in Goṇḍhi *iāṇḍḍu*. In Kui Tam. *iran* 'he' is *eḍḍḍu*. In Kurukh it is *as*; i. e., a dental spirant is added and the nasal has dropped. In Korvi and Kaikadi it is *āca* and *ḍu*, showing only the loss of the nasal without the dentalisation or cerebralisation.

n (initial).

(1) Initial *n* remains in all the languages :—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	naḍa (to walk)	naḍa ...	naḍa ...	naḍa ...	naḍat/ṇa.
2	nambu (believe)... ..	nambuya ...	nambu ...	nambu ...	nammu.
3	nurukku (to cut)	narukkuya ...	naruku ...	naraku ..	naruka.
4	narai (grey)	nare ...	nare ...	nare ...	nara.
5	nāḍu (city)	nāḍu ...	nāḍu ...	nāḍu ...	nāḍu.
6	nār (before)	nār ...	nāra ...	nāra ..	nāra.
7	neḍu (long)	neḍu ...	niḍu ...	niḍu ...	niḍu.

(2) *n* (medial) remains in all :—

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	kaṇavu (dream)	kaṇavu ...	kana ...	kana ...	kala.
2	kunai (point) ... ..	.....	kone ..	kone ...	kona.
3	kunī (bond)	kuniyaya ...	kuni ...	kuni ...	kuni.
4	kani (to pity, to ripen)... ..	kani ...	kani ...	kani ...	kaniya.
5	tīni (food)	tīni ...	tīni ...	tīni ...	tīni.
6	kannam (hole)	kanna ...	kanna ...	kanna ...	kanna.
7	śinai (pregnant)... ..	tfinē ...	dṣina ...	.....	dṣina.
8	vāna (sky-rain)	vānam ...	bāna ...	bāna ...	vāna.

1.

(1) Primitive Dravidian *l* is preserved in all the languages.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	alai (wave)	alē ...	ale ...	ale ...	ala.
2	alar (flower)	alar ...	alaru ...	alaru ...	alaru.
3	il (house)	il ...	illu ...	illu ...	illu.
4	eli (rat)	eli ...	ili ...	eli ...	elaka.
5	pāl (milk)	pāl ...	pālu, hālu ...	hālu ...	pālu.
6	talai (head)	talē ...	tale ...	tare ...	tala.
7	valai (net)	valē ...	bale ...	bale ...	vala.
8	kol (kill)	kol ...	kole ...	kole ...	kollu.

(2) $l \succ r$.

(a) In Tuju this change is common :

Tamil *talai* 'head' is Tuju *tare*.

Tamil *kulai* 'bark' is Tuju *kore*.

Tamil *kāl* 'leg' is Tuju *kāru*.

Tamil *ilai* 'leaf' is Tuju *ire*.

Tamil *pal* 'tooth' is Tuju *paru*.

(b) In literary old Tamil this change is found: e. g. (1) *kulai* 'bark' is also *kurai*; (2) *kōliyai* 'a spoon' is also *kōriyai*. (3) Again *l* before *k*, *ā*, *i* and *p* becomes *r* in Sandhi; e. g., *piripādu* 'after.'

(c) In Canarese we have *maral* and *malal* 'bad' *kare* and *kale* 'call.' *ār* and *āl* 'cry.'

(3) — $l \succ n$.

(a) In Tamil, *il* and *in* are ablative case signs derived from *il*; house, *āl*, the instrumental sign becomes *ān*. *Nil* 'stand' becomes 'niru' 'stood.'

(4) — $l \succ d$ or $ḍ$.

(a) This change is common in Gōṇḍi:

Tamil *pāl* (milk) is *pāḍu* in Gōṇḍi.

Tamil *pal* (tooth) is *pāḍḍu* in Gōṇḍi.

Tamil *il* (house) is *iḍḍu* in Gōṇḍi.

Tamil *kāl* (leg) is *kāḍu* in Gōṇḍi.

Sometimes especially in North Gōṇḍi, this $d \prec l \succ ḍ$ (L. S., p. 459).

(b) In Kurakh also $l \succ d$; e. g., Tamil *kāl* 'leg' is *kāḍ* in Kurakh. In Malto $l \succ ḍ$, e. g., *kāl* becomes *qēḍ* (leg).

(3) $l \succ ḷ$

(a) In Tamil we have the following words: — *kollidam* and *koḷḷidam* 'a river'; *āliḷippu* and *āliḷippu* 'pungent'.

(b) In Canarese this is common: —

Tamil *talai* 'head' is Can. *tale* and *talḷa*.

Tamil *tēli* 'neck ornament' is Can. *tēli* and *tēḷi*.

Tamil *aral* 'flower' is Can. *aral* and *aralḷ*.

(4) $l \succ n$ (through l).

This is found in Canarese: e. g.: — Tamil *āl* (hailstone) also Tuju and Malayalam, is Canarese *āl* and *āṇi*.

(5) Metathesis of l and r .

(a) In Canarese we have: —

Malar (flower) and *maral* and *malal*; *aral* (bloom) and *alar*; *elar* and *eral* (wind).

(b) In Gōṇḍi we have *lōn* and *rōn* = house. (L. S., p. 478).

r

(1) Primitive Dravidian r mostly remains in all the languages :—

	Tamil.	Mal. .	Can.	Taḷu.	Telugu.
1	neraḍu (rough)	neraḍu ...	neraḍu ...	neraḍu ...	neri.
2	narai (grey)	marē ...	nare ...	nare ...	nara.
3	maram (tree)	maram ..	mara ...	mara ...	mrānu.
4	aral (floral)	aral ...	arala ...	arala ...	aralu.
5	aruvi (river)	aruvi ...	aruvi ...	aruve ...	.....
6	kari (soot)	kari ...	kari ...	kari ...	kari.
7	karai (shore)	kare ...	kare ...	kare ...	kara.

(2) (r and vowel and consonant) developments.

(a) In Tamil r and vowel and consonant is most common; but sometimes in literary Tamil the vowel drops and we have r and consonant; e. g., *āṛudal* 'being tired' and *āṛdal*; *āṛudal* 'leaning' and *āṛital*. Here the vowel is generally u.

(b) In Taḷu, too, r and vowel and consonant becomes often r and consonant; e. g., *kurudu* 'blind' and *kurdu*; *kurubu* and *kurbu* 'the eye-brow'; *parake* and *parke* 'bedding'; *parati* and *parti* 'cotton' etc.

(b) In Telugu we have all the stages.

I. e., r and vowel and consonant > r and consonant or consonant and consonant. Examples are :—

(1) Tamil *tiruppu* 'turn' is Telugu *trippu*.

Tamil *viridal* 'spread' is Telugu *viridulu*.

Tamil *kurangu* 'bend' is Telugu *kruggu*.

Tamil *karangu* 'sound' is Telugu *kranga*.

Tamil *paravu* 'spread' is Telugu *prāvu*.

(2) Tamil *tirundu* 'to correct' is Telugu *tiddu*.

Tamil *erudu* 'bull' is Telugu *eddu*.

Tamil *perumpuli* 'big tiger' is Telugu *bebbuli*.

(3) Sometimes r disappears with the vowel :— *marundu* and *mandu* 'medium'.

Tamil *neruppu* 'fire' is Telugu *nippu*.

Tamil *viruppu* 'wish' is Telugu *rippu*.

Tamil *karuppu* 'black' is Telugu *kappu*.

Tamil *parutti* 'cotton' is Telugu *patti* and *parti*.

(d) In Canarese, r and vowel and consonant becomes in Mid. Canarese r and consonant and in New Canarese consonant doubled.

For example :

Tamil *karuvi* 'sparrow' is Can. *gurbi* and *gubbi*; Tamil *parutti* 'cotton' is *partti* and *patti*. *karatfu* 'to bite' is *kartfu* and *kattfu*.

(3) $r \succ r$.

(a) In Tamil we have *kāṛal* and *kāṛal* 'bitter'; *ṣaraju* and *ṣarāḍa* 'a string'; *taruppu* and *taruppu* 'white stone', etc. *Kōṛudal* and *kōṛudal* (praying) . . .

(b) In Telugu we have the following examples:

Tamil *sarai* 'hill' is Telugu *vara*.

Tamil *tēru* 'car' is Telugu *tēru*.

Tamil *tari* 'cut' is Telugu *tariyu*.

Tamil *erurai* 'blood' is Telugu *erupu*.

Tamil *terivai* 'woman' is Telugu *terava*.

(c) In Gōḍḍi the cerebralisation of *r* is very common (*vide L. S.*, p. 476) *varū* and *rayā* 'come'; *or̥k* 'they' *mattor̥am* 'we were'.

VI. — The Roof Consonants.

(t, ḍ, ṇ, l, ɭ, r.)

None of these consonants are used initially. Except *p*, *ɭ* and *l*, the others could not end a word. Even *p*, *ɭ*, and *l* in the modern dialects take an enunciative *u*. These possess a very great tendency for mutual interchange.

(1) *tt* (medial) remains in all the languages.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	<i>kaṭṭu</i> (to build)	<i>kaṭṭu</i> ...	<i>kaṭṭu</i> ...	<i>kaṭṭu</i> ...	<i>kaṭṭu</i> .
2	<i>taṭṭai</i> (flat)	<i>taṭṭe</i> ...	<i>taṭṭe</i> ...	<i>taṭṭe</i> ...	<i>taṭṭa</i> .
3	<i>toṭṭu</i> (begin)	<i>toṭṭu</i> ...	<i>toṭṭu</i> ..	<i>toṭṭu</i> ...	<i>toṭṭu</i> .
4	<i>naṭṭu</i> (fix)	<i>naṭṭu</i> ...	<i>naṭṭu</i> ...	<i>naṭṭu</i> ...	<i>naṭṭa</i> .
5	<i>maṭṭam</i> (measure)	<i>maṭṭam</i> ...	<i>maṭṭa</i> ...	<i>maṭṭa</i> ...	<i>maṭṭamu</i> .
6	<i>taṭṭu</i> (tap)	<i>taṭṭu</i> ...	<i>taṭṭu</i> ...	<i>taṭṭu</i> ...	<i>taṭṭu</i> .

(2) $t \succ \mathfrak{t} \succ \mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{d}$ (in Tel., Can. and Tulu).

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	<i>aṭṭi</i> (obstacle)	<i>aṭṭi</i> ..	<i>aḍḍi</i> ...	<i>aḍḍi</i> ...	<i>aḍḍi</i> .
2	<i>kaṭṭa</i> (beard)	<i>kaṭṭa</i> ...	<i>gaḍḍa</i> ...	<i>gaḍḍa</i> ...	<i>gaḍḍa</i> .
3	<i>kaṭṭu</i> (mass)	<i>kaṭṭu</i> ...	<i>gaḍḍe</i> ...	<i>gaḍḍe</i> ...	<i>gaḍḍa</i> .
4	<i>kuṭṭai</i> (cloth)	<i>kuṭṭai</i> ...	<i>guḍḍe</i> ...	<i>guḍḍe</i> ...	<i>guḍḍa</i> .
5	<i>tuṭṭu</i> (coin)	<i>tuṭṭu</i> ...	<i>duḍḍu</i> ...	<i>duḍḍu</i> ...	<i>duḍḍu</i> .
6	<i>o ar</i> (a rustic people)	<i>oṭṭar</i> ...	<i>oḍḍaru</i> ...	<i>oḍḍaru</i> .	<i>oḍḍaru</i> .
7	<i>oṭṭu</i> (to fix)	<i>oṭṭuyu</i> ...	<i>oḍḍu</i> ...	<i>oḍḍu</i> ...	<i>oḍḍu</i> .

3 *ḍ* remains in all the dialects.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	kaḍal (sea)	kaḍal ...	kaḍalu ...	kaḍalu ...	kaḍalu.
2	paḍahu (boat)	paḍaya ...	paḍagu ...	paḍa ...	paḍavāy.
3	naḍu (centre)	naḍu ...	naḍu ...	naḍu ...	naḍumu.
4	kaḍai (verge)	kaḍa ...	kaḍe ...	kaḍe ...	kaḍa.
5	iḍam (place)	iḍam ...	eḍa ...	eḍa ...	eḍa.
6	kāḍu (forest)	kāḍu ...	kāḍu ...	kāḍu ...	kāḍu.

(4) *ḍ* > *ṛ* (in the North-Dravidian dialects).

(a) "In Telugu," Dr. Caldwell says, "there are some instances of the change of *ḍ* into the hard, rough *ṛ*—e. g.—*tṣeḍu* 'to spoil' (Tam., Can. *keḍu*), should have for its transitive *tṣeḍutṣu* answering to the Tamil *keḍutṭu*; whereas *tṣeṛutṣu* is used instead."

(b) In Gōḍḍi *ḍ* regularly becomes *ṛ*; and this *ṛ* in some cases becomes *dṣ*. Hence the change is *ḍ* > *ṛ* > *dṣ*.

Tamil *dṣḍi* 'pair' is Gōḍḍ *dṣori*.

Tamil *nāḍu* (country) is Ghōḍḍ *nādṣu*.

(c) In Brāhūi (*L. S.*, p. 621) *ḍ* > *ṛ*; *ōḍe* 'he' answering to the Telugu *rāḍa* becomes *ōre* and also *ōde* and *ōḍe* > *ōre*.

ṇ

(1) *ṇ* (Tamil, Mal., Can. and Tulu.) and *n* (Telugu).

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	kaṇ (eye)	kaṇ ...	kaṇṇu ...	kaṇṇu ...	kaṇṇu.
2	maṇ (earth)	maṇ ...	maṇṇu ...	maṇṇu ...	maṇṇu.
3	veṇṇai (butter)	veṇṇae ...	.....	.....	venna.

l ().

(1) The Prim. Drav. *l* has undergone many changes. It is preserved only in Tamil, Malayalam and Old Canarese. New Canarese, Telugu and Tulu have lost this altogether. Telugu uses *ḍ* instead as the Canarese and Tulu use *ḷ*.

(2) *l* not only changes into *ḍ* and *ḷ*, but into *ṛ*, *ḷ*, and *y*. In some cases it is even dropped.

(3) Even in Tamil which uses *ḷ* most largely, it has changed in some few cases into these sounds:—

(a) *ḷ* > *d*.

This change is found in the solitary example, viz., *tāḷppāḷ* which is also written and pronounced as *tāḍpāḍ* 'a bolt.'

(b) *ḷ* > *l*.

tuḷavai = *taḷavai* = *tuḷai* 'hole.'

taḷaḷi = *tahaḷi* 'a small crucible.'

ḷḷai = *ḷḷai*, 'phlegm.'

uḷi = *uḷi*, 'place.'

uḷundu = *uḷundu*, 'black gram.'

naḷnvar = *naḷnvar*, 'toddy sellers.'

Both the forms are in use and are considered literary.

(c) *ḷ* > *r* or *r*.

nūḷal = *nūṛal*, 'raining.'

taviḷdal = *tavirdal*, 'failing.'

kaviḷdal = *kavirdal* 'capsizing.'

iḷu = *iru*, 'to draw out.'

(d) *ḷ* < *y*

māḷhudal = *māyḍal*, 'die.'

oḷidal = *oydal* = *oyyal*, 'passing.'

(e) *ḷ* is dropped.

umiḷ = *umi*, 'to spit.'

poḷadu = *pōdu*, 'time.'

The above examples are all classical; and all the forms are in use. In colloquial Tamil, especially amongst the rustics, *ḷ* is always pronounced as *ḷ* or *y*. *ḷ* is common in the South, and *y* in Madras; e. g., *vḷḷappaḷam*, 'plantain fruit' is pronounced as *vaḷappaḷam* in the South and as *vyappaḷam* in Madras. Sometimes the dropping of *ḷ* is common amongst all classes in colloquial speech; e. g., *tāḷppāḷ* = 'bolt' is *tāppāḷ*; *tāḷcāram* is *tācāram*, 'eaves'; *kēḷvaraku* is *kēvaraku*, 'raggi.'

(4) In Malayalam, too, the final *ḷ* is mostly written and pronounced as *ḷ* (see Gundert's Mal. Dictionary, page 1082). But *ḷ* is the standard sound. In some few cases, middle *ḷ* has changed into *y*: e. g., *kaḷam*, *kayam*, 'field'; *kaḷekka*, *kayakka*, 'to shake.'

(5) In Old Canarese till about 900 A. D. *ḷ* was throughout in use. From about 900 till about 1200 A. D. *ḷ* was changed into *r* when it was followed by a consonant, and into *l* in all other cases. After 1200 A. D. *ḷ* became obsolete and was regularly replaced by *r* and *l*, under the conditions stated above. For instance, in *Sāsanaś* as old as 700 A. D. we find *elipattu* 'seventy'; *alu* 'to destroy' *kuḷḷu* 'to wash.' In those from 900 to 1200 A. D., we find: — *gaḷe* (for *gaḷe*), 'staff'; *aḷi* (for *aḷi*), 'to destroy'; and *pēḷ*, 'to speak'; *oḷi*, 'place' and also *birḷu* for *biḷḷu* 'fallen'.

ḷ + consonant after passing through the stage of *r* + consonant in Mid. Canarese, became the consonant doubled; e. g., *kaḷde* (ass) > *karde* > *kadde*, *biḷdu* (fallen) > *birḷu* > *biḷḷu* and so on.

Further, as a rule, in Old Canarese, final *d* becomes *ḷ* in Sandhi; e. g., *kāḍapura* > *kāḷapura*. In the formation of the present participle, a similar rule exists: *maḍuva* becomes *maḷuva*. (See Kittel's *Grammar*, Art. 234). For a detailed history of *ḷ* in Canarese see Dr. Fleet's article in the *Indian Antiquary*. Dr. Kittel's notes thereon in p. 15 of his *Grammar*; and also *Śabdamañidarpaṇa*, art. 21, 23, 24.

(6) In Tuḷu, *ḷ* regularly changes into *r* or *l*. In some few cases it is also found as and *d*.

(a) *ḷ* > *r*. (This is most common).

Tamil: *alu* (=to weep) + Tuḷu *ar*.

Tamil: *aḷal* (to grieve) + Tuḷu *arate*.

Tamil: *uḷ* (to plough) + Tuḷu *ura*.

Tamil: *oḷi* (to leave) + Tuḷu *ori*.

Tamil: *kaḷi* (to pass) + Tuḷu *kari*.

Tamil: *koḷu* (ploughshare) + Tuḷu *koru*.

Tamil: *kuḷi* (pit) + Tuḷu *guri*.

Tamil: *puḷu* (worm) + Tuḷu *ṣuru*.

Tamil: *tōḷa* (close) + Tuḷu *tō-a*.

Tamil: *paḷa* (old) + Tuḷu, *para*.

Tamil: *poḷe* (to pour) + Tuḷu *ḷori*.

Tamil: *vēḷai* (plaintain) + Tuḷu *bāre*.

(b) *ḷ* > *l* (very common).

Tamil: *aḷi* (to perish) + Tuḷu *aḷi*.

Tamil: *aḷa* (depth) + Tuḷu *aḷa*.

Tamil: *iḷi* (to slide) + Tuḷu *iḷi*.

Tamil: *ūḷiyam* (service) + Tuḷu *ūḷige*.

Tamil: *eḷu* (seven); + Tuḷu *eḷu*.

Tamil: *kāḷ* (pebble) + Tuḷu *kāḷ*.

Tamil: *kēḷ* (low) + Tuḷu *kēḷ*.

Tamil: *kuḷāy* (a tube) + Tuḷu *koḷave*.

Tamil: *toḷil* (work) + Tuḷu *toḷil*.

Tamil: *ṣuḷi* (whirl) + Tuḷu *suḷi*.

(c) Sometimes the *ḷ* < *l* becomes softened to *l*.

Tamil: *aḷi* (to perish) + Tuḷu *aḷi*, *ali*.

Tamil: *eḷu* (to stand) + Tuḷu *lak*.

Tamil: *kuḷāy* (tube) + Tuḷu *kolave*.

Thus sometimes double, and sometimes treble forms exist :—

Tamil: *kālu* (gruel) + Tuḷu *kālu*, *kālu*, *kāru*.

Tamil: *tāl* (to sink) + Tuḷu *tālu*, *tālu*, *tāru*.

Tamil: *vaḷi* (way) + Tuḷu *baḷi*, *baḷi*, *bari*.

Tamil: *kōḷi* (fowl) + Tuḷu *kōḷi* and *kēri*.

Tamil: *aḷi* (to perish) + Tuḷu *aḷi* and *ali*.

Tamil: *kuḷḍy* (tube) + Tuḷu *koḷave* and *kolave*.

(d) $\bar{l} \searrow d$. (There is only one instance).

Tamil: *kḷ* (low) + Tuḷu *kḷu*.

(e) $\bar{l} \searrow y$: Tamil: *paḷudi*; Tuḷu *poye* = dust.

(7) In no period of Telugu is \bar{l} found. Instead of it, we find mostly \bar{d} , often r , sometimes \bar{t} , and rarely y . In some few cases it is dropped.

(a) $\bar{l} \searrow \bar{d}$:

Tamil: *kaḷuvu* (to wash) + Tel. *kaḍugu*.

Tamil: *aḷai* (to call) + Tel. *aḍugu*.

Tamil: *pḷi* (to squeeze) + Tel. *piṇḍu*.

Tamil: *pāl* (ruins) + Tel. *pāḍu*.

Tamil: *kāl* (gruel) + Tel. *kāḍu*.

Tamil: *kōḷi* (fowl) + Tel. *kōḍi*.

Tamil: *iḷu* (to pull) + Tel. *iḍu*.

Tamil: *ṣaḷi* (to turn) + Tel. *ṣuḍi*.

Tamil: *tāḷai* (palm) + Tel. *tāḍu*.

Tamil: *paḷa* (fruit) + Tel. *paḍu*.

Tamil: *āḷiya* (service) + Tel. *āḍiga*.

Tamil: *ṣṭu* (seven) + Tel. *ṣḍu*.

Tamil: *kḷ* (low) + Tel. *kīḍu*.

(b) $\bar{l} \searrow r$.

Tamil: *paḷu* (worm) + Tel. *purugu*.

Tamil: *paḷaṅgu* (to handle) + Tel. *para(n)gu*.

Tamil: *muḷaṅgu* (proclaim) + Tel. *mro(n)gu*.

Tamil: *paḷaṅgempu* (old ruby) + Tel. *prā(n)gempu*.

Tamil: *kḷ* (low) + Tel. *kriṇḍa*.

Tamil: *aḷi* (perish) + Tel. *aru*.

Tamil: *aḷugu* (to flow) + Tel. *uriyu*.

Tamil: *koḷu* (ploughshare) + Tel. *korru*.

Tamil: *muḷam* (cubit) + Tel. *māre*.

(c) $\bar{l} \searrow \bar{t}$.

Tamil: *aḷai* (weeping) + Tel. *aḷugu*.

Tamil: *tāl* (to sink) + Tel. *tāgu*.

Tamil: *iḷu* (to draw) + Tel. *iḷgu*.

Tamil: *aḷu* (to rise) + Tel. *ḷi*.

Tamil: *kāl* (bright) + Tel. *kālu*.

Tamil: *ḍāḷam* (depth) + Tel. *lātu*.

(d) $\bar{l} \succ y$ or yy .Tamil : *puḷai* (pole) + Tel. *poṟya*.Tamil : *kuḷi* (pit) + Tel. *goṟya*.Tamil : *nuḷai* (enter) + Tel. *nūy*.**Note.** — yy is found after short and y after long vowels.(e) \bar{l} is dropped lengthening the preceding vowel :Tamil : *nuḷaṟṟū* and Tel. *nūkūlu* (knee-pan).

Sometimes, also without compensation-lengthening :

Tamil : *kūl* (low) + Tel. *kūda*.Tamil : *kūlūn'dū* (torn) + Tel. *tūn'dū*. \bar{r} (\bar{r})1. In Primitive Dravidian \bar{r} was only medial and final and not initial.2. In Canarese, Tulu and Telugu \bar{r} has come to be initial through the dropping of original initial vowels :—e. g., Tamil *iravikkai* (holice) is *ravike* in Can. and Tulu and *ravika* in Telugu ; Tamil *irakkai* (wing) is in Canarese *rekke* and in Telugu *rekka*. This tendency is also found in Colloquial Tamil.3. Primitive Dravidian \bar{r} is preserved in Tamil, Malayalam and Canarese, and also in Old Telugu. In New Telugu as also in vulgar Canarese and Tamil, it is replaced by r . In Tulu, d or $dʒ$ (j) is found instead. It is also sometimes dropped.4. In Tamil \bar{r} is faithfully preserved ; but sometimes :—(a) $\bar{r} \succ r$. (both forms are found).

karuppu and karn (black).

kirudu and kirudu (vanity).

kōrudal and kōrudal (praying).

kōraṇi and kōraṇi (tale-bearer).

taṟai and tarai (ground).

taṟuppu and taruppu (white stone).

taṟuvāy and taruvāy (proper time).

(b) $\bar{r} \succ \bar{d}$.

kaṟi and kaḍi (to bite).

taṟi and taḍi (stick).

(c) $\bar{r} \succ \bar{u}$.

koṟṟam and kottam (triumph).

koṟṟudal and kottudal (digging).

In Colloquial Tamil $\bar{r} \bar{r}$ regularly $\succ \bar{u}$.(d) $\bar{r} \bar{r} \succ \bar{u}$ (literary) and \bar{u} (Colloquial).

inṟu and iṟṟai, innu (to-day).

enṟu and eṟṟu, ennu (when).

kanṟu and kaṟṟā, kannu, (calf).

onṟu, oṟṟai, onnu (one).

tinṟi, tiṟṟi, tīni (food).

nanṟi, nanni (good).

In New Tamil the distinction between \bar{r} and r is fast disappearing.

5. In Malayalam Primitive Dravidian *ɾ* is faithfully preserved, but *ɾɾ* though written as such, is pronounced only as *ʈ*, and Tamil *ɾɾ* regularly becomes *ʈ*; e. g.—

Tamil: *kaɾu* (calf) + Malay. *kannu*.

Tamil: *onɾu* (one) + Malay. *annu*.

Tamil: *ponɾi* (pig) + Malay. *panni*.

Tamil: *ṣɾu* (six) + Malay. *ṣannu*.

6. In Canarese, too, Primitive Dravidian *ɾ* is preserved, as in *aɾiṣa* 'knowledge,' *kaɾu* 'calf.'

But *ɾ* + vowel + consonant often becomes *r* + consonant, e. g., *aɾaɪɾu* 'to cry' becomes *araɪɾu*. In New Canarese as in New Tamil and Telugu, the distinction between *ɾ* and *r* is fast vanishing; and it is not infrequently represented by a double *r*.

7. In Telugu it is preserved in the old dialect and is found often in the New dialect. But the tendency in New Telugu is to replace it by *r*.

(a) *ɾ* remains :—

Tamil	Telugu.
<i>ɾɾu</i>	<i>ɾɾu</i> (other).
<i>ṣɾu</i>	<i>ṣɾu</i> (hiss).
<i>ṣɾu</i>	<i>ṣɾu</i> (small).
<i>ḍɾu</i>	<i>ḍɾu</i> (river).
<i>tiɾa</i>	<i>teriɾa</i> (open).
<i>māɾu</i>	<i>māɾu</i> (change).
<i>ḍɾu</i>	<i>ḍɾu</i> (six).
<i>ṣiɾai</i>	<i>ṣiɾai</i> (prison).

(b) In some words *r* > *ɾ*.

Tamil: *carai* (hill) is Tel. *vara*.

Tamil: *terici* 'woman' is Tel. *terara*.

Tamil: *tēru* 'ear' is Tel. *tēru*.

Tamil: *erurai* 'blood' is Tel. *erupu*.

Tamil: *tari* 'cut' is Tel. *tariyu*.

Tamil: *tiru* (finish) is Tel. *tiru*.

(c) *ɾ* + vowel + voiceless consonant becomes *r* + consonant.

ḍaɪɾu > *ḍaɪru* 'to cry'.

māɪɾu > *māɪru* 'to change'.

kūɪɾu > *kūɪru* 'to sit'.

pāɪɾu > *pāɪru* 'to look'.

tēɪɾu > *tēɪru* 'to clear'.

Note—C. P. Brown uniformly uses *r*, for both *ɾ* and *r* in his *Dictionary*.

(d) *ɾ* of *iɾu* and *kuɾu* (small) changes into *ɪ* in Sandhi :—

iɾu + *eluka* = *iɪɪɪɪeluka*, 'small rat'; *kuɾu* + *usuru* = *kuɪɪu usuru* 'small life'.

(e) $r \rightarrow y$ (rare).

Tamil *kīru* 'scratch' is Tel. *gīru* and *giya*.

Tamil : *tūru* 'enter' is Tel. *tūru*, *duyya*.

8. In Tulu wherever r is not changed into r , it is replaced by d or $d3$.(a) $r \rightarrow r$ (very common).

Tamil : *marī* 'ram' is Tulu *marī*.

Tamil : *kōru* 'to string' is Tulu *kōr*.

Tamil : *kurai* 'defect' is Tulu *kore*.

Tamil : *kīru* 'scratch' is Tulu *kīru*.

Tamil : *kāru* 'vomit' is Tulu *kār*.

(b) $r \rightarrow d$.

Canarese : *karīko* 'a grass' is Tulu *kadike*.

Canarese : *garī* 'wing' is Tulu *kedī*.

Canarese : *tsīru* 'small' is Tulu *kidi*.

Tamil : *māru* 'turn' is Tulu *mādu*.

Tamil : *mayai* 'screen' is Tulu *māde*.

Tamil : *nūru* "100" is Tulu *nādu*.

(c) $rr \rightarrow tt$.

Tamil : *surru* round is Tulu *suttu*.

Tamil : *murru* full is Tulu *muttu*.

Tamil : *irrai* 'now' is Tulu *itte*.

(d) $r \rightarrow d3$.

Tamil : *māru* 'three' is Tulu *mād3i*.

Tamil : *iru* 'without' is Tulu *id3d3i*.

Tamil : *aru* 'six' is Tulu *ad3i*.

Tamil : *karu* 'calf' is Tulu *kand3i*.

9. In Gondi as in Tulu $r \rightarrow d3$.

The following examples are taken from Major Smith's *Handbook of Gondi* :—

Tamil : *arahu* 'wood' is Gondi *ad3ugu*.

Tamil : *iru* 'to-day' is Gondi *id3u*.

Tamil : *panri* 'pig' is Gondi *pad3d3i*.

Tamil : *tōra* 'to appear' is Gondi *tond3a*.

The Primitive Dravidian l is preserved in all the languages though in some of them it is often changed to the post-dental liquid l .

(1) In Telugu it is preserved in the following words :—

(a) Tamil Telugu.

kaḷḷi (a plant) *kaḷḷi*.

koḷḷu (gram) *koḷḷu*.

taḷukku (flash) *taḷuku*.

taḷḷu (to rush) *taḷḷu*.

tāḷu (to bear) *tāḷu*.

viḷakku (lamp) *beḷagu*.

taḷam (army) *daḷam*.

pāḷam (piece) *pāḷam*.

(b) $f \rightarrow l$ (in Telugu).

Tamil Telugu.

tafir (bud) *taliru*.

tēt (scorpion) *tēl*.

tuḥai (hole) *tola*.

tuḥambu (move) *dulupu*.

neḥi (twist) *neli*.

kaḥṭu (toddy) *kallu*.

vāḥ (knife) *vālu*.

(c) $f \rightarrow ḍ$ (common).

Tamil: *nāḍa* 'day' is Telugu *nāḍu*.

Tamil: *kaḥai* 'weed' is Telugu *gaḍaḥa*.

Can. *gōḥ* 'weep' is Telugu *gōḍu*.

(d) $f \rightarrow l \rightarrow n$ (sometimes).

Tamil: *kaḥ* 'to get' is Telugu *konu*.

Tamil: *tuḥukka* 'to stir' is in Telugu *botu*, *toluku*, and *tonuku*.

(e) $ḍlu \rightarrow ḥlu$ (in plural form)

nāḍu has plural *nāḥlu* (days)

tāḥu has plural *tāḥlu* (palms).

(2) In Tamil f is preserved in all cases. But in some cases, especially in.

(a) Compounds $f \rightarrow ḍ$; e. g., *nāḥai* \rightarrow *nāḥal* 'friendship'; *nāḥippu* \rightarrow *nāḥipps* (length).

(b) Before a nasal $f \rightarrow ṇ$.

el (sesamum) is *eṇṇai* (oil).

(c) Sometimes $f \rightarrow ṇ$ independently *tiḥ* 'strong' but *tiḥḍol* 'strong shoulder' = *tiḥ* + *vḥ* (Compare the change of $f \rightarrow n$).

(3) In Taḥa f is preserved; but in some cases changed to l ; in some cases both forms exist.

In some few cases $f \rightarrow l \rightarrow r$.

Tamil.	Taḥa.		
	1	2	3
<i>ḍḥa</i> 'to rule'	<i>ḍḥa</i>	...	...
<i>aḥai</i> 'butter-milk'	<i>aḥe</i>	<i>aḥe</i>.	...
<i>aḥa</i> 'measure'	<i>aḥa</i>	...	...
<i>aḥi</i> 'chisel'	<i>aḥi</i>	...	...
<i>aḥri</i> (deer)	<i>aḥe</i>	<i>aḥe</i>	<i>aḥe</i>
<i>kaḥṭu</i> 'theft'	<i>kaḥṭu</i>	...	...
<i>kaḥ</i> 'toddy'	<i>kaḥi</i>	<i>kaḥi</i>	...
<i>taḥṭu</i> (push)	<i>taḥṭu</i>	<i>taḥṭu</i>	...
<i>taḥṭu</i> (frisk)	<i>taḥṭu</i>	<i>taḥṭu</i>	...
<i>tēt</i> (scorpion)	<i>tēt</i>	...	...
<i>ḥuḥi</i> (acidity) ... ..	...	<i>ḥuḥi</i>	...
<i>teḥṭu</i> (winnow) ... ..	...	<i>teḥṭu</i>	...
<i>taḥai</i> (rope) ... ..	...	<i>taḥe</i>	...

(5) In Malayalam *l* remains in all cases where it is found in Tamil.

To sum up, Tamil, Mal. and Canarese preserve *l*. Tuḷu and Telugu soften it to *l*. But Tuḷu does it in fewer cases than Telugu. Sometimes *l* > *ṇ* (*n*) in Tam., Tul., Telugu and Canarese.

We shall give here a few examples where *l* > *n* in Canarese :—

gili and *giṇi* 'parrot'.

alile and *aṇile*.

koḷa and *koṇa*.

maḷal and *maṇal*.

(Vide Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, p. 190, art. 228)

VII. — The Front Consonants (*k*, *g*, *n*).

(1) These consonants *k* and *g* along with those derived from original velars *k* and *g* followed by front vowels, underwent many changes in the different Dravidian languages, viz. :—

k (initial) > *ṣ*, (vulgar *s*) in Tamil.

> *tʃ*, in Malayalam.

> *tʃ*, *s* and *dʒ* in Canarese.

> *tʃ*, *s* and *t* in Tuḷu.

> *tʃ*, *ts* and *s* in Telugu; and *dʒ* in a few cases.

(2) In Tamil *ṣ* is the standard pronunciation; but *s* is the one used by the illiterate and the vulgar. It is also the pronunciation of the Madras dialect. *ṣol* 'say' is *sol*.

(3) In Malayalam *k* uniformly becomes *tʃ*.

(4) In Canarese *ṣ* and *dʒ* are initial through accent-change and through the influence of neighbouring voiced consonants and liquids. *S* is the most common; and there are only a few words with *dʒ*.

(5) In Tuḷu *tʃ* < *k* is very common; but *s* becomes initial through the influence of accent-change and the neighbouring voiced consonants and liquids. This *s* constantly changes into *t*, so that we have double forms in Tuḷu, words with *s* and *t* being both used.

(6) In Telugu *k* before back vowels regularly becomes *ts* an affricate, and before front vowels becomes *tʃ*; and before voiced consonants and liquids and through the influence accent-change becomes *s*.

(7) That Canarese and Tuḷu show a greater tendency towards *s* than Telugu is shown by the following :—

(a) Canarese and Tuḷu have *s* even when Telugu has *tʃ* before voiced consonants and liquids.

(b) Canarese and Tuḷu have *s* where Telugu has *tʃ*, before voiceless consonants.

We shall now illustrate the above laws:—

(1) *Before back vowels.*

k' > ʒ (Tam.); tʃ (Mal., Can., Tuḷu); ts (Telugu).

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	ḷatti (vessel)	tʃatti ...	tʃatti ...	tʃatti ...	tsatti.
2	ḷali (cold)	tʃali ...	tʃali ...	tʃali ...	tsali.
3	ḷappai (mat)	tʃāppe ...	tʃāpe ...	tʃāpe ...	tsāpa.
4	ḷokka (pure)	tʃokka ...	tʃokka ...	tʃokka ...	tsokka.
5	ḷappu (suck)	tʃappu ...	tʃappu ...	tʃappu ...	tsappu.

(2) *Before front vowels.*

k' > ʒ (Tamil) and tʃ (in all the rest).

	Tamil.	Mal.	Canarese.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	ḷippu (comb)	tʃippu ...	tʃipu ...	tʃipu ...	tʃipu.
2	ḷillai (change)	tʃillam ...	tʃillare ...	tʃillare ...	tʃellara.
3	ḷeppi (shell)	tʃippi ...	tʃeppi ...	tʃeppi ...	tʃeppi.
4	ḷikka (lean)	tʃekkā ...	tʃokka ...	tʃekka ...	tʃikka.
5	ḷittu (note)	tʃittu ...	tʃittu ...	tʃittu ...	tʃittu.

(3) *Before voiced consonants and liquids.*

k' > ʒ (Tam.); tʃ (Mal.); ʒ and dʒ (Can., Tuḷu and Telugu).

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	ḷurugu (to contract)	tʃurugaya ...	surugu ...	suruṇṭu (u) ...	surugu.
2	ḷuḷi (eddy)	tʃuḷi ...	suḷi ...	suḷi ...	suḷi.
3	ḷāḷudal (dying)	tʃāya ...	sāgu ...	sāgu ...	sāgu.
4	ḷōruḷa (to leak)	tʃōruya ...	sōru ...	sōru ...	sōlu.
5	ḷuḍu (to burn)	tʃuḍu ...	suḍu ...	suḍu ...	suḍumu (a torch).
6	ḷalli (bit)	tʃalli ...	dʒalli ...	dʒalli ...	dʒalli.
7	ḷavaḷi (cloth)	tʃavaḷi ...	dʒavaḷi ...	dʒavaḷi ...	dʒavaḷi.
8	ḷarivu (slope)	tʃarivu ...	dʒarivu ...	dʒari ...	dʒaragu.

(4) In Tulu initial *s* and *ts* derived from the Primitive Dravidian *g'* easily change into *t*; and hence we have the following double forms :—

Tamil.	Tulu.
kan'dzi (a bag).	san'tfi and tan'tfi.
kan'ai (trouble).	sante and tante.
kandu (lane).	sandu and tandu.
kanmañi (a pick-axe).	tfannoñi and tamboñi.
añil (squirrel).	tfañil and tañil.
sinai (pregnant).	sane and tane.
ñuvai (taste).	sabi and tabi.
karakku (goods).	saraku and taraku.
tappu (mistake).	sappu and tappu.
karaijai (gravel).	saraje and taraje.

(5) In Malayalam too we find *vāḍil* 'a door' for Tamil *vāḍal* and Telugu *vāḍili*.

(*g'* medial).

Primitive Dravidian *g'* undergoes the following changes :—

g' > *ś* (Tamil) and also *y*.

> *y* (Malayalam).

> *s* in Can., Tulu and Telugu.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Canarese.	Tulu.	Telugu.
1	vayira (belly)	vayaru ...	basiru ...	.....	.....
2	pāy (mat)... ..	pāy ...	hāsige ...	hāsige ...	.....
3	payaru (gram)	payaru ...	hesaru ...	hesaru ...	pesaḷa.
4	payir (corn)	payir ...	pasiru ...	paira ...	pasaru.
5	kayaru (rope)	kayaru ...	.....	.....	tfēru.
6	uyir (life) uñir	uyir ...	usiru ...	usira ...	usaru.
7	aśai (to move)	ayakka ...	ase ...	.....	ase.
8	kaśaru (dregs)	kayar ...	kasaru ...	kasaru ...	kasaru.

(1) In Tamil *y* and *ś* easily interchange. For example, we have the following double forms: *āṇaval* and *ayaval* 'to be tired'; *iśaiu*, *iyaiu* 'union,' *kaśakku*, *kayakku*, 'bitter'; *kaśar* and *kayar* 'dregs'; *nēṇu* and *nēyan*, 'friend,' *Muśal* and *muyal* 'a rabbit'; *naṇ* and *uyar* 'High.' *Kaśaru* and *kayaru*, 'tank.' *Parīṣam* and *pariyam*.

(2) Sometimes the *y* is lost as in *peyar* > *pēr*, 'name.' Tamil *kayar*, 'rope.' Telugu *tfēru*.

VIII. — The back Consonants (k, g, ŋ.)

k.

The present Dravidian k is most faithfully preserved by Canarese and Tuḷu. Telugu has a great tendency for palatalisation; and Tamil stands midway between Telugu and Canarese-Tuḷu.

(1) k is preserved in all the languages.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	kaḍal (sea)	kaḍal ...	kaḍalu ...	kaḍalu ...	kaḍalu.
2	kaḍu (extreme)	kaḍu ...	kaḍu ...	kaḍu ...	kaḍu.
3	katti (knife)	katti ...	katti ...	katti ...	katti.
4	karai (shore)	karai ...	kare ...	kare ...	kara.
5	kaṭṭu (bind)	kaṭṭu ...	kaṭṭu ...	kaṭṭu ...	kaṭṭu.
6	kaṇ (eye)	kaṇ ...	kaṇ ...	kaṇ ...	kaṇu.
7	kari (black)	kari ...	kari ...	kari ...	kari.
8	kala (mix)	kalaṇṇu ...	kala ...	kalapuni ...	kalagu.
9	kavi (cover)	kaviyuna ...	kavi ...	kabi ...	kaviyu.
10	kāval (guard)	kāval ...	kāvalu ...	kāvalu ...	kāvalu.

(2) k > g in Canarese, Tuḷu and Telugu through the influence of accent-change and of the neighbouring voiced consonants and liquids. Out of 300 words in my *Comparative Dictionary*, about 50, i. e., 16 per cent. have g (initial) in Canarese, Tuḷu and Telugu.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	keḍu (fixed time)	keḍu ...	gaḍu ...	gaḍu ...	gaḍavu.
2	kunṇu (hill)	kunnu ...	gaḍḍa ...	gaḍḍa ...	koṇḍa.
3	kūḍu (nest)	kūḍu ...	gūḍu ...	gūḍu ...	gūḍu.
4	kulai (bunch)	kulae ...	gole ...	gole ...	gola.
5	kan'dṣi (gruel)	kan'n'i ...	gan'dṣi ...	gan'dṣi ...	gan'dṣi.
6	kaṇḍan (male)	kaṇḍan ...	gaṇḍan ...	gaṇḍa ...	gaṇḍa.
7	keṭṭi (hard)	kaṭṭi ...	gaṭṭi ...	gaṭṭi ...	gaṭṭi.
8	kāl (wind)	kāttu ...	gāli ...	gaḷi ...	gāli.
9	kīṇu (scratch)	kīra ...	gīru ...	gīru ...	gīru.
10	kili (fear)	kili ...	gili ...	gili ...	gili.
11	kuṇi (mark)	kuri ...	gaṇi ...	gaṇi ...	gaṇi.

Note (3)—*Tamil and Malayalam show palatalisation in the following words, while the other languages have k.*

- (a) Tamil, *āṭṭi* 'a village'; Mal. *tṣṭi*; Can. *kṛi*; Tuḷu *gṛi*, Tel. *gṛi*.
 (b) Tamil *keḷumbu* 'verdigris' is *kilumbu* in Can.; *kilambu* in Tuḷu.
 (c) *kīrai* 'greens' in Tamil becomes *tṣiṛa* in Malayalam, while Telugu has *kōra*.

Note (4)—*k (initial)* is sometimes lost.

- (a) Mal. *karuṇa* 'a grass' and Can. *karike*; Tuḷu *kadike*, Telu. *garika* is *aruṇa* in Tamil; so that Tamil has lost *k* initial.
 (b) Tamil *i* 'give' and Can. *i* and Telu. *ittu* seem to have lost the initial *k*, for, in Gōṇḍi, it is *hi* or *si*; In Kūi, it is *simu*; In Malto *tṣiya* and in Kurukh *tṣiū* (vide L. S.).
 (c) Tam., Mal., Can., Tuḷu *uṇ* 'to eat' is in Brāhūi *kṇ* (vide L. S., p. 628).

Note (5)—*Special developments of k in some of the North Dravidian languages:—*

- (a) Tamil *kai* 'hand' is in Korvi *kai*; in Kaikāḍi *kai*, in Kurukh *kheka*.
 (b) Tamil *kāl* 'foot' is in Gōṇḍi *kāl*; in Korvi *kāl*; in Kaikāḍi *kāl*; in Kurukh *kheḷ*; in Malto *quēl*.
 (c) Tamil *kṇ* 'eye' is in Korvi *kanna*; in Kaikāḍi *kanna*; in Kurukh *kṇna*; in Malto *qanuth*; in Kui *kānu*; in Gōṇḍi *kan*; in Brāhūi *khan*.
 (d) Canarese *kavi* 'ear' is in Korvi *savi*; in Kaikāḍi *savi*; in Kurukh *khehila*; in Malto *qavuta*; in Gōṇḍi *kavi*; in Brāhūi *khaḥ*.

Dr. Grierson says that *kh* is pronounced as the Scotch *ch* in *Loch*; i. e., it is *χ*, the voiceless velar spirant (vide L. S., p. 412). The Malto *q* too seems to have the same pronunciation, but is a little labialised. Hence it may be said that *k* > *χ* or *χə* in Brāhūi and Kurukh, and in Malto. Korvi and Kaikāḍi show that *k* > *s* or *ṣ* through the influence of palatal vowels.

G. (medial).

Primitive Dravidian *g* is written and pronounced *g*, i. e., voiced velar stop in Canarese Tuḷu and Telugu. But in Malayalam and in the non-Brahman dialect of Tamil it is written *k*, but pronounced *γ* as the voiced velar spirant. But the literary pronunciation of *g* is an aspirate in Tamil, i. e., *h*. Examples of these are:—

- (1) *g* > *g* (Can., Tuḷu. and Tel.); *γ* (Mal.) > *h* (Tamil).

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tuḷu.	Telugu.
1	abai (to go away)	ayalaya	agala	agela	.....
2	ahappai (a spoon)	ayappān	agape	.....	agapa.
3	nahai (laugh)	naṭṭe	nage	.....	naga.
4	mahan (son)	mayan	maga	mage	.....
5	pahal (day)	payal	hagalu	hagala	pagalu.
6	pahudi (tribute)	payu	pagadi	pagudi	pagidi.
7	pahai (hate)	paye	page	page	paga.
8	tahu (fit)	taṭṭe	taga	.....	taga.

(2) $g \succ v$ before back vowels.

(a) In Tamil, *paḍaku* 'boat,' is also *paḍavu*. In vulgar conversation this process is very common. *kāḷuḷu*, *āḷuḷu*, *paḷaḷ*, *mahaḷ* meaning 'mustard,' 'will become,' 'day' and 'son,' respectively, are pronounced vulgarly as *kaḍuru*, *āḍuru*, *paḷal*, *maḷan*. In Madras this is the standard pronunciation.

(b) In Malayalam *aya* 'bud' becomes also *ava* (vide Gaudert's *Mal. Dict.*, p. 188), *tayil* and *tavil* 'drum.'

(c) In Telugu, *g* often becomes *v* and both the forms are literary: (1) *paḡadamu* and *paḷadamu* 'coral'; (2) *pāga* and *pāva* 'a sandal'; (3) *poga* and *pova* 'smoke'; (4) *paḡadu* and *poḷadu* 'to praise'; (5) *paḡalu* and *paḷalu* 'grieve'; (6) *maḡugu* and *maḷugu* 'to be kept down'; (7) *miḡulu* and *miḷulu* 'to remain'; (8) *māḡuru* and *mavuru* 'three men'; (9) *moḡugu* and *moḷugu* 'to bark'; (10) *taḡalu* and *tavalu* 'to happen'; (11) *diḡu* and *diḷu* 'to get down.' These and some more are found in Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*.

(d) Canarese and Tulu preserve the guttural form so faithfully that this change $g \succ v$ is not illustrated in any of them.

(3) $g \succ y$ before front vowels.

(a) This change is very common in New Tamil. *āhiṇ* 'bat' is pronounced and written *āyīṇ*; *tūḷil* 'cloth' is *tuyil*; *Bāḡirathi* 'the Ganges' is *Bāyirathi*; *kāriḷai* 'a spoon' is also *kāriyāi* in literary Tamil.

(b) In Malayalam, Dr. Gundert (p. 188., *Mal. Dict.*) gives the example *ariyattu* and *ariyattu*.

(c) The word *vayiru* 'belly,' which is found in Tamil and Malayalam is *basiru* in Canarese; but is *varag* in Korvi; and *vārga* in Kaikāḷei; thus showing that *y* in *vayiru* has come from an original *g*. Korvi *varag* \angle *vārga* \angle *vayiru* by metathesis. It is very likely that words having *y* in Tamil and Malayalam and *v* in Canarese, Tulu and Telugu, had originally *g*.

(d) In Telugu too, this change is common. *Aga* 'to become' has *ayinadi* 'it become,' but *avufunadi* 'it becomes.' Hence, a back vowel changes *g* into *v*, and a front vowel into *y*.

IX. — Laws of doubled consonants (kk, tṭ, tt, pp, rr).

1. Primitive Dravidian had doubled consonants in the middle of a word. But these have undergone changes and simplification in Can., Tulu, Telugu, though they are faithfully preserved in Tamil and Malayalam.

2. The Primitive Dravidian doubled consonants, which are preserved in Tam. and Mal. are in Can., Tu., and Tel.: (1) either preserved; (2) or simplified to a single voiceless consonant; (3) or sometimes simplified and voiced.

3. Where the doubled consonants are preserved, the preceding vowel is always short.

4. When they are simplified in Can., Tu. and Tel., the preceding vowel is always long. If it is short in Prim. Drav. and therefore in Tam. and Malayalam, it is lengthened in Can., Tu. and Tel., before simplification takes place.

5. But, if the doubled consonants belong to a syllable other than the first and the second of a polysyllabic word, then the preceding syllable may be short and yet the doubled consonants may be simplified.

6. Very often the simplified, single voiceless consonants are voiced, in the neighbourhood of voiced sounds.

Examples.

	Tamil.	Mal.	Can.	Tulu.	Telegu.
1	nakkan (fox)	nakkuṃa ...	nakke ...	nakka (v) ...	nakka.
2	pakkam (side)	pakkam ...	pakke ...	pakke ...	pakka.
3	pokkal (navel)	pokkil ...	pokkil ...	puvoḷa ...	pokkili.
4	taṭṭu (touch)	taṭṭu ...	taṭṭu ...	taṭṭu ...	taṭṭu.
5	tappu (fault)	tappu ...	tappu ...	tappu ...	tappu.
6	naṭṭu (trust)	naṭṭu ...	naṭṭu ...	.....	naṭṭu.
7	tāṅku (boat)	tāṅkuṃa ...	tāṅku ...	tāṅku ...	tāṅku.
8	tōṭṭan (garden)	tōṭṭan ...	tōṭa... ..	tōṭa... ..	tōṭa.
9	tōppa (grove)	tōppu ...	tōpu ...	tōpu ...	tōpu.
10	nāṭṭu (fix)	nāṭṭu ...	nāṭu ...	nāṭu ...	nāṭu.
11	nokku (push)	nokku ...	nuggu ...	nūku ...	nuggu, nūka
12	pakku (dirt) ... ..	.....	.....	.....	pāku.
13	maḍakke (fold)	maḍkku ...	maḍagu ...	maḍgu ...	maḍagu.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from p. 109.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

This Series is a compilation from most of the available Gazetteers and Settlement Reports relating to Districts in the Eastern half of the Panjāb and the North-West Frontier Province.

Abbreviations. S. R. = *Settlement Report*; Gr. = *Gazetteer*; Monty. = *Montgomery (District)*; Mgarh. = *Muzaffargarh (District)*; Chenab Col. Gr. = *Chenab Colony Gazetteer, 1904.*

Ad : a water channel, Gujrāt S. R., p. 150; a'd : a small water channel from a well. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.

Ada : a catch that prevents the *chakli* of a well from going backwards. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.

Adhaliā : (i) a single crop field labourer who is found in everything by the proprietor and receives as his wage a small share of the produce : (ii) a tenant who supplies half the seed and half the plough oxen, and all the labour, and receives about one-half of the produce. Bannū S. R., 1879, p. xxxvii.

Adhjogīā : a farm servant paid by a share in the produce. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.

Adhmīt : a half share in land. Cf. *mīt*.

Adh-sara man: lit. $\frac{1}{2}$ *ser* per *man*: a specific rate of *haqq samindāri* or superior proprietor's share of the produce. Mgarh. S. R., p. 92.

Agetri: early, (of cultivation), i. e., sowing before 15th Sāman. Cf. *psahhetri*: Chenab Col. Gr., p. 75.

Agwān: property made over in lieu of that stolen: the converse of *sagwa*, q. w. = *wagwā*.

Ahl: a fish, (*pseudotropius atherinoides*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 39.

Ahl: manure, put on the land. Cf. *kallur*.

Akālī: extra cesses (*abwābī*) paid in kind. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxii.

Akehr: first ploughing. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vi.

Akhsai: a game. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 74.

Algad: a ravine. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 26.

Allāh nāmī: a kind of marriage in which money is paid for a bride. Mgarh. S. R., p. 68.

Amlānah: a contribution to the pay of the proprietor's *amlah* or accountants. Multān S. R. 1873-80, p. 45.

Amlok: a tree, found in the upper valleys. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30; (*Diospyrus Lotus*). Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Amm: a variety of cotton. Cf. *desi*. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 81.

Amritī: a variety of *jowār*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.

Andai: half a *chat* (an ox-load of grain). Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 128.

Andāz: a tax. Kohāt S. R., p. 185.

Angāri: a plant, Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.

Angūri: a young blade just coming out of the ground. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xi.

Angyāri: a disease of buffaloes. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xvi.

Ant-guggu: a bird of ill-omen. Its cry when heard devastates the country for 10 miles round. Shāhpur—applied to a Settlement Collector who imposed a heavy assessment in that District.

Annhi godī: the first hoeing of a field of sugarcane. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 67.

Anwanda: the share of the produce taken by others than the owner or tenant of the land. D. G. K. Gr., p. 82.

Apere jamān: dates which grow spontaneously: Cf. *gidariān*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30.

A'phar: a disease of sheep. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.

Appar: land which has been lain fallow for a year. Jhang S. R., p. 152.

Ar: (i) a pretext; (ii) the cogs of a *chakli*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.

Ara: remains of a canal or water-course. Multān Gr., p. 4.

Arak: a bullock not broken in. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.

Ari: a coat. Mgarh. S. R., p. 37.

Armosh: a camel at the commencement of its ninth year. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.: a camel which is more than eight years old. Jhang S. R., p. 111.

Aroe: a birth custom performed in the fifth month of a woman's first pregnancy: sweetmeat is prepared by her parents, and a little put in her lap, the rest being divided among relations. Multān Gr., p. 89.

- Asisā** : vows : *1 asis, asisri*, prayer, blessing : P. Dy., p. 49. Monty. S. R. Gloss., xxv.
- At** : rubbish of all kinds for filling up a well. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.
- Ata ghatā** : lit. 'flour (and) a sheep' : a vow at a shrine. Mgarh. S. R., p. 65.
- Atan** : an amusement in which women move in a circle, clapping their hands and singing in concert. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 75.
- Athari** : a domestic sweeper, who is always in attendance on the husbandmen, a man of a work : pp. to *sepi*. Gujrāt S. R., p. 40.
- Aṭhain** : a man specially employed to attend to tobacco crops and paid a share of the yield before division between landlord and tenant : = *cheogi* : D. G. K. Gr., p. 108.
- Babbil** : a very thorny species of acacia, which grows on the slopes of sand-hills. D. I. Khān S. R. 1879, p. 25.
- Bachcha** : a small wooden cylinder sunk inside a cracked well to make it serviceable. Cf. *chobachcha*. Jhang S. R., p. 76. *Dātta* : to sink an interior cylinder in a well, of which the water level has sunk below the original brick-work. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.
- Bachwā** : a variety of fish. Multān Gr., p. 23.
- Badi wela** : the time from dawn to sunrise. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.
- Badri** : dates which ripen in the month of *Batrx* or Bhādon. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30.
- Badza** : a plant which bears a white flower and grows to a height of 3 or 4 feet. Kohāt S. R., 188, p. 30.
- Bagar** : a variety of cotton plant : D. G. K. Gr., p. 110. Cf. *khandul*.
- Bagar** : a variety of *jowār*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.
- Baggā** : a variety of *moth*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.
- Baggi** : white rice. Multān Gr., p. 216.
- Bāgh** : irrigated soil situated in the immediate vicinity of a village, cultivated principally by *māli*. Cf. *kata*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 194.
- Bāhān** : *Populus Euphratica*. Cf. *ubhān*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 29.
- Bāhan** : land ploughed up beforehand and prepared for sowing. Jhang S. R., p. 152.
- Baharbadi** : a small *jhalār* having only a few pots, but those of large size, and worked by a single bullock : see *orat*. Multān Gr., p. 205.
- Bahardi** : irrigated land which gets an occasional dressing of manure. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 91.
- Bāhikar** : a thick, low brushwood, Jhelum S. R., p. 3.
- Bahir** : a trading party. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 181.
- Bahutra** : the pinnæ of a date tree. Mgarh. S. R., p. 31.
- Baiphalli** : a plant. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.
- Bakan** : a plant, a mere weed, but used for fodder : Cf. *bhākan*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.
- Bakhain** : a garden tree. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.
- Bakrain** : a climber. Multān Gr., p. 19.
- Balkhi** : a variety of tobacco. Monty. S. R., Gloss., xi.
- Bambli** : an inferior variety of rice. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 112.
- Ban** : a deep, loamy soil. Cf. *chach, cho, gundi, mal*. Jhelum S. R., p. 118.

- Band** : an eighth share in a horse. Jhang S. R., p. 110.
- Band** : (i) an embankment : (ii) an embanked field. D. G. Khan Gr., p. 103.
- Banda** : (i) a share among the Karrāls and in the Swāthi tract. Cf. *wanda*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 156 ; (ii) a dependent village. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 20.
- Bāndi** : a shed for keeping cattle in the summer months : Cf. *kur*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 81.
- Banera** : the parapet of a well, the portion above ground. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xii.
- Bangra** : a sword dance. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 75.
- Bankhor** : the wild chestnut, used for making furniture and hardware. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.
- Banni** : the gift of a band or field as compensation for a murder : D. G. K. Gr., p. 44, and Kohāt S. R., p. 79. Cf. *wanni*.
- Bar** : a tree : see *kannja*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.
- Bārāh** : in Pashto = a hill torrent : in the Marwat applied to *nāldār* land. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxviii.
- Barā** : disease of the date palm. Mgarh. S. R., p. 32.
- Bara gara** : mutual embrace. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 134.
- Barangar** : a poor hard, stony, soil. Cf. *bhāngar*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 195.
- Barangi** : the *Quercus dilatata*, the wood is hard and brittle and makes excellent charcoal. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.
- Barghand** : the act of increasing the width of two or more *pattis* or *khulaks* or divided strips of land by cutting off from their length and adding to their width. This is often done in *resh* villages, for purposes of convenience. Bannū S. R., p. xxxvii.
- Bārī** : unirrigated but manured land situated in the immediate vicinity of a village. Cf. *charī*, *tyāra* and *dhokwālī*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 196.
- Barmi** : the yew : the wood is used for uprights and is very durable. Cf. *thuni*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.
- Bashin** : a male hawk. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.
- Bashyar** : a kind of snake. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.
- Bata** : a wild walnut. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.
- Bāta** : (i) a tree, *Plugga virosa*, Pashto *barra*. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 13 : (ii) the pinky white flower of the *Baril* bush. Jhang S. R., p. 22.
- Batālah** : (*lit.*, '12') an exaction, the proprietor sometimes claimed to have his share weighed at 42 *seers* to the *manad*. Multān S. R., 1873-80, p. 45.
- Batang** : a grafted pear tree. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94 ; *batangi* : a wild pear tree.
- Bathūn** : a plant. Cf. *bātūn*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.
- Batti** : a kind of fish (*Xopterus chitala*). Cf. *parī*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 40.
- Battī** : fallow. Bannū S. R., 1879, p. xxxvii.
- Bātu** : a weed. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 69.
- Batūn** : a plant. Cf. *batūn*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.

Batūr : a disease of *moth*, *māh*, *māng* and *tīl*, the first three are attacked in Asū and Kātak, the last also in Bādrōn. It generally occurs when there has been much rain. The plant shrivels up, and the pods do not fill. The whole field is not attacked, but scattered plants. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.

Bedāna : *lit.*, 'seedless,' a superior kind of grape. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Beghar : a double *jhalār*. Multān Gr., p. 205. A double Persian wheel, with one wheel placed above the other. Mgarh. S. R., p. 8.

Bel : the second ploughing. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 106.

Bela : a deep loam soil free of stones with an abundance of moisture and exceptional facilities for retaining it. Cf. *chā*, *kānī*, *lās*, *negar*, *lāb*, *mal*, *nalla*, *nāri*, *dungi*, *kachī*, *gujrat*, and *gujhāt*. Hazāra S. R., 1868-74, p. 196.

Berāh ghorī : a wedding observance, at which the barber makes a *dōlah* or small palanquin of *tanāh* grass and puts in it 8 lamps made of flour paste. Gujrat S. R., p. 47.

Berak : a rag (tied to a tree as an offering). Shāhpur Gr., p. 86.

Bhā dīdh bhā : one share and $1\frac{1}{2}$ shares, i.e. (rent) $\frac{1}{4}$ ths and $\frac{3}{4}$ ths. Multān Gr., p. 181.

Bhagar : a variety of cotton, which lasts for three years : the first year it yields a half crop, and for the next two years, if watered, a full crop. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 343.

Bhāgnāri : a tall, expensive breed of cattle. Multān Gr., p. 233.

Bhainī : a temporary encampment. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 23.

Bhaira : a weed, with a lilac coloured bell-like flower. Multān Gr., p. 208.

Bhairī : a kind of hawk. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.

Bhaiwāl : a partner in cultivation, but not in proprietary right.

Bhaiwālī : partnership in horses ; see *band*, *pātr*, *sam*, *tunkūta*. Jhang S. R., p. 110.

Bhakal : crushed *bājra* cars. Multān.

Bhan : poplar. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 117 : (*Populus euphratica*) Multān Gr., p. 14.

Bhanda : (?) a granary. Multān Gr., p. 211.

Bhangrā : a plant of two kinds, one bears blue flowers : the other grows on the banks of water courses. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.

Bhār : the cylinder of a well. Multān Gr., p. 195.

Bhārā : fees paid to a *māchhi* for baking. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxiii.

Bharatta : the wild cherry, used for buildingsheds ; a good turning wood, leaves used as manure on rice-fields. Cf. *kātākāth*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Bhargar : a ravine = *para*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 104.

Bhattha : s. fem. : damage (to a well). Multān Gr., p. 196.

Bhawriān : rough spots on the coat of a horse. Jhang S. R., p. 110.

Bhekur : the Pakras pheasant or *kokīds*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 14.

Būikh : a charitable contribution demanded by the proprietor. Multān S. R. 1880, p. 45.

Bhīr : (?) a heap of ruins (Panj. *thēh*). Multān Gr., p. 125.

Bhoang : a due paid by a cultivator to one who cleared the land. Multān Gr., p. 179.

Bhoocha : the present sent by a bride's parents to the bridegroom's family among the middle-classes = *tilā*. Gujrat S. R., p. 43.

Bhora : good land, generally manured, close to a village = *dehwas* in the Marwat and *warbai* in Bannū Proper. Bannū S. R., 1879, p. xxxvii.

Bhu'enphor : a weed with waxy unwholesome-looking flowers (see Jukes, *s. v.*). Multān Gr., p. 208.

Bhui : a weed bearing yellow bunches of blossom. Multān Gr., p. 208.

Bhūkan : a plant. Cf. *bakan*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 53.

Bhulari : chaff of *bājra* and worthless: D. G. Khān Gr., p. 110. Cf. *dhūi*, and M. *bhulur*.

Bhurni : the horizontal beam below the *bhurjal* or vertical pole of a well. (Cf. *bharwanni* Juke's Dicty. of W. P., p. 39); *kānjan*, Multān Gr., p. 197.

Bhurnū : the marble-backed duck. Mgarh. S. R., p. 39.

Bigar (? *begār*) : work on a dam. D. I. Khān S. R. 1872-79, p. 109.

Biḷā : (i) a nursery for seedlings. D. G. Khān ; (ii) a seedling. Multān Gr., p. 216.

Bilhar : a pair of wells. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 104.

Bindi : a rack made of palm leaf fibre. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 108 ; (ii) a bag made of the pinne of a date tree. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30 ; (iii) a bag. Multān Gr., p. 227 ; (iv) = *bela*, a large island: cf. *dona*. Jhang Gr., p. 9.

Birāt : a cash *inām* or grant. Cf. *barāt* (Jukes' Dicty. of W. P., p. 32). Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 189.

Bisht : poisonous, of soil: a term applied to the black *kaḷḷar* soil which is fatal to plant life. Jhang S. R., p. 8.

Biṣwāt : the fee which a potter or carpenter receives from a land-owner for helping him to carry seed to the field at sowing time. Gujrat S. R., p. 41.

Bitālah, see *batdāh*.

Bithara : D. G. Khān Gr., p. 108.

Bokhat : a plant (*asphodelus fistulosus*). Multān Gr., p. 26.

Bol : a song of a sententious or sufistic character, *i. q.* *kāfī*, described in Multān Gr., pp. 112, 114.

Boli : an advance sale of wheat not yet ripe. Multān Gr., p. 218.

Brakha : a lot or share of land. Cf. *bakhra*.

Buar : the Gadwall duck. Mgarh. S. R., p. 39.

Budd : a temple. Multān Gr., p. 337.

Budhi : a disease of goats, the same as *sari*, but not very fatal. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 98.

Bughat : a weed, bearing white bells. Multān Gr., p. 208.

Būhā : (i) a hole in the top of a *pallā* by which grain is put in. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xix ; (ii) a door way or entrance ; *haqq būhā* is a *kamiāna* rate levied in Pakhar. Bannū S. R., p. xxxvii.

Buhara : a fruit-stalk after the fruit has been taken off—of dates : opp. to *gosha*.

Buin : a useless plant. Multān Gr., p. 19.

Bukhat : the wild onion. Cf. *pidri*. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 69.

Bulbula : see *atan*.

Bullā : the flowers of the *ṛhī*, the upper part of the stem of *saccharum sara*. Cf. *makhān sawāfī*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.

Bār : the down of the *kāndr* or bulrush (*Typha angustifolia*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 9.

Bāra : pollen. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xi; (ii) a ball of dates, the small white waxy bud, which is the flower-bud. Multān Gr., p. 227.

Bārī (i) the fruit of the *kāndr* plant. Multān, Gr., p. 20; (ii) a pudding made of the down of the *bar*, q. v.

Bushka : a wild vegetable. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 73.

But : a disused water-course; Īsā Khel. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxvii.

Būta : stool; produce of one grain; a general name for any green plant. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xi.

Būtmār : a man who by clearing the jungle and by bringing land under cultivation has acquired a permanent right to cultivate. Mgarh. S. R., p. 94.

Chab : an earthen embankment (= *chap*). D. G. Khān Gr., p. 105.

Chach : a loamy soil, see *ḍan*.

Chādni-mār : an affection of crops (occasionally heard of; it is not clear what it is). Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. ix. Cf. Siālkot S. R., p. 129.

Chaggan : a disease of buffaloes. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xvi.

Chāhak : dim., a little well. D. G. Khān.

Chajjardār : a kind of snake. Cf. *phannidr*. Jhang S. R., p. 27.

Chājji : a man who winnows. Jhang S. R., p. 99.

Chak obingal : a game in which girls take each other's hands and whirl round. Multān Gr., p. 99.

Chakkar : an island. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 6.

Chakki : an oblong block of salt. Cf. *tabbi*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 148.

Chakor : an open basket in which *clupdtis* are served. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 74.

Chāl : a lake. Multān Gr., p. 42.

Chāli : branches. Cf. *ganda*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 80.

Chalweshta : a canal watchman and share distributor; also a tribal messenger among the Wazirs. Bannū S. R., p. xxxvii.

Chaman : the splash-board which prevents earth from falling into the well. Multān Gr., p. 197.

Chānā : manure, when pulverized and applied by top-dressing to growing crops. Mgarh, S. R., p. 75.

Chāndan : a roof. D. G. Khān.

Chandur : a lark. Mgarh. S. R., p. 36.

Changhol : a bridegroom; Peshāwar, S. R., 1878, p. 137. Feat. -a, a bride; Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 81.

Chānja : a cultivated walnut. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Channa = *katora*. Multān Gr., p. 83.

Channi, a disease of Indian corn. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 123.

Chāp : a signet. Jhang S. R., p. 57.

- Chapak** : a male hawk. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.
- Chāpe** : (?) a piece of cloth. Gujrāt S. R., p. 43.
- Chapli** : sandals. Cf. *kheri*. Jhelum S. R., p. 54, *chappli*. D. G. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 73. Sandals made of the dwarf palm. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 72.
- Chappar** : a depression. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 63.
- Char** : bread collected by menials of a mosque, morning and evening, from every house. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 73.
- Charag** : a kind of hawk. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.
- Charāl** : pease = *mattar*. Multān Gr., p. 220.
- Charhāt** : the pay of the man who gathers dates ; equal to $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the produce of the trees. Jhang S. R., p. 160.
- Charī** : unirrigated manure land ; see *bāri*.
- Chāri** : a large wooden spade tipped with iron. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.
- Chārikār** : a tenant to whom the proprietor supplies a plough and seed and gives a share of the produce. Cf. *sharik*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 92.
- Charohā** : (lit. 'washerman') a harmless snake. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.
- Charra** : *parindāhs* (migratory Pathāns) who have no belongings and come down to the plains as labourers. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 184.
- Chat** : an ox-load of grain. Cf. *gandai*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 128.
- Chath** : blasting a roof of salt. Jhelum S. R., p. 71.
- Chatti** : (i) a sack used for carrying grain on donkeys, etc. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vii. ; as much land as can be sown with an ox-load of wheat seed. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 130.
- Chatti** : a fine : an arbitrary tax or penalty imposed on a village in Sikh times.
- Chattri** : see *karkhi*. Multān Gr., p. 83.
- Chauga** : a 6-year old camel. Jhang S. R., p. 111.
- Chaurimār** : literally "shoulder-striker," a kind of paralysis of the limbs. Mgarh S. R., p. 35.
- Chawāra** : a kind of date. Multān Gr., p. 228.
- Chel-o-yak** : a rate on sheep (Rs. 1 per 40 head of the flock). Kohāt, S. R. 1884, p. 101.
- Cheogi** : see *aphain*.
- Chetari** : the bar-headed goose. Bannū S. R., 1879, p. xxxvi.
- Chhāhwela** : the time from sunrise to about 10 a. m. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.
- Chhalli** : a kind of fish. Mgarh S. R., p. 40.
- Chhān-pint** : the process of drawing out, extracting, e. g., milking. Mgarh.
- Chhāp** : a temporary dam on a small water-course. Multān Gr., p. 323.
- Chhapāki** : an ash-coloured bird, the size of a dove. Mgarh S. R., p. 33.
- Chharā** : a way of using the *topa*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vii.
- Chhatr** : a camel from 3 to 4 years old. Multān Gr., p. 236.
- Chhatt** : broadcast. Multān Gr., p. 207.
- Chhattar** : a camel at the commencement of its 4th year. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.

Chhatte: the age at which the front hair of a small girl is cut straight across the forehead and the back hair is allowed to hang loose. Mgarh S. R., p. 63.

Chhauda: the overlapping bark of the trunk of the palm tree. Multân Gr., p. 227.

Chhekôjâl: a drag net. Cf. *ghâwâ*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 82. *

Chherû: a buffalo herd. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.

Chhot: a dry *mekki* plant. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xi.

Chiohkâ: a variety of *jowâr*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.

Chik: a rope made of *mânj* used to fasten the yoke to a *gâli* or driving seat of a well. Jhang S. R., p. 83.

Chilki: an ornament of silver worn round the waist by Hindu women. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 46.

Chilwa: a variety of fish. Multân Gr., p. 23.

Chimbar: a grass (*Eleusine aegyptiaca*). Multân Gr., p. 19.

China: roan. (Cf. *chinna*, sorrel at P. Dy., p. 235). Jhang S. R., p. 110.

Chinkara: a bird. Multân Gr., p. 209.

Chiratta, a weed like a dandelion. Multân Gr., p. 208.

Chiri: the best kind of Biloch ware. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 119.

Chirvin-pind: split dates. Multân Gr., p. 228.

Chitâ: lit. 'mad,' a side channel of the Indus which leaves the river a little south of Mârî where it emerges from the Salt Range, and is nearly continuous to about the middle of the Mozaffargarh Dist. Mgarh. S. R., p. 15.

Chittri: a disease of *moth*, *medâ*, *mâng*, melons and *zaw*. It appears in October. White spots appear on the leaves. No grain forms. Only plants here and there are affected. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.

Cho: a loamy soil see *ban*: an unirrigated deep loam soil: cf. *bela*.

Chob: a kind of shawl worn by women. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xx.

Chob chakkal: the wood-work of a well. Multân Gr., p. 197.

Chobachcha: a small wooden cylinder. Cf. *bachcha*.

Chopa: a cluster of stems springing from one stool of a date-palm, in Kabirwâli. Cf. *thadda*. Multân Gr., p. 228.

Chopah: rearing trees from seed. D. I. Khân S. R., 1879, p. 278.

Choper: a game. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 18.

Chopkali: a necklet. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 42.

Choti-phul: an ornament. Multân Gr., p. 89.

Chûhrâ, and *mushki*: two kinds of snake. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.

Chukanna: a small portion of land given in excess of the tribal share to make up for its inferior quality. Hazâra S. R. 1874, p. 156.

Chûhri: a variety of *jowâr*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.

Chula: a house-tax introduced in recent times with the object of preventing the acquisition of any permanent right in land. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 25.

- Chung** : a marriage ceremony which consists in grinding a few grains of wheat. Multân Gr., p. 93.
- Chunno se** : contagious (sic). Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.
- Chupâns** : to munch. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 84.
- Churait** : a tenant-at-will, who can be ejected at the end of an agricultural year. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 86.
- Churh** : a small torrent, Cf. *Iarih*. D. G. Khân, Diack's S. R., p. 3.
- Dab** : a grass (*Andropogon muricatus*). Multân G. R., p. 19.
- Daba** : riaderpest. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 97.
- Dâchi** : the shell drake or burrow duck. Mgarh. S. R., p. 39.
- Dâchi** : a she-camel, which has brought forth her first calf. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.
- Dâd** : an aqueduct. Bannû S. R., p. xxxvii.
- Dadah** : a fixed share. Bannû S. R., p. xxxvii.
- Dadherha** : a parrot. Mgarh. S. R., p. 37.
- Daftar** : land. Peshâwar S. R., 1873, p. 86.
- Dâg** : (Pashto), *dagar* (Hindki also): waste land bearing little herbage; a rain drainage catchment area lying above a cultivated plot. Bannû S. R., p. xxxvii.
- Dâh** : the ledge of the Sândal Bâr. Jhang. S. R., p. 2.
- Dahi** : a kind of fish (*Labeo calbasu*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 40.
- Dahnâ** : a word used before *châh* (well), to express an unit : e.g. *Vin dahnâ châh*, '3 wells.' Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.
- Daira** : a village guest-house, (=dera). Gujrat S. R., p. 46 :—*dâr* : a Jângli menial who looks after the *daira* (hostel) cleans it, and keeps the fire alight day and night. Chenab Col. Gr. 1894, p. 106.
- Dijal** : a breed of cattle slightly inferior to the *massûsâdh*. Multân Gr., p. 233.
- Dak** : a form of acquisition of land. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 73.
- Dâk** : a circle dâk-dâr. D. G. Khân, Diack's S. R., p. 73.
- Dakar** : a light clay easily irrigated, and fertile, generally well manured, and adapted for all crops. Cf. *gusrah*. Multân S. R., 1873-80, p. 6.
- Dakûn gonglân** : a turnip prepared for seed. Mgarh. S. R., p. 81.
- Dal** (*dâth*) : a holding or estate of which the wells have fallen in. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 105.
- Dal** : an estate. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 105.
- Dala** : lit. : a child's skirt; a due similar to *jâhli*—see *dallâ*. Multân S. R. 1880, p. 44.
- Daliyâ** : coarsely ground grain. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxv.
- Dallâ** : (*daldâ* ?), a child's skirt : hence a due. Multân Gr., p. 182.
- Dallâ** : in the villages of Swât, Dir and Bâjaur there are two (or more) parties called *dallâ*, each with its own *jirga*. The party in power is called *bande dallâ*, that in opposition and out of power *lande dallâ*.
- Dam** : a sp ll. D. I. Khân S. R., 1872-79, p. 71.
- Dambhara** : a kind of fish (*Labeo rohita*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 40.
- Damni** : a necklet. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 42.

- Demrah** : the *rohā*, *Labeo rohita*. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxvi.
- Danda giti** : hopscotch, a game. Mgarh. S. R., p. 71.
- Dandi** : the upright stick of the churning staff. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xviii.
- Dandil** : a tooth-pick. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 74.
- Dandi obigāri** : a kind of wheat. Jhang S. R., p. 87.
- Dangir** : the Argus pheasant. Hazāra S. R. 1874, p. 14.
- Danna** : (i) an unirrigated soil, (ii) the level top of a long ridge. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 197.
- (iii) a sandy waste—Indus villages. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxvii.
- Daphi** : the stump of a date tree, Rangpur. Mgarh S. R., p. 31.
- Dar** : the custom of distributing money (from one anna to a rupee each) to *mīrāsīs* at weddings ; cf. *rātarchāri*. Gujrāt S. R., p. 42.
- Dar** : a school. Multān Gr., p. 112.
- Dari** : ? ā, a cess in D. G. Khān : Gr., p. 84.
- Darrah** : an allotment of land to a section inside a *tāl*. Bannū S. R., p. xxxvii.
- Darwāi** : a village accountant. Peshāwar S. R. 1878, p. 86.
- Daryāl** : a weed. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 69.
- Dastār** : a certain portion of the property which devolves on the successor to a chiefship ordinarily the eldest son. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 307.
- Dāūd khāni** : a kind of wheat, indigenous to a cold climate ; it ripens slowly, and can only be grown in the higher valleys. Cf. *spīn* and *tirāhī*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 121.
- Dedhā** : a cloth fastened round the waist. Cf. *taḥmat* and *manjhā*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 62.
- Dedhatakla** : wheat or barley when the ear is forming, but has not come out of its sheathing leaves. Monty. S. R. Gloss., xi.
- Dehla** : an unopened bud of the *kārin* tree. Cf. *bāts*. Multān Gr., p. 84.
- Dehnū** : pod, of cotton. Multān Gr., p. 210.
- Dehwas** : good land generally manured, close to a village. Cf. *bhora*.
- Deora** : a camel-grazier. Multān Gr., p. 187.
- Deredāri** : lavish hospitality. Multān Gr., p. 104.
- Dest** : (i) a variety of Indian corn. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. x. : (ii) a variety of cotton. Cf. *amm*.
- Dhadhrīan** : green pods roasted of peas and gram. Mgarh. S. R., p. 80.
- Dhāgā, mauṭī kā** : a skein of red thread, with a knot in it, sent as a token that the wedding is to take place on a certain day. Gujrāt S. R., p. 44.
- Dhākwan** : a vessel with a cover. Multān Gr., p. 83.
- Dhan** : a table land of some size situated in a hill tract. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 197.
- Dhāngar** : a hard clay soil full of stones. Cf. *jādmra*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 197 : a hard, stony, poor soil : cf. *barangar*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 195.
- Dhangarā** : *lit.*, a kicking-strap tied on a cow before milking ; a marriage consisting of the bare *nīkāh*, without any of the usual ceremonies. Mgarh. S. R., p. 69.
- Dhania** : coriander. Multān Gr., p. 223.

Dhāont: (i) a bathing festival held chiefly on Sunday in river-worship, Multan Gr., p. 116; (ii) the bathing season, *ib.*, p. 86.

Dhar = 4 **kandaks** = 23 **khulas**; Marwat. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxvii.

Dhāra: a walled enclosure at the corner of a field in which cattle are folded. *Cl. dhon.* Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 68.

Dharrawal: *kāldāpāni* lands: so-called from the *dha-ras* or shares on which they are held. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 162.

Dhaur: a fort. Chenab Col. Gr., 1849, p. 25.

Dhāya: (i) the old high bank of a river. Chenab Col. Gr., p. 3; (ii) the ledge of the Sāndal Bār. Jhang S. R., p. 2.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

EUROPEAN GRAVES AT KABUL.

The following passage from Masson's *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab* (London, 1842), Vol II, p. 275, is probably unfamiliar to most readers:—

'There are many head-stones in the Kabul burial-grounds, which have an antiquity of several centuries: many of these may have been removed from their original sites, but they bear inscriptions in antiquated Arabic and Persian characters. I am not aware that stones with Cufic epitaphs exist, which, however, would not have been deemed strange, looking at the long period the Caliphs dominated in these countries.

In the grave-yards of the hill Asa Māhi a neglected stone, distinguished by a sculptured mitre, denotes the place of rest of a Georgian bishop, who it would seem died at Kabul three or four centuries since. In the Armenian cemetery likewise a mitre on one of the stones points to the rank of the person deposited beneath it, although tradition is silent as to him or his age.

But the more curious, and to Englishmen the most interesting grave-stone to be found about Kabul, is one commemorative of a countryman, and which bears a simple epitaph and record, in large legible Roman characters. The monument is small, and of marble, not of the very frequent description of upright head-stone, but of another form, which is also common, and which imitates the form of the raised sod over the grave. It is to be seen close to the *ziārat*, or shrine of Shāh Shēhid, in the burial-ground east of the gate of the same name, and within some two hundred yards of it. It is

rather confusedly engraved around the sides of the stones, but runs as follows:—

HERE LYES THE BODY OF JOSEPH
HICKS, THE SON OF THOMAS
HICKS AND ELDITH WHO DEPARTED
THIS LYFE THE ELEVENTH
OF OCTOBER 1666.

The date carries us back to the commencement of the reign of Aurangzēb [acc. 1658], when Kabul was held by one of his lieutenants. An old grave-digger, Masson goes on to say, stated that 'the monument commemorated an officer of artillery, who stood so high in the estimation of the governor, that they were buried close each other on a contiguous mound. This, and the monument raised over the governor were pointed out to me by the venerable depository of funeral lore, and he assured me that the monument placed over the Feringhi (European) or of Mr. Hicks, had been removed, before his memory, from its correct locality, and placed over the grave of a Māhomedan; such transfers, however indecorous or indelicate, being sometimes made. On a tappa, or mound, some distance to the south, is another monument of the same form, but of larger dimensions, which is also believed to rest on the grave of a Feringhi. The inference is here drawn from the direction of the stone, which is from east to west, no epitaph being present to render the fact certain.'

I wonder if these interesting monuments still exist. Masson's notes of his travels in Afghanistan seventy years ago, partially preserved in *Ariana Antiqua*, show that the country is full of ancient remains, Buddhist and other, and that at that time no objection was raised to the presence of an Englishman, or to his antiquarian explorations. It is a pity that Lord Auckland's blundering policy should have resulted in the closing of the country.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

THE PALA DYNASTY OF BENGAL.

BY VINCENT A. SMITH, M.A., I.C.S., RETD.

THANKS to the labours of the late Professor Kielhorn, whose sudden death is so deeply deplored, I was able in the second edition of *The Early History of India* (pp. 367-70) to give an authentic outline of the history of the leading kings of the Pāla dynasty from about A.D. 735 to 1193; and in *J. R. A. S.* 1909, when dealing in two articles with the Gurjaras of Rājputāna and Kanauj, to publish a Synchronistic Table showing the relation between the Pālas and the contemporary dynasties. In the same articles (pp. 258-62) I worked out the history of Dharmapāla so far as it touches on that of the Gurjaras. The publications cited, although giving the references needed to guide readers interested in pursuing the enquiry, could not provide a full treatment of the epigraphic evidence for the Pāla history, which requires considerable space.

The present paper sets forth in detail all the Pāla inscriptions known to me, and gives a trustworthy dynastic list, with the necessary justification of the entries. I had hoped to continue it with a complete discussion of Tāranāth's evidence and everything else bearing on each reign, but various circumstances compel me to drop the pursuit of the subject for the present, and to content myself with offering a dry statement of the facts upon which the history of the Pālas must be founded. It is clear that the beginning of the dynasty must be placed in the first half of the eighth century, and that sufficient fixed dates are known to reduce chronological uncertainties to moderate dimensions.

I abstain from discussing the views expressed by other students in various essays. The outline now presented rests upon a firm epigraphic foundation, and needs no controversial support. With this brief preface I submit:—

I.—List of the 35 inscriptions of the Pāla dynasty;

II.—Genealogy of the dynasty;

III.—Dynastic list; and

IV.—Explanation of the reasons for inserting or omitting names.

Perhaps on another occasion I may be able to resume the investigation, and clothe these bare bones with some narrative flesh. The history of the Sēnas, who succeeded the Pālas, also needs elucidation; but that too must stand over for the present.

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal.

Serial No.	No. in K's List.	Stone or copper-plate or other material.	Locality.	King.	Date.			Purport.	References and Remarks.
					A. D.	Regnal.	Indian.		
1	633	S.	Bôdh Gayâ: on image of 4-faced Mahadêva.	Dharmapâla ...	...	26	...	Dedication of image and tank costing 3,000 <i>dramas</i> , by a private person.	<i>Proc. A. S. B.</i> , 1880, p. 80; and Cunningham, <i>Mahâbodhi</i> , Pl. xxviii, 3; but never properly ed.
2	634	C. P.	Khalimpur near Gaur, Midnapur Dist.; now in A. S. B.	Same king	...	32	...	Royal grant made at Pâliputra of 4 vill. in certain <i>visâkayas</i> and <i>mandalas</i> of the Pundravardhana <i>bhukti</i> (province); genealogy of the king from Dayitavishnu; notice of installation of Chakrâyudha as k. of Kananj; lists of officials, &c.	Ed. and transl. by K., with facs. of seal, in <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , IV, 243-54. ¹ Erroneous ed. and transl., but with facs. plates, in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , Vol. LXIII, Part 1, (1894), pp. 39-62.
3	635	C. P.	Mangir; found about 1780, and since lost.	Dêvapâla; also the <i>gaurôjja</i> , Râjyapâla.	...	33	...	Royal grant made at Mudgagiri (Mungir) of a vill. in the Krimillâ <i>visâkaya</i> of the Sringara <i>bhukti</i> (? = Patna); genealogy of the k. from Gôpâla, the first k.; list of officials, &c.; marriage of Dharmapâla with dau. of Parabala Râshtrakûta.	Transcribed from Wilkins' lithograph, and analyzed by K. in <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , XXI, 253-8. A rough pioneer ed. and transl. by Sir Ch. Wilkins in <i>As. Res.</i> , I, 123, 132. That transl. reprinted with amended spelling in <i>Rep.</i> III, 114. For Parabala see Pathârî inser. dated 917 = 861 A. D., ed. by K. in <i>Ep. Ind.</i> IX, 248; also <i>ibid.</i> , p. 26 n.; but that Parabala cannot be Dharmapâla's father-in-law, unless he reigned a very long time. The date of Dharmapâla's inser. is about 813 A. D.

¹ K. = Kielhorn; *Rep.* = Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey Reports*.

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

Ser- ial No.	No. in K's List.	Stone or copper- plate or other mate- rial.	Locality.	King.	DATE.			Port.	References and Remarks.
					A. D.	Indian. Regnal.	Era.		
4	636	S.	Ghōsrāvā, about 7 miles S.-E. of Bihār, 1' a t n a Dist., on a slab now in Bihār Mus.	Dēvapāla (men- tioned as reigning king).	...	...	...	Records erection by Vira- deva, abbot of Nālandā, of an edifice to cover a <i>śrīśāstra</i> ? and gives many interesting details, but no royal genealogy.	Ed. and transl., with facs. by K. in <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , XVII, 307-12; supersed- ing earlier incorrect ed. Referred to in <i>Rep.</i> , I, 38; III, 120, No. 5; and XI, 171, also <i>Ant. Geog. of India.</i> , p. 44.
5	...	S.	Not stated	Sūrapāla (I or ? II).	...	...	...	† Dedication	See next entry.
6	...	S.	Ditto	Ditto	...	13	...	? Do.	His successor would appear to have been Sura Pāla, another son of Deva Pāla, of whom we possess two short records, of which one is dated in the 13th year of his reign (<i>Rep.</i> , XV, 152; and XI, 178). See No. 11 below. It is not likely that Sūrapāla II reigned for as many as 13 years, but it is possible that either or both of the inset. may be his.
7	...	S.	Bihār town; on pedestal of a Buddha.	Vigrahapāla I. (but might be of V. II or III).	...	12	...	? Do.	To him succeeded his cousin, Vigraha Pāla I, the son of Jaya Pāla. A long inscription of this king will be noticed presently. Only one short record of him has been found dated in the twelfth year of his reign (<i>Rep.</i> , XV, 152). See also <i>Rep.</i> , III, p. 121, No. 7, with ref. to Broadley, and note 2 to No. 643 of K's List. ²

² *List* = K's 'List of Northern Inscriptions' in App. to *Ep. Ind.* V. His dynastic list of the Pālas is in the App. to *ibid.*, vol. VIII.

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

Serial No.	No. in K's List.	Stone or copper-plate or other material.	Locality.	King.	Date.			Par. etc.	Reference and Remarks.
					A. D.	Regnal.	Indian.		
8	...	S.	Gayá; lying near the <i>Aksay-deaf</i> temple.	Vijrahapála I. (but might be of V. II or III).	...	...	...	Not known	There is a long inscription of this king, 27 inches long by 21 inches high, now lying near the Aksay-bat Temple at Gayá. Unfortunately, the lower right corner is broken off, leaving the unfinished word <i>sawazet</i> to show that it once had a date. It is generally in very bad condition, and I doubt if it can be deciphered satisfactorily' (<i>Rep.</i> XV, 132). Noticed in <i>Rep.</i> III, 120, No. 6; with incorrect reduced facs. in Pl. xxxvi; but never ed. or transl.
9	637	S.	Gayá; on slab in court-yard of Vi-shupur temple, now in A. S. B.	Nārāyānapála	...	7	...	Apparently royal dedication of an image (<i>murti</i>). Official grant by the king of a village in Tirabhukti; genealogy of Dharmapála's installation of Chakrāyudha; list of officials, etc.; issued from Mudgagiri.	Ed., transcribed, and transl. by Hultzsch in <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , XV (1886), p. 304; superseding the ed. and transl. (with photo. facs.) in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , Part I, Vol. XLVII (1878), p. 384.
10	638	C. P.	Gayá; on slab in court-yard of Vi-shupur temple, now in A. S. B.	Same king	...	...	...	Records erection by a Brahman named Gurva Mīra of a pillar surmounted by a <i>garuda</i> ; genealogy of the Brahman's family which supplied ministers to the kings named. The dedicatory is mentioned as Bhutta Gurva in inscription 10 above.	Ed. and transl. by K. in <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , II, 160, with facs.; superseding the incorrect account in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , Part I, Vol. XLIII (1874), p. 356; and the <i>editio princeps</i> by Sir Ch. Wilkins and Sir Wm. Jones in <i>As. Res.</i> , Vol. I (1781), pp. 131-44 with sketch of the pillar, and specimen facs. of text. For inser. of Śūrapāla see above, Nos. 5, 6.
11	639	S.	Badāl (Badal, Badal, Baddal), 25° 5' N., 88° 58' E., in the south of the Dināpur Dist.; on a pillar about a mile N. of the town.	Same king; with mention of his three predecessors, Dharmapāla, Devapāla, and Śūrapāla.	...	...	...	...

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

Serial No.	No. in K's List	Stone or copper-plate or other material.	Locality.	King.	DATE.			Purport.	References and Remarks.
					A. D.	Indian.	Era.		
12	681	S.	Nālandā (Bārgaon); on base of four-armed female statue.	Gōpāla (prob. II).	...	?? or ??	...	Private dedication of image of Śrī Vāgīśvarī at Nālandā.	Rubbing and partial transcript in Broadley, <i>Rains of the Nālandā Monasteries at Durgāon</i> (Calcutta, 1872; also in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , Vol. XLII). Roughly ed. with imperfect facs. in <i>Rep.</i> , Vol. I, Pl. XIII, 1; and III, p. 125, No. 4. The <i>m</i> is the looped form, and the script cannot, I think, be referred to Gōpāla I in the eighth cent.
13	682	S.	Bōdh Gayā; on an image.	Same king	...	...	...	Apparently private dedication of image.	Cunningham, <i>Māhābōdhi</i> , Pl. XXXVIII; 2, as quoted by K.
14	...	S.	Nālandā (Bārgaon); removed to Bihār Mus., from the jamb of inner doorway of great temple ascribed to K. Balāditya.	Mahipāla (I)	...	II	...	Private dedication of (?) the doorway by Balāditya, a follower of the Mahāyāna, son of Garudatta, grandson of Haradatta, who had removed from Kausāmbī to Telādha (see <i>Rep.</i> , XI, 165). The record ends with the customary formula: — <i>yadatra purgāṇa tadbhaktasareva satra rāṣer anuttara jñānāpṛāptaye-iti</i> . The same formula recurs in the next inser., No. 15.	Rubbing, imperfect, by Broadley, <i>op. cit.</i> , App. B; misread and mistranslated by Rajendralāla Mitra, <i>Ibid.</i> ; noticed in <i>Rep.</i> , III, p. 122, No. 10; also noticed in <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , V, App., p. 86, note 5, by K., who possessed impressions taken by Fleet. But the record has never been properly edited.

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

Ser. rial No.	No. in K's List.	Stone or copper- plate or other mate- rial.	Locality.	King.	DATE			Purpose.	Reference and Remarks.
					A. D.	Indian.	Era.		
15	641	S.	Bodhi Gayā; on base of statue of Buddha.	Mahāpāla (I) ...	...	11	...	Dedication of image ...	This imperfect inser. is transcribed without translation, in the review by (?) Burgess of Rajendralala Mitra's <i>Buddha-Gayā</i> in <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , IX (1880), p. 114; noticed in <i>Rep.</i> , III, 123, No. 9, with a bad face, in Pl. XXXVII, 5.
16	59	S.	Sāruāth, N. of Benares; on base of a broken figure of a seated Bud- dha; now at Queen's College, Benares.	Samo king ..	1026	...	1083 V.E.	Official commemoration by the brothers Shira- pāla and Vasantapāla (? relatives of the k.) of the pious acts done by their sovereign, <i>Gaudā- dhīpa Mahāpāla</i> , who established in Benares temples of Śāna and Chitrāghaṇṭā, besides hundreds of other monuments; restored Asoka's stūpa (<i>dharma- rājikā</i>) with the Wheel of the Law completely, and built the new temple at which the inser. was placed with stone brought from the "eight holy places."	Transcribed and transl. by Hultzsch in <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , XIV, 139; but with erroneous renderings of Śāna and Chitrāghaṇṭā, which have been cor- rected in <i>Annual Rep. A. S.</i> , 1903-4, p. 223, with revised transcript and transl. Pl. LXIII, 3.

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

Serial No.	No. in K's List	Stone or copper-plate or other material.	Locality.	King.	Date.			Purport.	Reference and Remarks.
					A. D.	Indian.	Era.		
17	...	Brass figures.	Imādpur, Muzaffarpur District; two brass figures found in a field.	Mahāpāla (I)	...	48	...	Dedications ...	The inscriptions, which are identical, are engraved below two groups of brass figures, and the date runs as follows: — <i>Srīman-Mahāpāla devārjasa samatt 48 jeshtha dinastakalyanaka</i> 2 (Hearn, <i>Ind. Ant.</i> , XIV (1885), p. 165, note 17.) Also mentioned in <i>Rep.</i> , III, 153. Discovery recorded in <i>Proc. A. S. B.</i> , 1881, p. 98, but with imaginary readings.
18	640	C. P.	Dinājpur...	Same king	...	Illegible	...	Royal grant of a vill. named Kuratapallikā in Puṇḍravardhana <i>dhakṛī</i> (province) to a learned Brahman, "in order to please Buddha," etc.; issued from Viṣṇuśāpura; gives royal genealogy from Gōpāla I.; notes that Mahāpāla "obtained his father's kingdom which had been snatched away by people having no claim to it"; gives list of officials as in No. 10.	Ed. with transcript and partial transl., but no facs., by K. in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , Part I, Vol. LXI (1892), pp. 77-87. This important document should be studied along with the Āṅgāchhi plate.
19	...	S.	Titarāva (Tetrāva), Patna District; on base of colossal statue of Buddha.	Same king	...	...	...	Dedication ...	Never published or ed. but briefly alluded to in <i>Rep.</i> , I, 39, and III, p. 123, No. 11.

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

Serial No.	No. in K's List.	Stone or copper-plate or other material.	Locality.	King.	Date.		Purport.	Reference and Remarks.
					A. D.	Indian.		
						Regnal.		
20	642	S.	Gayā; slab fixed in the right-hand gateway of the Krishna-Dvārikā modern temple built on an ancient site.	Nayapāla...	...	15 ...	Private dedication of a temple to Viṣṇu (Jānārdhana) by a local Mahā Brahman: a <i>prāśasti</i> , or eulogy, of his family.	Properly transcribed, ed. and transl. by M. M. Chakravarti in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , Part I, Vol. LXIX (1900), pp. 190-5. Mentioned in <i>Rep.</i> , III, p. 128, No. 12, with untrustworthy reduced facs. in Pl. xxxvii. Transcribed and transl. wrongly by Rājendralāla Mitra in <i>Proc. A. S. B.</i> 1879, pp. 218-22. Contains 15 lines; unpubl.; mentioned by M. M. Chakravarti, <i>ut sup.</i> , pp. 190, 191, notes.
21	...	S.	Gayā; exact locality not stated.	Same king	...	15 ...	Not stated	Referred to in <i>Rep.</i> , III, p. 121, No. 7, and <i>K. List</i> , p. 87, note 2; not publ. in full.
22	...	S.	Bihār; on pedestal of statue of	Vigrahapāla (prob. III).	...	12 ...	Dedication	Revised partial transcript and transl. with comment by K. in <i>Jad. Ant.</i> , XXI (1892), pp. 97-101; correcting Hoernle's tentative interpretation in <i>ibid.</i> , XIV (1886), pp. 162-8. Earlier attempts need not be cited. The plate is difficult to read and must be compared with No. 18. For the percentage of Dēvapāla, see K.'s revised opinion in <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VIII, App. I, p. 17, note 6.
23	643	C. P.	Buddha. Amgāchhi; Dinajpur Dist.; now in A. S. B.	Vigrahapāla (III)	...	13 or 12	Royal grant of vill. in Kōṭivarsha <i>viśaya</i> of the Pundravardhana <i>bhukti</i> (province), with royal genealogy from Gōpāla I.	<i>Rep.</i> , III, p. 124, No. 15; XV, p. 154; mentioned by K. in <i>List</i> , p. 87, note 4. For inscription of Yaśkapāla of this period, see below No. 35.
24	...	S.	Bihār; on pedestal of female statue.	Rāmapāla	...	2	Dedication of image	
25	...	S.	Chandman, in Patna Dist. 7 miles S.-E. of Nālandā.	Same king	...	12	Ditto	

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gauya or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

Serial No.	No. in K's List.	Stone or copper-plate or other material.	Locality.	King.	Date.			Purport.	Reference and Remarks.
					A. D.	Regnal.	Era.		
26	644	C. P.	Kamali, near Benares, now in Lucknow Mus.	Kumārāpāla of Gauda, mentioned as suzerain of the donor, Vaidyadeva, king of Assam.	...	...	...	Royal grant of two vill. in the <i>śāhaya</i> of Bādā, <i>bhukṣi</i> of Prāgyōtīśā, <i>maṇḍala</i> of Kāmārūpa, to a Brāhman, whose father and grandfather had been ministers respectively of Kumārāpāla's father and grandfather, Rāmāpāla and Vīrabhāpāla. Mentions conquest of Mithilā by Rāmāpāla, and other wars of his, etc. Evidently a dedication ...	Carefully ed. with transl. and facs. by Venis in <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , II, 359. But his estimate of the date as being 1142 A. D., is not conclusive.
27	...	S.	Bihar hill; on base of image of 'Shasti.'	Madanapāla	...	8	...	Royal grant of a vill. in the Kōtvarsha <i>śāhaya</i> of the Puṇḍravardhana <i>bhukṣi</i> to a Brahman as reward for having read the <i>Mahābhārata</i> to Queen Chitrmatikā. Gives full royal genealogy from Gopāla I, incl. Mahāpāla II and Śūrapāla, brothers of Rāmāpāla, whose reigns are noticed in the <i>Rāmācharita</i> . The name of Gopāla II occurs in this inser. only. Issued from Rāmavati on the bank of the Ganges.	<i>Rep.</i> III, p. 124, No. 16; referred to by K. in <i>List</i> , p. 87, note 5. Ed. with transcript and abstract transl. in <i>J. A. S. B.</i> , Part I, Vol. LXIX (1906), p. 66. Noticed by K. in <i>Ep. Ind.</i> , VIII, App. B., p. 18
28	...	C. P.	Mamali; in Dinājpur Dist.	Same king	...	8	...		

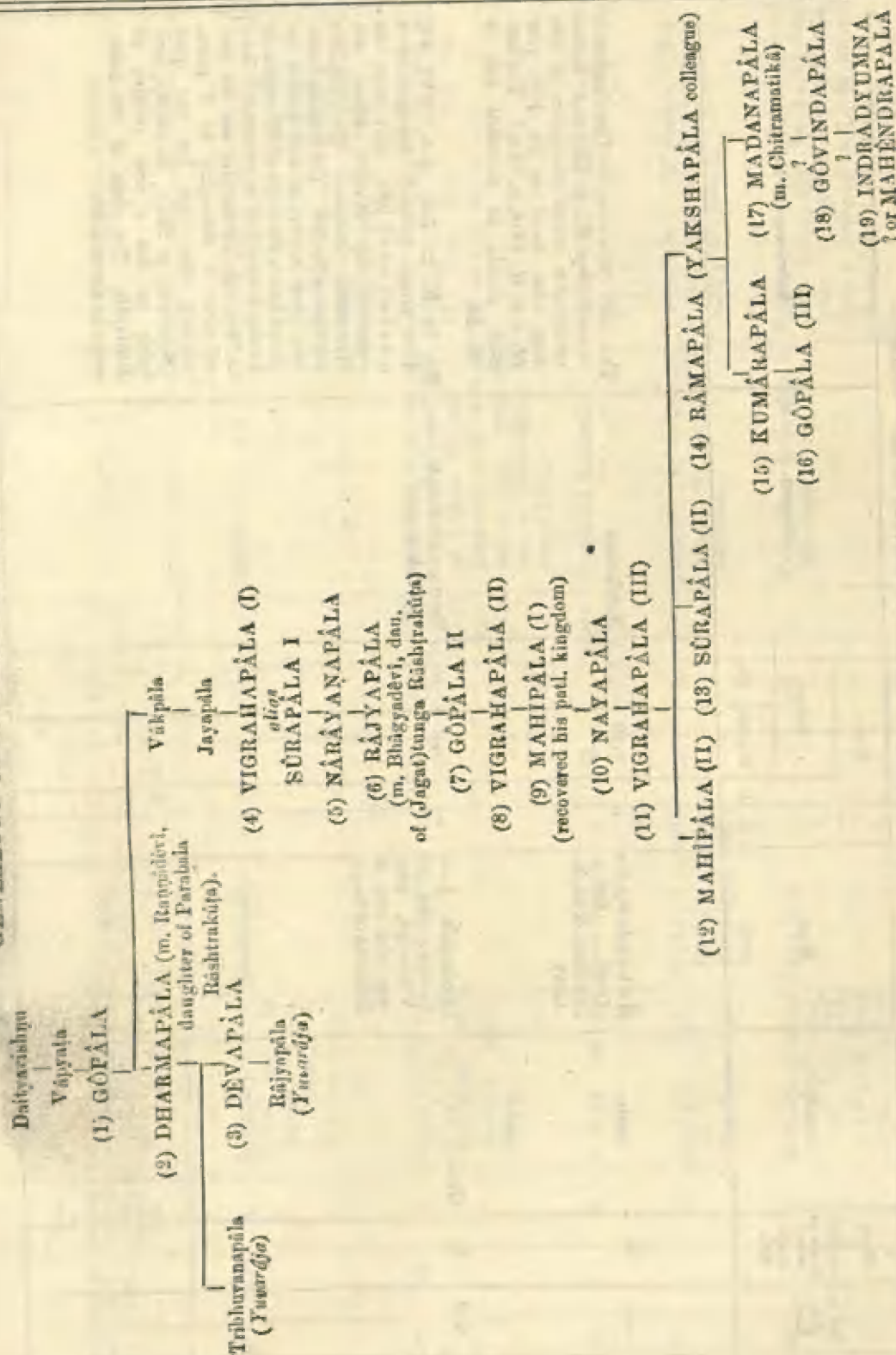
Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

Ser. No.	No. in K's List	Stone or copper- plate or other mate- rial	Locality.	King.	Date.			Purport.	Reference and Remarks.
					A. D.	Indian. Regnal.	Era.		
29	645	S.	Jaynagar : near Lakhi Sarai in Mungir Dist.; on pedestal of Buddhist image.	Madanapala ...	..	19	...	Dedication ...	<i>Rep.</i> III, p. 125, No. 17, Pl. xlv, 17 ; and xv, 154. K marks the date as doubtful, but it is clear in Cunningham's plate. For Jaynagar, the fort of Indradynna, the last Pala king, see <i>Rep.</i> III, 159. For inser. probably his, see below, Nos. 32-4.
30	166	S.	Gaya; slab in wall of temple of Gadādhara, over 4-armed female image.	Gōvīndapāla ...	1173	14	1232 V. E. Vikāri year expired	Apparently a private en- dowment of the temple of Viṣṇu, but this is doubtful. The date is certain and fixes the acc. of Gōvīndapāla to about 1161.	Never ed., but Buchanan professes to give the purport in <i>Eastern India</i> , I. 61 ; <i>Rep.</i> III, p. 125, No. 18, Pl. xxxviii, 18.
31	...	S.	? Gayā, but not stated.	Same king ...	1178	...	1235 V. E.	Probably a dedication ...	" The second inscription is only 3 years later, S. 1235, A. D. 1178," (<i>Rep.</i> XV, 155).
32	...	S.	Gayā (Rām Gayā) : on bas-relief of the <i>Das Avatār</i> .	Mahendrapāla (prob. Indra- dynna of tradi- tion).	...	8	...	Evidently a dedication, being a short record in two lines.	Not published. Referred to in <i>Rep.</i> III, p. 123, No. 13 ; XV, p. 154 ; K's <i>List</i> , p. 87, note 5.
33	...	S.	Gunariyā (Ganerī) of <i>Imph. Gaz.</i> , 1908, Vol. XII, p. 198) ; in Gayā Dist. ; on throne of a figure of Buddha.	Same king ...	...	9	...	Evidently a dedication in five lines.	Never properly ed. Noticed in <i>Rep.</i> III, p. 124, No. 14, as dated in year 19 ; but <i>ibid.</i> , Vol. XV, 154, the date is corrected to 9. Mentioned by K. in <i>List</i> , p. 87, note 5.

Inscriptions of the Pala Dynasty of (Gaura or Gauda) Bengal—continued.

See rial No.	No. in K's List.	Stone or copper plate or other mate- rial.	Locality.	King.	Date.			Purport.	References and Remarks.
					A. D.	Regnal.	Indian. Era.		
34	...	S.	.....	Mahendrapāla (prob. Indra- dynma of tradi- tion).	...	? 19	...	Not known	The only reference is Cunningham's remark (<i>Rep. III</i> , p. 124) that 'Kittoe mentions a second inscription of this king, also dated in his 19th year (<i>J. A. S. B.</i> , 1848, p. 234). The date prob. should be corrected and in No. 33.
35	646	S.	Gayā	Yakshapāla (a- radra) son of Viśvarūpa, who was the son of Sūdraka of Gayā.	...	...	...	Erection of temple, etc., by Yakshapāla.	Ed. by K. in <i>Jad. Ant.</i> , XVI, 64. This prince probably belonged to a collateral line. His inscr. was composed by Mucāri, whose son Manoratha composed Kumārapāla's inscription No. 26. Yakshapāla, there- fore, must be earlier, and should be placed late in the reign of Rāmapāla, as a subordinate chief or governor. Acc. to Tāranāth Yakshapāla was son and colleague of Rāmapāla for 3 years, reigning after him for one year (Schiefner, p. 251). In reality, pro- bably he was a near relative of Rāmapāla. The date of the inscr. must be about 1128.

GENEALOGY OF THE PĀLA DYNASTY.



The Pala Dynasty (T.=Taranāth).

	Known Dates.		Approximate acc. A. D.	
	Indian.	A. D. approximate.		
I.—Gōpāla I	735	45 y. (T.); no inscription, I think, see below, No. VII.
II.—Dharmapāla, son of I (contemp. of Indrāyudha and Chakrāyudha, k. of Kanauj, of Dhruva Rāshtrakūṭa, and Khri- strong-de-san of Tibet; Tribhuvanapāla <i>yusarāja</i> did not reign).	840 V. E.	783	780	32 y. (inscription); 64 y. (T).
III.—Devapāla, son of II. (Rājyapāla <i>yusarāja</i> appa- rently did not reign).	844	33 y. (inser.); 48 y. (T.).
IV.—Vigrahapāla I, <i>alias</i> Śūrapāla I, grandson of brother of II. ¹	892	Śūrapāla; inser. No. 6 gives him 13 y.; the inser. No. XIII probably belongs to this k., not to Vigrahapāla, II, inser. 12 y., if the record belongs to this k. See below No. VIII and XI.
V.—Nārāyānapāla, son of IV...	906	7 y. (inser.)
VI.—Rājyapāla, son of V	924	
VII.—Gōpāla II, son of VI	944	? 7 y. (inser.); doubtful to which k. the inser. refers see above No. I.
VIII.—Vigrahapāla II, son of VII.	964	See Nos. IV and XI.
IX.—Mahāpāla I, son of VIII.	1083 V. E.	1013 (mission of Dharma- pāla) 1026	980	48 y. (inser.); 52 (T.) all the inser. prob. belong to this k. see below, No. XII.
X.—Nayapāla, son of IX	1042 (mission of Atiśa). ²	1032	15 y. (inser.); 35 y. (T.)
XI.—Vigrahapāla III, son of X.	1057	12 or 13 y. (inser.); see Nos. IV and VIII.

¹ Cunningham prefers to regard Śūrapāla I. as a son of Devapāla, and distinct from Vigrahapāla I.² Sarat Chandra Dā, *J. A. S. E.*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 236, 237.

The Pála Dynasty (T. = Tāranāth).

	Known Dates.		Approximate acc. A. D.	
	Indian.	A. D. approximate.		
XII.—Mahipāla II, son of XI.	1080	Short reign. For this and next two reigns, see the <i>Rāmacharita</i> .
XIII.—Sūrapāla II, son of XI.	1082	Short reign: the third brother, Rāmapāla, had a long reign.
XIV.—Rāmapāla, son of XI.	1084	46 y. (T.) ; 12 y. (inser.)
? XIVa.—Yakshapāla, relation and colleague of XIV	(T.) and ? inser. 35.
XV.—Kumārapāla, son of XIV.	1130	Short reign; No. XVII was his brother.
XVI.—Gōpāla III, son of XV.	1136	Must have had a short reign, as his uncle succeeded him.
XVII.—Madanapāla, son of XIV.	1140	19 y. (inser.)
XVIII.—Gōvindapāla, ? son of XVII.	1232 V. E. 1235 "	1175 1178	1161	14 y. in 1175 A. D.; parentage not recorded.
? XIX.—Mahendrapāla, probably identical with Indradyumna; ? son of XVIII.	1193. end of reign.	1180	19 y. ?, or 9 (inser.) : parentage not recorded. Name of Indradyumna known only by tradition; the two names, 'great Indra,' and 'splendour of Indra,' are nearly synonymous.

Note.—The dynasty having lasted from about 735 to 1193, its duration was for 458 years. If we assume the identity of Sūrapāla I. with Vīgrahapāla I, there were 19 reigns, with the average length of 24 years. If we consider Sūrapāla and Vīgrahapāla to be distinct, the average length of reign was 23 years. This unusually high average, on either supposition, is due to the exceptionally long reigns of the first three kings as well as of Mahipāla I, who is verified for 48 years, and of Rāmapāla. The six fixed dates given in the list above, when considered in connexion with the details of the genealogy and the traditions recorded by Tāranāth and the *Rāmacharita*, do not allow much room for error in the dynastic chronology, although the exact date of accession cannot be determined in the case of any king.

Before it will be practicable to discuss in due order the historical events which mark the Pāla rule during a period of more than four centuries and a half, the ground must be cleared by a justification in detail of the entries in the dynastic and genealogical lists. The names are determined chiefly by the eight inscriptions in which genealogies are given, more or less fully. These are:—

Serial.	No. in List of Inscriptions.	Locality.	King.
1	2	Khālimpur, copper-plate (<i>c. p.</i>)	Dharmapāla.
2	3	Mungir (<i>c. p.</i>)	Devapāla.
3	10	Bhāgalpur (<i>c. p.</i>)	Nārāyaṇapāla.
4	11	Badāl pillar.	Ditto.
5	18	Dinājpur (<i>c. p.</i>)	Mahipāla I.
6	23	Āmgāchhi (<i>c. p.</i>)	Vigrahapāla III.
7	26	Kamauli (<i>c. p.</i>)	Kūmarapāla.
8	28	Manahali (<i>c. p.</i>)	Madanapāla.

The names of Sri Vāpyata, the father, and Dayitavishṇu, the grandfather of Gōpāla I, the first king of the dynasty, are given only in No. 1 of the above list. Nothing else is on record concerning those two persons.

The genealogy from Gōpāla is given in Serial Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 8. The last named record, being the latest in date, is, of course, the fullest extant statement on the subject.

All the documents are agreed that Dharmapāla, the second king, was the son of Gōpāla I; but there is an apparent discrepancy concerning the parentage of Devapāla, the third king.

When Dharmapāla, in the year 32 of his reign, made the grant officially recorded in the Khālimpur copper-plate, his son Tribhuvanapāla was alive, and held the dignity of Yuvarāja, or Crown Prince. But the king enjoyed an exceptionally long reign, 64 years according to Tārānāth, and evidently survived the son who was intended to succeed him. His immediate successor undoubtedly was Devapāla, who is expressly described in the Mungir copper-plate as the son (*puta*) of his predecessor by Ragnādēvi, the daughter of Parabala, the Rāshtrakūta ruler, and is said to have 'inherited the kingdom of his father free from troubles' (*rājyam āpa nirapaplasam pitur*). This official declaration by Devapāla of his own parentage, conclusive on the face of it, seems however, at first sight, to be contradicted by the language of the Bhāgalpur copper-plate of Nārāyaṇapāla, which in words apparently equally plain seems to describe Devapāla as the elder brother (*pūrvaja*) of Jayapāla, who was the son of Vākpāla, younger brother of Dharmapāla. Thus, according to the obvious meaning of the Bhāgalpur record (with which the Āmgāchhi grant agrees), Devapāla was the nephew (brother's son) of Dharmapāla, and not his son. In his earlier publication the late Prof. Kielhorn, while accepting as superior the authority of Devapāla himself in the Mungir grant, was not able to offer any explanation of this apparent conflict of epigraphic testimony. But at a later date, when drawing up the Pāla dynastic list, he hit on the correct explanation, and perceived that in the Bhāgalpur and Āmgāchhi grants the term *pūrvaja* as applied to Devapāla signifies that that prince was 'the son of the elder brother' (*scil.* Dharmapāla) of Jayapāla's father, Vākpāla (*Ep. Ind.*, V, App. I, p. 15, note 4 and p. 17, note 6). This interpretation is not invalidated by the fact that in line 6 of the Bhāgalpur grant Jayapāla is described as conquering the lord of the Utkalas 'under his brother's orders' (*bhāturanideśād*), for, at the present day Hindūs constantly speak of first cousins on the father's side as 'brothers,' and scarcely recognize any distinction between 'a son' and 'a brother's son.' The table therefore exhibits three sons of Dharmapāla, namely, Tribhuvanapāla, who was Crown Prince in the regnal year 32, but must have predeceased his father Devapāla, who succeeded to the throne; and Vākpāla, whose progeny became kings.

Rājrapāla, who, according to the Mungir plate, was Crown Prince in the year 33 of Dēvapāla's reign, must also have predeceased his father, who, like his predecessor, enjoyed a long reign. The succession next passed to the grandsons of Dharmapāla's younger brother Vākpāla (his son Jayapāla, mentioned above, apparently having died), and thereafter continued in the junior branch of the family.

The Badāl pillar inscription of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla represents Śūrapāla as being the predecessor of that prince and the successor of Dēvapāla, whereas the Bhāgalpur plate places Vīgrahapāla I in the line of succession between Dēvapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla. The particulars given in that document permit no doubt that Vīgrahapāla was the son of Dēvapāla and the father of Nārāyaṇapāla. The substitution of the name Śūrapāla in the Badāl pillar inscriptions has been explained by the hypothesis that Śūra was another name of Vīgraha. But it is not absolutely necessary to adopt that view, and it is possible to follow Cunningham in holding that Śūrapāla having died childless, was succeeded by his brother Vīgrahapāla, through whose line the succession was transmitted. The Badāl pillar record does not profess to give the genealogy of the kings. It is devoted to the praises of a family of Brahman ministers, and merely mentions incidentally that they served Dēvapāla, Śūrapāla, and Nārāyaṇapāla. The objection to this view is that if Vīgrahapāla came between Śūrapāla and Nārāyaṇapāla, the Brahmans naturally would have been in his service also, whereas he is not mentioned. It is perhaps safer therefore to follow Hoernle and Kielhorn in regarding Śūrapāla and Vīgrahapāla I as being identical, not brothers. Nārāyaṇapāla, consequently, must be reckoned as the fifth king, not the sixth.

The Dinājpur plate carries on the genealogy and succession from father to son, through Kājrapāla, Gōpāla II, and Vīgrahapāla II, to Mahipāla I, the ninth king. The Āngāchāl plate adds two more generations and reigns, those of Nayapāla and Vīgrahapāla III. The Kamauli plate traces the descent of Kumārapāla from Rāmapāla, the youngest son of Vīgrahapāla III, but omits to mention the elder sons of that prince, namely Mahipāla II and Śūrapāla, whose existence is ascertained only from the testimony of the Manahali plate and the *Rāmācharita*.³ They evidently died without leaving heirs, after short reigns, and were followed by their brother Rāmapāla, who carried on the succession.

Rāmapāla was succeeded by his elder son Kumārapāla, who was followed by his son, Gōpāla III. He having died without heirs, the throne passed into the possession of Madanapāla, the younger son of Rāmapāla by Madana-devī.

Assuming the identity of Śūrapāla I with Vīgrahapāla I, Madanapāla was the seventeenth king of the dynasty. His descent from Gōpāla I is fully ascertained without a break, and reckoning Gōpāla III, Madanapāla's nephew, who came to the throne before his uncle, the number of generations from Gōpāla I to Madanapāla, inclusive, is fourteen.

The next king appears to have been Gōvindapāla, whose succession is fixed in 1161 A. D. by inscription No. 30 of my List, which places his year 14 in 1232 (V. E.), equivalent roughly to 1175 A. D. His parentage is not recorded, but he may be presumed to have been the son of his predecessor, Madanapāla.

The last of the line appears to have been Mahēndrapāla (inscriptions 32-4), who can come in only in this place. He may be identified with the Indradymna of tradition. The names are almost synonymous.

Yakshapāla, who, according to Tāranāth, was the son of Rāmapāla, and colleague of that king during the last three years of his long reign, is apparently commemorated by the title *narendra* in inscription 35. Most likely he was a near relative of Rāmapāla. He certainly was not his son, because the inscription names both Viśvarūpa, the father and Śūdrakṛthas, the grandfather, of Yakshapāla.

The generations of the dynasty are 15, with an average of nearly 30½ years, which is abnormally high.

³ For an incomplete notice of this historical poem, see *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1901, p. 25.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from page 232.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Dht dht: a game in which boys amuse themselves by splashing water about. *Multān Gr.*, p. 100.

Dingri: a dried branch bearing thorns. *D. G. Khān*.

Dhok: a hamlet. *Cf. mohra. Jhelum S. R.*, p. 52.

Dhokwālī: unirrigated manured land; see *bāri*.

Dhola: a poem in blank verse. *Cf. dōḥā. Multān Gr.*, p. 113.

Dhon: a walled enclosure. *Cf. dhāra*.

Dhora = toa: a depression in the soil. *Multān Gr.*, p. 206.

Dhorah: the old bed of a nullah. *D. I. Khān S. R.*, 1872-79, p. 362.

Dhūdi: a kind of wheat, small-eared and white. *Multān Gr.*, p. 218.

Dhui: the chaff of *jawār*. *D. G. Khān Gr.*, p. 110.

Dhūin: a cattle-shed. *Cf. bhānd. Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 61.

Dhūin-dhāra: a tax levied as a payment for wood used for building a cabin. *Chenab Col Gr.*, 1894, p. 25.

Digar-wela: time from 4 to 6 p. m. *Jhelum S. R.*, p. 56.

Dilah: the west. *Bannu S. R.*, p. xxxviii.

Ditte-danda: tipcat, a game. *Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 71.

Doāban: a variety of Indian corn. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. xi.

Dodī: a pod of the *til*. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. xi.

Dogān = 8 bakhrās: *Peshāwar S. R.*, 1894, p. 273.

Dohā: an abusive song. *Cf. sālhi and sithri. Multān Gr.*, p. 93.

Dohon: the handle of a drag-rake (*jandra*). *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. iii.

Dohra, (ṭ) *dōḥā*: a rhymed couplet. *Multān G. R.*, p. 113.

Dol: a revolving arrangement in the form of a capstan for clearing out silt at the bottom of a well. *Cf. ura. Multān Gr.*, p. 196.

Dolah: a small palanquin of *kānah* grass. *Gujrāt S. R.*, p. 47.

Do-mūhān: a two-headed snake. *Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 42.

Dona: an island. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. xxiii.

Dopihar: the time from noon to 2 p. m. *Jhelum S. R.*, p. 56.

Dopahar-dhalle: 2 p. m. *Cf. picchdwaḍa dhalle. Multān Gr.*, p. 256.

Dopra: noon. *Cf. roti wēd. Multān Gr.*, p. 256.

Doratta: double-wheeled—of a well. *D. G. Khān Gr.*, p. 104.

Drakhān-pakī: (*lit.*, "carpenter-bird"), the wood-pecker. *Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 36.

Drakkar : an inferior soil composed of sand and silt mixed, or of a sandy sub-soil and a shallow deposit of pure silt on top. Bannā S. R., p. xxxvii.

Dramman : a thin layer of alluvium above a sandy substratum ; (Cf. Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 150). Multān Gr., p. 192.

Drūt : a kind of field-mouse very destructive to crops. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 35.

Drurā : a kind of fish (*barbus chrysopterus*). Mgarh S. R., p. 40.

Dadh-kā rhi : a mud-stove in which milk is heated before churning. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. xviii.

Dumbir : an accountant or agent = *muhāsib*. Multān Gr., p. 187 (? Pers. *dobir*.)

Dumbiri : the pay of a *dumbir*. Mgarh S. R., p. 86.

Dunb : a head of *jowār*, ripe or unripe. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. xi.

Dūngī : a small boat. Jhelum S. R., p. 73.

Dungi : a deep loam soil free of stones ; see *bela*.

Fazīāna : a cess. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 82.

Fitti : a bit of broken pottery. Multān Gr., p. 99.

Gāchī : the cluster of leaves at the top of the date-palm. Multān Gr., p. 228.

Gāchi : rearing trees by transplantation. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 278.

Gada : a bundle. Jhang S. R., p. 99.

Gada : a disease of sheep. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.

Gaddi-odi : small presents which the *khādīm* of a mosque receives at harvest times. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 73.

Gaddoh lai : a plant (*tamarix gallica*). Cf. *koka lai*. Multān Gr., p. 18.

Gadidun : dancing (of boys). Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 81.

Gadohar : the upper portion of the cylinder of a well. Multān Gr., p. 196.

Gadr : the refuse fruit of the date-palm. Multān Gr., p. 228.

Gadwā, -ī : among Hindus = *tawdlā*, the *lotā* of the Panjab Proper. Multān Gr., p. 83.

Gah : threshing, of two kinds : (i) *munafudlā* : in which a stake (*munaf*) is driven in and one or more yoke of cattle are tied to the stake by a rope and driven round and round over the crop ; (ii) *pharsawāld*, in which a heavy mass of wood and straw (*pharsa*) is yoked behind each pair of cattle and driven round, working gradually inwards. Hence *gahera*, a thresher. Multān Gr., p. 210.

Gahi : a bee-hive. Cf. *tain* and *makhorna*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 95.

Gāhi : a square box-like receptacle of unbaked clay placed inside a dwelling-house. Chenāb Colony Gr., p. 72.

Gahre : intimate, e.g. *gahre dost*, an intimate friend.

Gal : the portion of a well which projects above the ground. Multān Gr., p. 196.

Gal kālā : *lit.*, black-throated, a kind of snake. Mgarh S. R., p. 42.

Gam : a tall grass. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 15.

Gandī būti : weeds. Multān Gr., p. 208.

Gand lājānā : to inform all the relations of a wedding. Gujrāt S. R., p. 41.

Ganda: a thick-set camel, but smaller than the *sohdaga*, with a large coarse head and thick skin. Chenáb Col. Gr., p. 98.

Ganda: branches. Cf. *chāli*.

Ganderi: the oleander (*Nerium odorum*), Pashto *ganderai*. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 13.

Ganesh: a due paid to Hindu shrines. (Cf. Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.* p. 251). Multān Gr. p. 188.

Ganh: the handle of a *ekola* (mattock). Monty S. R. Gloss., p. iv.

Gap: Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 247:—*gap daryāi*, the sticky, uneven soil caused by the long, standing of water in places where new alluvial matter has been deposited. Multān Gr., p. 193.

Gar: flesh of the seed (of the water-lily). Mgarh. S. R., p. 9.

Gar: (i) a very stony land. Cf. *garera* and *harrand*. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 197; (ii) an irrigated land of the poorest character. Cf. *harrānda* and *garera*. *Ibid*, p. 196.

Garanda: *Carissa diffusa*. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Gararā: (i) a variety of *mothā*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x; (ii) a horse with eyes of different colours. Jhang S. R., p. 110.

Garera: an irrigated land of the poorest character. See *gar*.

Gari: the terminal cabbage-like head in the heart of a *gūchā* or cluster of leaves at the top of a palm. Mgarh. S. R., p. 31.

Garmā: (i) a yellowish and late sown Indian corn. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 122; (ii) a kind of date. Multān Gr., p. 228.

Garmala: a roller with which clods are crushed. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 360.

Garoba: a coarse variety of tobacco, requiring but little care in cultivation. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 349.

Garri: a disease of kine, very fatal. The principal symptom is the formation of large boils on the quarters. Hazara S. R., 1874, p. 98.

Gas: ordinary light loam. Multān Gr., p. 192.

Gathile: the seeds of sugarcane. Chenáb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 85.

Gātkās: a kind of dance. Cf. *chāfj*. Multān Gr., p. 94.

Ghāl: a present given to a boy at his wedding. Multān Gr., p. 93.

Ghanda: a wooden cylinder fitting closely inside the circle of a well, and laid above the *tilwary* to support the sides of the masonry cylinder. Cf. *kotāl*. Multān Gr., p. 196.

Gharariān: a breed of horses. Jhang S. R., p. 108.

Ghari gharaul: the ceremony at a wedding of carrying an earthen vessel, with songs, to the well and bringing it back full of water. Gujrāt S. R., p. 45.

Gharmai marai: the morning meal. Cf. *sabbās tikāla*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 73.

Gharole: land which is all sand-heaps, or cut up by ravines. Cf. *tibba*. Chenáb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 63.

Gharwanji: a four-legged wooden stand for pots. Multān Gr., p. 82. Cf. *gharāwanj*, Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 255.

Ghasab: possession taken forcibly. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 79.

Ghashawar: a harrow. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 122.

- Ghassa** : as far as a man can run without taking breath ; a spurt. D. G. Khân.
- Ghassar** : a mark blurred, but not indistinguishable.
- Ghat dâ kharorâ** : a well lined with logs. Mgarh. S. R., p. 11.
- Ghâwâ** : a drag net. Cf. *chhékâ jâl*.
- Ghâz** : a tree (*adiantum tenuatum*). Pashto *ghaza*. Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 13.
- Gher**, (f *ghar*) : a first ploughing. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 106.
- Ghesh** : a young goat from 6 months to one year old. Multân
- Ghetlidâr** : a kind of shoe. Mgarh. S. R., p. 62.
- (**Ghîhal** : add *s. v.* at Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.* p. 258, to 3:—) It is lighter than the *mehrd*, or heavy wooden roller. Multân Gr., p. 207.
- Ghirauli** : the bathing of the bridegroom at a wedding. Jhelum S. R., p. 58.
- Ghogi** : a small oblong shell-like seed. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 124.
- Ghokht** : a sort of millet. Cf. *kangni*. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 120.
- Ghoni** : hornless (sheep). Multân Gr., p. 237.
- Ghōp** : a knife or dagger = *hul*. D. G. Khân.
- Ghore dangan** : a kind of snake, said to be hairy. Cf. *tir mâr* and *uñd*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.
- Ghorîân** : plural of *ghorî* (a marriage song), sung at the boy's house—opposed to *sohâg*. Gujrât S. R., 1874, p. 44.
- Ghotâ** : a disease of buffaloes. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.
- Ghun** : a weevil. Cf. *ghun-dâhâ*, caries of teeth, attributed to a worm, at Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 256). Multân Gr., p. 211.
- Ghândi** : huak, of wheat. Multân Gr., p. 219.
- Ghural** : a rough field cart. Multân Gr., p. 211.
- Ghut** : gloss anthrax. Cf. *galghotâ*. Multân Gr., p. 235.
- Ghuti** : the observance of squeezing liquor from ass' dung into a child's mouth, before allowing it to suck, in order to make it firm in battle (among Balochis). Mgarh. S. R., p. 67.
- Ghwaye** : a unit of measurement. Dir, etc.
- Gidârîân** : dates which grow spontaneously. Cf. *apers jamîân* ; fr. *gidar*, jackal, because they are supposed to have sprung up from stones which jackals have thrown away after eating the fruit. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30.
- Girain** : the florican. Cf. *obâra*. Chenâb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 9.
- Girram** : a grass (*Panicum antidotale*). Multân Gr., p. 19.
- Girsand** : a term descriptive of a share in each block or *wand* in a *vesâ* village. Bannû, S. R., pt. theviii.
- Git kâ'span**. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. xxi.
- Gitak** : a date stone. (Cf. *gafak*, Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 260). Multân Gr., p. 223.
- Giti-dandâ** : tip-cat. Multân Gr., p. 100.
- Goḍ-kash** : a tenant who has cleared jungle. Multân Gr., p. 179.
- Gokra** : a ball of cotton. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xi.

- Golah** : a weaver. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.
- Golai** : the enclosure of a house. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.
- Goli** : black-quarter, a disease of animals. Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 97.
- Goni** : a variety of wheat. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.
- Gorain**, *goraini* : a game-bird. Jhang S. R., p. 27.
- Gorha** : manured land. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vi.
- Gor-kafn** : savings, fr. *gor*, a grave and *kafn*, a winding sheet, the idea being that savings should be kept for times of real need. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 84.
- Gruhān** : the cane-borer, fatal to sugarcane and maize, eating up the buds as the plant sprouts above ground. Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 73.
- Gujhail** : a deep loam soil free of stones; see *bela*.
- Gujrāt** : a deep loam soil free of stones; see *bela*.
- Gumi** : a variety of *jowār*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.
- Gundai** : see *chat*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 123.
- Gundi** : a loamy soil; see *ḥam*.
- Gunger** : a wild fruit. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.
- Gurāhā** : a poisonous snake. Cf. *sangchār*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.
- Gurang** : an old and narrow creek. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 16.
- Gurgara** : a variety of *ber* tree. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 134.
- Gurgulla** : a shrub (*Reptonia buxifolia*). Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 29, *gurgura* : in Peshāwar (S. R., 1878, p. 13).
- Gurbat** : the act of digging and breaking up land or large clods. Bannū S. R., p. xxxviii.
- Gusrah** : a light clay. Cf. *dakar*. Multān S. R., 1830, p. 6.
- Gustān** = *goristān*, a grave-yard. Multān Gr., p. 125.
- Guzira** : a grant of land made to a member of the family. Hazāra S. R., 1868-74, p. 148.
- Gwān** : yams. Jhang S. R., p. 95.
- Habāb** : a cash rate of Re. 1-4 per *māi*. Gujrāt S. R., p. 117.
- Haddā** : a disease of horses. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.
- Hail** : *naladdr* or first-class soil. Bannū S. R., p. xxxviii.
- Halchūri** : a cash charge, which falls at between 2 and 4 annas per acre, per plough, paid to the proprietor in addition to a grain rent. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 162.
- Halor** : land under a crop. Jhang S. R., p. 152.
- Hamar** : the persons collected for the annual canal clearances. Bannū S. R., p. xxxviii.
- Hamechor** : a wooden spade used to clear snow off the roofs, or to make the smaller irrigation cuts in rice fields. Cf. *kirkā*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 96.
- Hānjhal** : a meal taken in the morning. Cf. *nirān*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 62.
- Haqq-sāmbh** : the quarter share in a mare to which the rearer of a foal is entitled in addition to his original share in the remaining three-fourths. Jhang S. R., p. 110.
- Haqq-tora** : the expenses at a wedding payable to the Khān or *malik* of the *landi* in which the bride resides; it includes fees to the village servants. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 137.

- Harat**: a Persian well. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. v.
- Hari**: apricot. Cf. *khurmāni*; called *jaldīdrā* in the Simla Hills. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 24.
- Hariāwal**: the Indian oriole. Mgarh. S. R., p. 37.
- Harrand**: a very stony land. Cf. *gār*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 197.
- Harrānda**: an irrigated land of the poorest character. Cf. *gār*. *Ibid* p. 196.
- Hasriān**: a breed of horses. Jhang S. R., p. 108.
- Hārwan**: a sheaf of corn; *lit.*, 'the loser', or ordinary sheaf, as opposed to *dādrudr*, the reaper's sheaf. Jhang S. R., p. 98.
- Hatha**: a rake handle; also the handle of a scraper or pitchfork. Cf. *dandī*. Monty S. R. Gloss., p. iii.
- Hathal**: a cow or buffalo which allows only one person to milk her. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xviii.
- Hathrādh**: (i) cultivated dates, Mgarh. S. R., p. 30; (ii) home-farm cultivation-1: *rahaḥ* or *kāmd*: a farm-labourer. Jhang S. R., p. 103.
- Hāthrakhāidār**: a nominee of the individual, the trustee of his privilege, to take the proprietary share of the produce and pay the revenue, as opposed to the *mashakhsadd* or *munājir*. Jhang S. R., p. 67.
- Hazarā**: poppy; the red variety. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. x.
- Herha**: the striated bush-babbler. Mgarh. S. R., p. 37.
- Hotar**: a good rice-land in the hill tracts. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 195.
- Hobāra**: a game bird. Jhang S. R., p. 27.
- Hujrā**: a place of public resort. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 73.
- Hundira**: a small building shaped like a tomb. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 37.
- Hūrmal**: a wild fig. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.
- Ijab-kabūl**: the last ceremony of the betrothal, in which the father of the bridegroom and the father of the bride successively declare the betrothal in a loud voice; the declaration is repeated three times. Cf. *shara jawāb*. Hazāra, S. R., 1868-74, p. 299.
- Ijāra**: the custom of selling the standing crop to a contractor. Jhang S. R., p. 73. hence *ijāredār*: a farmer of the revenue. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxii.
- Iktāla**: a fee; an extra *ser*, (the 41st) taken in the maund. Jhang S. R., p. 114.
- Indzar**: the wild fig. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 29.
- Iaka**: Pashto, a lot, the casting of lots = *uska* and *hisk* (? cf. Balochi *hiski*). Bannū S. R. 1899, p. xxxviii.
- Itait**: a synonym for *viśā*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 32.
- Jabba**: a deep loam soil free of stones. See *bela*.
- Jāch**: information (= *pattā*). (Add to Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.* 103).
- Jāhli**: *Salvadora persica*. Jhelum S. R., p. 16.
- Jakh**=*rasūl arwāhi*, a due paid to a *mullāh* for charms, etc. Multān Gr., p. 188.
- Jāl**: brushwood. D. G. Khān.
- Jāla**: a raft formed by planks or *charpāis* placed on a foundation of inflated skins fastened together, used for crossing a river. Peahāwar S. R., 1878, p. 8.

- Jalab** : the right to cultivate ; Marwat. Bannū S. R., 1879, p. xxxvū.
- Jalebi** : a kind of snake. Cf. *khar peti* and *kiphra*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.
- Jamūt** : a mosque. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.
- Jamawal** : a rent-collector. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 165.
- Jan** : a horde, comprising all the clansmen and dependants of a *rāt*. Chenāb Col. Gr., p. 18.
- Jandal** : a weed noxious to wheat. Mgarh. S. R., p. 80.
- Jandra** : (i) the amount of water required to work a water-mill ; (ii) generally, as much water as can irrigate a *chattī* of land in a 12 hours' flow. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 130.

(To be continued.)

BOOK NOTICE.

KARNATAKAKAVICHARITE ; vol. I. By R. NARASIMACHAR, M.A., and S. G. NARASIMACHAR, Mysore : Wesleyan Mission Press : 1907. 8vo : pp. 6, 8, 18, 382, 38.

We much regret that we have not been able to introduce this interesting book to our readers at an earlier date. We hope, however, that the present notice of it, though so late, may not be without its uses.

The issue of this book, as the first volume of a series the title of which means "Lives of Kanada or Kanarese Poets", inaugurates a scheme for exhibiting the history of Kanarese literature from the earliest time to which it can be traced back. Some studies in this line of research have been given to us by the Rev. F. Kittel and by Mr. Rice. The present writers, however, aim at a much more exhaustive treatment; and, basing their work on various important collections of manuscripts and also on the inscriptions of Southern India as far as they have been exploited, they have made an excellent start: they have brought the matter in detail down to the end of the fourteenth century A. D.; and they have given supplementary lists, century by century, of works belonging to the subsequent period, down to the present time, which they will hereafter treat in similar detail. In compiling the present volume, they have succeeded in tracing out and bringing to light a variety of authors and works not previously known. In addition to that, and to the inclusion of many new facts about such writers and works as were already known, they claim to have established the following points. Mr. R. Narasimachar had already, in the introduction to his edition of the *Kāvyaśālāhara*, published in 1903, brought out clearly the fact

that there were two writers named Nāgavarma; one belonging to the close of the tenth century, the other to a period about a hundred and fifty years later. The authors now show that there were also two Guṇavarmanas and two Maṅgarasas. They have adduced evidence that the literary activity among the Vira-Saivas or Liṅgāyats began in the middle of the twelfth century, at an appreciably earlier time than had previously been supposed. And they have shown that the poet Rudrabhaṭṭa, who was previously referred to the sixteenth century, flourished four centuries sooner. We hope that future researches by them may result in the discovery of works dating from before the time to which belongs the earliest Kanarese literary production that is at present known.

That the Kanarese language was cultivated from a decidedly early date, is shown by the fact that it is found in a short inscription, outside the Vaiṣṇava cave at Bādāmi in the Bijāpur District, Bombay, which is of the time of the Chalukya king Maṅgalēśa, A. D. 597—608. Kanarese is, in fact, the earliest vernacular of Southern India, apart from Prākṛit, that is met with in the inscriptional records. Its literary history, however, has not been traced back so far: the earliest recovered work is a treatise on poetics, entitled *Kavirājamārga*, which was written in the period A. D. 814—877. That work, indeed, mentions previous writers,—Vimala, Udaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu, Durvinita, "the supreme" Śrīvijaya, Kaviśvara (or "the supreme Śrīvijaya, lord of poets"), and some others: and we may note, in passing, that it classes the writings of Śrīvijaya as *ādya-kāvya*, "initial or prior poetry." Beyond their names, however, little, if anything, was yet

known about those writers. And the point remains, that the earliest extant Kanarese literary production is the *Kavirājamārga*, dating from the ninth century.

In view of the position that the *Kavirājamārga* is the earliest extant Kanarese work, it is of interest, as there is a difference of opinion regarding the authorship of it, to note what the authors of the *Karṇāṭakavicharite* have to say on the point. Mr. Rice¹ and Professor K. B. Pathak² have maintained that the *Kavirājamārga* was written by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Nripatunga-Amoghavaraha I, who reigned from A. D. 814 to 877. The present writer, on the other hand, holds³ that it was written, not by the king, but, under his patronage, by a person styled Kaviśvara, and that the latter based it on a work by the Śrīvijaya who, as stated above, is mentioned in the work itself in an enumeration of previous writers. The authors of the *Karṇāṭakavicharite* have classed the *Kavirājamārga* as a composition by the said king Nripatunga. But they have qualified that by saying that, though the accepted understanding (*prafiti*) is to that effect, there is room for a doubt as to whether the work is not a composition of a Śrīvijaya. And, pointing out that no authority is found, either in inscriptions or in the work itself, for thinking that Śrīvijaya was a secondary appellation of Nripatunga, they have suggested that the case may be that the author was that same Śrīvijaya who has been mentioned above, and that he became the court-poet of Nripatunga and composed the work and issued it with the impress of Nripatunga (*Nripatungana ankitadinda*). In view of the indecisive opinion thus expressed by the authors of the *Karṇāṭakavicharite*, who have given the latest consideration to the matter after seeing the full arguments on both sides, it may be said that the question cannot be regarded as settled either way. But there remain the following points, which seem instructive. The *Kavirājamārga* is adulatory of Nripatunga all through. Its colophons distinctly describe it, not as "composed by Nripatunga," but as "approved by Nripatunga." It is not easy to see how Śrīvijaya, if he wrote it, could reasonably class himself among the previous writers who are mentioned in it, and could speak of other writings of his own as *ādya-kavya*, "initial or prior poetry." And the last verse of the second chapter, as translated by Professor Pathak, tells us that "the great poet caused to

himself the great joy of Śrīvijaya by the one poem composed by these (means): having thought over the established conventionality of the essence of words, having studied expression which has for its object all language, having carefully perceived the excellence of the good qualities shining in the compositions of ancient great poets, and having culled from them": here, the term rendered by "the great poet" is *Kaviśvara*, which we consider is obviously to be applied as a personal appellation. In these circumstances we see, so far, no reason for modifying the conclusion at which we arrived: namely, that the *Kavirājamārga* was written by a person who bore or assumed the name Kaviśvara; that he wrote it under the patronage and partly under the inspiration of king Nripatunga; and that he based it on a work by Śrīvijaya.

The authors of the *Karṇāṭakavicharite* had to decide whether they would write their book in English or in Kanarese. Their English introduction shows that they would not have had the slightest difficulty in writing in English: that language is thoroughly at their command. They elected, however, to write in Kanarese; because, they tell us, the work would not otherwise be properly available to their compatriots, the great majority of whom do not know English. Their decision is, no doubt, a commendable one: it is certainly desirable that the Kanarese people at large should have the opportunity of learning all that is known about the history of their language and its literature. But we would ask the authors to bear in mind that there are in Europe many scholars—and the number of them is always increasing—who are greatly interested in the vernaculars of India, but who do not themselves read those vernaculars, and to whom, therefore, books such as the present one must remain sealed books: also, that even a European scholar who does read any particular Indian vernacular (or perhaps more than one), cannot always spare the time to peruse and note down the contents of a vernacular work; he wants a work to the contents of which, when he has once read it, he can at any time refer quickly at a glance, instead of having to wade again through the intricacies of Indian type. We would express the hope that Mr. R. Narasimha-char and his collaborator may see their way to giving us, some day, an English epitome of their present volume, and of those which, we trust, they will bring out in succession to it.

J. F. FLEET.

¹ See his *Karṇāṭakabāṇanaśāstra*, introd. pp. 7, 23.

² See the introduction to his edition of the work itself; see also *Jour. As. Soc.*, vol. 20, p. 23 E, and vol. 22, p. 81 E.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 33 (1904), p. 258 E.

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V — XV),

Translated by

R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.,

Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.[*Note.*—The first four books have been published in the *Mysore Review*, 1906—1908.]

Book V.

The conduct of Government officers (Yogavṛittam).

Chapter I.

Concerning the awards of punishments (Dāṇḍakārmikam).

MEASURES necessary to remove the thorns of public peace both in fortified cities and country parts have been dealt with. We shall now proceed to treat of measures to suppress treason against the king and his kingdom.

With regard to those chiefs who, though living by service under the king, are inimically disposed towards him, or have taken the side of his enemy, a spy with secret mission or one in the guise of an ascetic and devoted to the king's cause shall set to work as described before; or a spy trained in the art of sowing the seeds of dissension may set to work, as will be described in connection with the "invasion of an enemy's villages."¹

The king in the interests of righteousness may inflict punishment in secret on those courtiers or confederacy of chiefs who are dangerous to the safety of the kingdom and who cannot be put down in open daylight.

A spy may instigate the brother of a seditious minister, and with necessary inducements, take him to the king for an interview. The king, having conferred upon him the title to possess and enjoy the property of his seditious brother, may cause him to attack his brother; and when he murders his brother with a weapon or with poison, he shall be put to death in the same spot under the plea that he is a parricide.

The same measure will explain the proceedings to be taken against a seditious Pārśava (one who is begotten by a Brāhman on Sūdra wife), and a seditious son of a woman-servant.

Or instigated by a spy, the brother of a seditious minister may put forward his claim for inheritance. While the claimant is lying at night at the door of the house of the seditious minister or elsewhere, a fiery spy (*ākṣha*) may murder him and declare "Alas! the claimant for inheritance is thus murdered (by his brother)." Then taking the side of the injured party, the king may punish the other (the seditious minister).

Spies in the presence of a seditious minister may threaten to beat his brother claiming inheritance. Then "while the claimant is lying at the door of, &c." as before.

The same proceedings will explain the quarrel fraudulently caused to crop up between any two seditious ministers, in whose family a son or a father has had sexual intercourse with a daughter-in-law, or a brother with the wife of another brother.

A spy may flatter to the vanity of a seditious minister's son of gentle manners and dignified conduct by telling him "Though thou art the king's son, thou art kept here in fear of enemies." The king may secretly honour this deluded person and tell him that "apprehending danger from the minister, I have put off thy installation, though thou hast attained the age of heir-apparent." Then the spy may instigate him to murder the minister. The task being accomplished, he, too, may be put to death in the same spot under the plea that he is a parricide.

A mendicant woman, having captivated the wife of a seditious minister by administering such medicines as excite the feelings of love, may through that wife contrive to poison the minister.

Failing these measures, the king may send a seditious minister with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies to put down a rebellious wild tribe or a village, or to set up a new superintendent of countries or of boundaries in a locality bordering upon a wilderness, or to bring under control a highly-rebellious city, or to fetch a caravan bringing in the tribute due to the king from a neighbouring country. In an affray (that ensues in consequence of the above mission) either by day or at night, the fiery spies, or spies under the guise of robbers (*pratirodhaka*) may murder the minister and declare that he was killed in the battle.

While marching against an enemy or being engaged in sports, the king may send for his seditious ministers for an interview. While leading the ministers to the king, fiery spies with concealed weapons shall, in the middle enclosure of the king's pavilion, offer themselves to be searched for admittance into the interior, and, when caught with their weapons by the door-keepers, declare themselves to be the accomplices of the seditious ministers. Having made this affair known to the public, the door-keepers shall put the ministers to death, and in the place of the fiery spies, some others are to be hanged.

While engaged in sports outside the city, the king may honour his seditious ministers with accommodation close to his own. A woman of bad character under the guise of the queen may be caught in the apartment of these ministers and steps may be taken against them as before.

A sauce-maker or a sweetmeat-maker may request of a seditious minister some sauce and sweetmeat by flattering him — "thou alone art worthy of such things". Having mixed those two things and half a cup of water with poison, he may substitute those things in the luncheon (of the king) outside the city. Having made this event known to the public, the king may put them (the minister and the cook²) to death under the plea that they are poisoners.

If a seditious minister is addicted to witchcraft, a spy under the guise of an accomplished wizard may make him believe that by manifesting (in witchcraft) any one of the three beautiful things, — a pot containing an alligator, or a tortoise or crab — he can attain his desired end. While, with this belief, he is engaged in the act of witchcraft, a spy may murder him either by poisoning him or by striking him with an iron bar, and declare that he brought his own death by his proclivity to witchcraft.

A spy under the guise of a physician may make a seditious minister believe that he is suffering from a fatal or incurable disease and contrive to poison him while prescribing medicine and diet to him.

Spies under the guise of sauce-makers and sweetmeat-makers may, when opportunity occurs, contrive to poison him.

² Some one deserving death seems to be substituted for the cook.

Such are the secret measures to get rid of seditious persons.

As to measures to get rid of seditious persons conspiring against both the king and his kingdom:—

When a seditious person is to be got rid of, another seditious person with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies may be sent with the mission: "Go out into this fort or country and raise an army or some revenue; deprive a courtier of his gold; bring by force the daughter of a courtier; build a fort; open a garden; construct a road for traffic; set up a new village; exploit a mine; form forest-preserves for timber or elephants; set up a district or a boundary; and arrest and capture those who prevent your work or do not give you help." Similarly the other party may be instructed to curb the spirit of the above person. When a quarrel arises between the two parties at work, fiery spies under cover may throw their weapons and murder the seditious person; and others are to be arrested and punished for the crime.

When with reference to boundaries, field-produce, and boundaries of houses, or with reference to any damage done to things, instruments, crops, and beasts of burden or on occasions of witnessing spectacles and processions, any dispute, real or caused by fiery spies, arises in seditious towns, villages, or families, fiery spies may hurl weapons and say: "This is what is done to them who quarrel with this man"; and for this offence others may be punished.

When there arises a quarrel among seditious persons, fiery spies may set fire to their fields, harvest-grounds, and houses, hurl weapons on their relatives, friends and beasts of burden, and say that they did so at the instigation of the seditious; and for this offence others may be punished.

Spies may induce seditious persons in forts or in country parts to be each other's guests at a dinner in which poisoners may administer poison; and for this offence others may be punished.

A mendicant woman may delude a seditious chief of a district into the belief that the wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law of another seditious chief of another district loves the former. She may take the jewelry which the deluded chief gives her (for delivery to the wife, daughter, &c.), and, presenting it before the other chief, narrate that this chief in the pride of his youth makes love to the other's wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law. When at night a duel arises between the two chiefs, &c., as before.

The prince or the commander of the army may confer some benefit upon such inimical persons as have been cowed down by a seditious army, and may declare his displeasure against them afterwards. And then some other persons, who are equally cowed down by another seditious army of the king, may be sent against the former along with an army of inefficient soldiers and fiery spies. Thus all the measures to get rid of seditious persons are of the same type.

Whoever among the sons of the seditious persons thus put down shows no perturbation of mind shall receive his father's property. It is only thus that the whole of the country will loyally follow the sons and grandsons of the king, and will be free from all troubles caused by men.

Possessed³ of forbearance and apprehending no disturbance either in the present or future, the king may award punishments in secret both upon his own subjects and those who uphold the enemy's cause.³

Chapter II.

Replenishment of the Treasury (Kotābhisamharanam).

The king who finds himself in a great financial trouble and needs money may collect (revenue by demand). In such parts of his country as depend solely upon rain for water and are rich in grain, he may demand of his subjects one-third or one-fourth of their grain according to their capacity. He shall never demand of such of his subjects as live in tracts of middle or low quality; nor of people who are of great help in the construction of fortifications, gardens, buildings, roads for traffic, colonisation of waste lands, exploitation of mines, and formation of forest-preserves for timber and, elephants; nor of people who live on the border of his kingdom or who have not enough subsistence. He shall, on the other hand, supply with grain and cattle to those who colonise waste lands. He may purchase for gold one-fourth of what remains, after deducting as much of the grain as is required for seeds and subsistence of his subjects. He shall avoid the property of forest tribes, as well as of Brāhmanas learned in the Vedas (Śrotriya). He may purchase this, too, offering favourable price (to the owners). Failing these measures, the servants of the collector-general may prevail upon the peasantry to raise summer crops. Saying that double the amount of fines will be levied from those who are guilty (among peasants), they (the king's employés) shall sow seeds in sowing seasons. When crops are ripe, they may beg a portion of vegetable and other ripe produce except what is gleaned in the form of vegetables and grains. They shall avoid the grains scattered in harvest-fields, so that they may be utilised in making offerings to gods and ancestors on occasions of worship, in feeding cows, or for the subsistence of mendicants and village employés (*grāma-dāritaka*).

Whoever conceals his own grain shall pay a fine of eight times the amount in each kind; and whoever steals the crops of another person shall pay a fine of fifty times the amount, provided the robber belongs to the same community (*svavarga*); but if he is a foreigner, he shall be put to death.

They (the king's employés) may demand of cultivators one-fourth of their grain, and one-sixth of forest-produce (*vanya*) and of such commodities as cotton, wax, fabrics, barks of trees, hemp, wool, silk, medicines, sandal, flowers, fruits, vegetables, firewood, bamboos, flesh, and dried flesh. They may also take one-half of all ivory and skins of animals, and punish with the first amercement those who trade in any article without obtaining a licence from the king. So much for demands on cultivators.

Merchants dealing in gold, silver, diamonds, precious stones, pearls, coral, horses, and elephants shall pay 50 *karas*.⁴ Those that trade in cotton threads, clothes, copper, brass, bronze, sandal, medicines, and liquor shall pay 40 *karas*. Those that trade in grains, liquids, metals (*loha*), and carts shall pay 30 *karas*. Those that carry on their trade in glass (*kacha*); and also artisans of fine workmanship shall pay 20 *karas*. Artisans of inferior workmanship, as well as those who keep prostitutes, shall pay 10 *karas*. Those that trade in firewood, bamboos, stones, earthen-pots, cooked rice, and vegetables shall pay 5 *karas*. Dramatists and prostitutes shall pay half of their wages. The entire property of goldsmiths shall be taken possession of; and no offence of theirs shall be forgiven; for they carry on their fraudulent trade while pretending at the same time to be honest and innocent. So much about demands on merchants.

Persons rearing cocks and pigs shall surrender to the Government half of their stock of animals. Those that rear inferior animals shall give one-sixth. Those that keep cows, buffaloes, mules, asses, and camels shall give one-tenth (of their live-stock). Those who maintain prostitutes (*bandhakiposhaka*), shall, with the help of women noted for their beauty and youth in the service of the king, collect revenue. So much about demands on herdsmen.

⁴ A *kara* seems to mean 10 *paṇas*.

Such demands shall be made only once and never twice. When such demands are not made, the collector-general shall seek subscriptions from citizens and country people alike under false pretences of carrying this or that kind of business. Persons taken in concert shall publicly pay handsome donations and, with this example, the king may demand of others among his subjects. Spies posing as citizens shall revile those who pay less. Wealthy persons may be requested to give as much of their gold as they can. Those who, of their own accord or with the intention of doing good, offer their wealth to the king shall be honoured with a rank in the court, an umbrella, or a turban or some ornaments in return for their gold.

Spies, under the guise of sorcerers, shall, under the pretence of ensuring safety, carry away the money, not only of the society of heretics and of temples, but also of a dead man and of a man whose house is burst, provided that they are not Brāhmanas.

The Superintendent of Religious Institutions may collect in one place the various kinds of property of the gods of fortified cities and country parts and carry away the property (to the king's treasury).

Or having on some night set up a god or an altar, or having opened a sacred place of ascetics or having pointed out an evil omen; the king may collect subsistence under the pretence of holding processions and congregations (to avert calamities).

Or else he shall proclaim the arrival of gods, by pointing out to the people any of the sacred trees in the king's garden which has produced untimely flowers and fruits.

Or by causing a false panic owing to the arrival of an evil-spirit on a tree in the city, wherein a man is hidden making all sorts of devilish noises, the king's spies, under the guise of ascetics, may collect money (with a view to propitiate the evil-spirit and send it back).

Or spies may call upon spectators to see a serpent with numberless heads in a well connected with a subterranean passage and collect fees from them for the sight. Or they may place in a bore-hole made in the body of an image of a serpent, or in a hole in the corner of a temple, or in the hollow of an ant-hill, a cobra, which is, by diet, rendered unconscious, and call upon credulous spectators to see it (on payment of a certain amount of fee). As to persons who are not by nature credulous, spies may sprinkle over or give a drink of such sacred water as is mixed with anæsthetic ingredients and attribute their insensibility to the curse of gods. Or by causing an outcast person (*abhityakta*) to be bitten by a cobra, spies may collect revenue under the pretext of undertaking remedial measures against ominous phenomena.

Or one of the king's spies in the garb of a merchant, may become a partner of a rich merchant and carry on trade in concert with him. As soon as a considerable amount of money has been gathered as sale-proceeds, deposits and loans, he may cause himself to be robbed of the amount.

This will explain what the Superintendent of coins and the State-goldsmith may also do.

Or else a spy, in the garb of a rich merchant, or a real rich merchant famous for his vast commerce, may borrow or take on pledge vast quantities of gold, silver, and other commodities, or borrow from corporations bar gold or coined gold for various kinds of merchandise to be procured from abroad. After having done this he may allow himself to be robbed of it the same night.

Prostitute spies, under the garb of chaste women, may cause themselves to be enamoured of persons who are seditious. No sooner are the seditious persons seen within the abode of the female spies than they shall be seized and their property confiscated to the Government. Or whenever a quarrel arises between any two seditious parties of the same family, poisoners, previously engaged for the purpose, may administer poison to one party; and the other party may be accused of the offence and arrested.

An outcast, under the guise of a high-born man, may claim from a seditious person a large amount of money professed to have been placed in the latter's custody by the claimant, or a large debt outstanding against the seditious person, or a share or parental property. (An outcast) may pretend to be the slave of a seditious person; and he may represent the wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law of the seditious person as a slave-woman or as his own wife; and when the outcast is lying at the door of the seditious person's house at night or is living elsewhere, a fiery spy may murder him and declare "The claimant (of his own property or wife) has been thus killed." And for this offence others (*i. e.*, the seditious person and his followers) shall be arrested.

Or a spy, under the garb of an ascetic, may offer inducements to a seditious person of wealth to acquire more wealth by taking in aid the art of witchcraft, and say :—"I am proficient in such witchcraft as brings inexhaustible wealth, or entitles a man to get admission into the king's palace, or can win the love of any woman, or can put an end to the life of one's enemy, or can lengthen the duration of one's life, or can give a son to any one if desired." If the seditious person shows his desire to carry on the process of witchcraft securing wealth, the spy may make rich offerings, consisting of flesh, wine, and scent, to the deity near an altar in a burial-ground wherein a dead body of a man or of a child with a little quantity of money has been previously hidden. After the performance of worship is over, the hidden treasure may be dug out and the seditious person may be told that as the offerings fell short, the treasure is proportionately small; that the richest of offerings should be made to acquire vast amount of treasure, and that he may purchase with the newly-acquired wealth rich offerings. Then he may be caught in the very act of purchasing commodities for offering.

A female spy, under the garb of a bereaved mother, may (in connection with the above case) raise an alarm, crying that her child was murdered (for the purposes of witchcraft).

When a seditious person is engaged in sorcery at night or in a sacrificial performance in a forest, or in sports in a park, fiery spies may murder him and carry away the corpse as that of an outcast.

Or a spy, under the garb of a servant of a seditious person, may mix counterfeit coins with the wages (he has received from his master), and pave the way for his arrest.

Or a spy, under the garb of a goldsmith, may undertake to do some work in the house of a seditious person, and gather in his employer's house such instruments as are necessary to manufacture counterfeit coins.

A spy, under the garb of a physician, may declare a healthy person of seditious character to be unhealthy (and administer poison). Or a spy, attending as a servant upon a seditious person, may not only call for an explanation from another fraudulent spy as to how certain articles necessary for the installation of a king and also the letters of an enemy came into the possession of his master, but also volunteer an explanation himself.

Measures such as the above shall be taken only against the seditious and the wicked and never against others.

Just⁴ as fruits are gathered from a garden as often as they become ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe. Collection of revenue or of fruits, when unripe, shall never be carried on, lest their source may be injured, causing immense trouble.⁴

⁴ In *Shloka metre*.

Chapter III.

Concerning subsistence to Government servants (*Bhṛityabharanīyam*).

In accordance with the requirements of his forts and country parts, the king should fix under one-fourth of the total revenue¹ the charges of maintaining his servants. He should look to the bodily comforts of his servants by providing such emoluments as can infuse in them the spirit of enthusiasm to work. He should not violate the course of righteousness and wealth.

The sacrificial priest (*ṛiteig*), the teacher, the minister, the priest (*purohita*), the commander of the army, the heir-apparent prince, the mother of the king, and the queen shall (each receive) 48,000 (*paṇas* per annum). With this amount of subsistence, they will scarcely yield themselves to temptation and hardly be discontented.

The door-keeper, the superintendent of the harem (*antarramika*), the commander (*pradīptri*) the collector-general, and the chamberlain, 24,000. With this amount, they become serviceable.

The prince (*kumāra*), the nurse of the prince, the chief constable (*ndyaka*), the officer in charge of a town (*paura*), the superintendent of law or commerce (*vyāśādhika*), the superintendent of manufactories (*kārmādhika*), members of the council of ministers, the superintendents of country parts and of boundaries, 12,000. With this they will be loyal and powerful supporters of the king's cause.

The chiefs of military corporations, the chiefs of elephants, of horses, of chariots and of infantry and commissioners (*pradeśādṛah*), 8,000. With this amount they can have a good following in their own communities.

The superintendents of infantry, of cavalry, of chariots, and of elephants, the guards of timber and elephant forests, 4,000.

The chariot-driver, the physician of the army, the trainer of horses, the carpenter (*carḍhaki*), and those who rear animals (*yoniposhaka*), 2,000.

The foreteller, the reader of omens, the astrologer, the reader of *Purāṇas*, the story-teller, the bard (*māgadha*), the retinue of the priest, and all superintendents of departments, 1,000.

Trained soldiers, the staff of accountants and writers, 500.

Musicians (*kuśīlava*), 250. Of these, the trumpet-blowers (*tūryakara*) shall get twice as much wages as others. Artisans and carpenters, 120.

Servants in charge of quadrupeds and bipeds, workmen doing miscellaneous work, attendants upon the royal person, body-guards, and the procurer of free labourers shall receive a salary of 60 (*paṇas*).

The honourable play-mate of the king (*dṛyayukta*), the elephant-driver, the sorcerer (*māṇavakas*), miners of mountains (*śailakṣanaka*), all kinds of attendants, teachers, and learned men shall have honorarium ranging from 500 to 1,000 (*paṇas*) according to their merit.

A messenger of middle quality shall receive 10 *paṇas* for each *yojana* he travels; and twice as much when he travels from 10 to 100 *yojanas*.

Whoever represents the king in the *rājāsūyas* and other sacrifices shall get three times as much as is paid to others who are equal to him in learning; and the charioteer of the king (in the sacrifices), 1,000.

¹ *Samudāyapāddana* is a better reading than *samudāyavāddana*, which gives no meaning.

Spies such as the fraudulent (*kāpaṭika*), the indifferent (*uddasthita*), the house-holder, the merchant, and the ascetic, 1,000.

The village-servant (*grāmahyātaka*), fiery spies, poisoners and mendicant women, 560 (*paṇas*).

Servants leading the spies, 250, or in proportion to the work done by them.

Superintendents of a hundred or a thousand communities (*varga*) shall regulate the subsistence, wages, profits, appointment, and transference (*vikśhepa*) of the men under them.

There shall be no transference of officers employed to guard the royal buildings, forts, and country parts. The chief officers employed to superintend the above places shall be many and shall permanently hold the same office.

The sons and wives of those who die while on duty shall get subsistence and wages. Infants, aged persons, or diseased persons related to the deceased servants shall also be shown favour. On occasions of funerals, sickness, or child-birth, the king shall give presentations to his servants concerned therein.

When wanting in money, the king may give forest-produce, cattle, or fields along with a small amount of money. If he is desirous to colonise waste lands, he shall make payments in money alone; and if he is desirous of regulating the affairs of all villages equally, then he shall give no village to any (of his servants).

Thus the king shall not only maintain his servants, but also increase their subsistence and wages in consideration of their learning and work.

Substituting one *ādaka* for the salary of 60 *paṇas*, payment in gold may be commuted for that in kind.

Footmen, horses, chariots, and elephants shall be given necessary training in the art of war at sunrise on all days but those of conjunction; on these occasions of training, the king shall ever be present and witness their exercise.

Weapons and armour shall be entered into the armoury only after they are marked with the king's seal.

Persons with weapons shall not be allowed to move anywhere unless they are permitted by a passport.

When weapons are either lost or spoiled, the superintendent shall pay double their value; an account of the weapons that are destroyed shall be kept up.

Boundary-guards shall take away the weapons and armour possessed by caravans unless the latter are provided with a passport to travel with weapons.

When starting on a military tour, the king shall put his army in action. On such occasions, spies, under the garb of merchants, shall supply to military stations all kinds of merchandise for double the quantity of the same to be repaid in future. Thus not only is there afforded an opportunity for the sale of the king's merchandise, but also is there a way opened for a good return for the wages paid.

Thus, when both the receipts and expenditure are properly cared for, the King will never find himself in financial or military difficulties.

Such are the alternatives with regard to wages and subsistence.

Spies,* prostitutes, artisans, singers, and aged military officers shall vigilantly examine the pure or impure conduct of military men.*

(To be continued.)

* In *śloka* metre.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from p. 255.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Jangi: the upright shaft of the handle of a plough. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. iii.**Jarah**: an implement consisting of four iron blades tied together with cotton thread wound all round and over them, and used for puncturing poppy capsules. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 108.**Jat, jatt**: goat's hair. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xvii.**Jati musāg**: literally the "Jat's tooth-brush," a small plant with pink flowers, which grows on land subject to inundation. Mgarh. S. R., p. 84.**Jaudal**: wild oats. (Cf. *jauḍar*, *joḍal*, Juke's *Dietg. of W. P.*, p. 109). Multān Gr., p. 208.**Jawain**: camel thorn. Cf. *jawāid*. Jhang S. R., p. 23.**Jeṭhī**: the early maize, sown in July and cut in September. Multān Gr., p. 217.**Jhābra**: the land near Kacha Khn, and Khanewālāh, from *jhāmbra*, the fruit of the *jāl* trees which the people pluck. Multān Gr., p. 193.**Jhagīr**: the noise of water rushing past. D. G. Khān.**Jhajhri**: (i) fee levied from the bridegroom's party by the land-owners of a village at a wedding. Multān Gr., p. 186; (ii) alms distributed to the bards, *fakīrs* and quacks in attendance, and to *lamīns*, such as the *Mirāsī*, *Kumbār*, *Chūhra*, etc., who bring flowers, *ibid*, p. 95.**Jhal**: the log on which the *nīśār* or conduit of a well rests. Multān Gr., p. 197.**Jhamb**: a pick, like the *pail*, but larger. Cf. *kāhī*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 96.**Jhāmban**: the fruit of the *jāl* tree. Multān Gr., p. 193.**Jhambna**: to thresh by beating the ears against a log or the sides of a plastered hole in the ground. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vii.**Jhāmra**: a hard clay soil. Cf. *dhāgar*.**Jhandī**: a variety of *jowār*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.**Jhāngar**: the well-wooded tract south of Talamba, so-called from *jhang*, a clump of trees. Multān Gr., p. 195.**Jhārana**: shaking off by hand, used of *tīl* stalks. Multān Gr., p. 211.**Jhat**: immature trees, *lit.*, neuter; a date-tree which has not yet flowered. D. I. Khān S. R., p. 61 and Gr., p. 14.**Jhatā**: a basket used in irrigating. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.**Jhijni**: a variety of *moth*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.**Jhok**: (i) a settlement of camel-owning graziers, Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 19; (ii) a bandet, the head-quarters of a camel owner, as opposed to *rākhāḍ*, *q. v.* Jhang S. R., p. 56.**Jholā**: palsy or paralysis, of human beings. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxv.

Jholi : *lit.*, the skirt of a coat ; a due (after a partition of the crops at which the proprietor was present in person he held out the skirt of his coat and asked for a present, and the tenant generally put in 4 or 5 *asres*). Multân S. R., 1880, p. 44.—A cess, D. G. Khân Gr., p. 84.

Jhûri : an institution fee, paid when a settler is located on land. Cf. *sar-o-pa*, *pag* and *lungi*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 92.

Jin khedan : to play the *jin* (used of a woman possessed by a *jin*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 66.

Jîuri : an entrance fee. Cf. *jûuri*. D. I. Khân S. R., 1879, p. 86.

Jiwânian : a breed of horses. Jhang S. R., p. 108.

Joûri : a variety of rice. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 112.

Jog : (i) a pair of oxen, hence (ii) a quarter of a well, which is divided into 4 jogs, each of which may be said to consist of 10 acres. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 87.

Jogan : an inferior kind of grape. Cf. *kâtiddâk*. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Jor : the golden eagle. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 16.

Jorawâl : associated cultivators, including the *lathband* himself, and the men that he puts in. D. I. Khân S. R., 1879, p. 107.

Jot : a light, maintained before a pitcher of water or a canal. Multân Gr., p. 116.

Jotr : a leather strap, in well yokes only passing through a hole in the lower cross-bar into which the *relan* falls, and then slipped over the *gâthra*. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. iv.

Jowân : a weed, with a purple cruciform flower. Multân Gr., p. 203.

Jowârî : a kind of wheat, not often found. Jhang S. R., 1880, p. 87.

Ja : uncultivated land ; jungle. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxv.

Jullunduri : a variety of sugar-cane. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.

Jung = *do chakhi* : a *jhaldâr* with two wheels. Multân Gr., p. 205.

Junj : the food distributed by the bride's party to the bridegroom's. Multân Gr. p. 93.

Juri : a manorial fee sometimes levied in Southern Miânwâlî on the breaking-up of new land, Cf. *jiuri*. Bannâ S. R., p. xxxviii.

Kabânî : a sling. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.

Kach : a strip of irrigated land along a torrent bed. D. I. Khân S. R., 1872-79, p. 133.

Kachi : (i) a deep loam soil free of stones, see *bela* ; (ii) an irrigated soil, see *bâhardî*.

Kâda : the small area immediately round a well. Monty. S. R., p. 17.

Kadda : a share. Cf. *takka*. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 156.

Kaddal : a rope suspension bridge. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 48.

Kafgir : a large iron stirrer. Multân Gr., p. 83.

Kafi : a song ; see *lot*. Multân Gr., pp. 113-11

Kâhi : see *jhamb*.

Kahū : a fibrous substance something like cotton, produced at the lower part of the ear of the *kāndr* or bulrush. Mgarh. S. R., p. 9.

Kai : black, of a buffalo. Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 95.

Kaily : brown, of a buffalo. Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 95.

Kain : the large-leaved elm, the wood is used to make shoes and furniture and its leaves given to cattle as fodder. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Kaj ganetra : a custom, the Brahman gives to the boy and girl's party a paper showing the exact date and hour which is auspicious for each part of the marriage ceremony. Multān Gr. p. 93.

Kajlān : a breed of horses. Jhang. S. R., p. 108.

Kak : a cake. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 43.

Kakkar : a narrow thong of raw hide. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 81.

Kakora : a wild bitter gourd. Multān Gr., p. 20.

Kala-bāns, a fish, the *Labeo calbasu* = *machani*. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxvi.

Kala kallar : a synonym for *sher* soil. Cf. *turwala kallar*. Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 64.

Kalākāth : the wild cherry, see *bharatta*.

Kalāl : a potter. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.

Kalan : a cess. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 82.

Kalang : a poll tax. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 142.

Kalangan : a late-growing rice. Multān Gr., p. 216.

Kalāpāni : (i) the perennial supply of water in a stream. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 5; a perennial flow; also (ii) the land to which the perennial flow is applied. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 5 and 98; (iii) flood water, when it has deposited its silt and flows on over salt land, and thereby becomes full of salt. Mgarh. S. R. p. 7.

Kal chigāri : a red wheat with a handsome ear, thick and garnished with a beard that is black at the root. Jhang S. R., 1880, p. 87.

Kaler : a tree (*Capparis ophylla*). Cf. *karā* and *kural*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 13.

Kal karschi : the king crow. Mgarh. S. R., p. 37.

Kallangi : a sort of wheat which requires plenty of manure and water. Kohāt S. R. 1884, p. 120.

Kalli bhannā : to break off the young shoots from the stems of tobacco plants. Jhang S. R., p. 95.

Kallur : manure, put on the land. Cf. *dāl*. Multān Gr., p. 208.

Kalohra : a rope made of *mānj*, used to fasten the yoke to the *gālī*, or driving seat of a well. Cf. *chik*. Jhang S. R., p. 83.

Kalota : an earthen safe shaped like a barrel, used for storing grain. Cf. *kandarai*. Kohāt S. R., p. 73.

Kalsi: a very bad soil which consists of narrow-terraced fields cut out of the hill sides. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 197.

Kamarī: staggers, in camels. Multān Gr., p. 237.

Kanah: plots held by outsiders, obtained by gift or purchase. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 108.

Kanān: the tall stem of the *butā* (*Saccharum para*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.

Kanda: a sort of prisoner's base. Mgarh. S. R., p. 71.

Kamdāhari: the earlier tobacco crop. Multān Gr., p. 221.

Kandak: a share = 7 *khulaks* (q. r.). Marwat.

Kandar: (i) the tenement of a family. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86; (ii) a custom of levying ground rents, ordinarily from non-agriculturists, and occasionally from a tenant living in a house belonging to a proprietor other than the person whose land he cultivates. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 139.

Kander: a weed like a thistle. Multān Gr., p. 208.

Kanderi: a plant with thorns on its stem, leaf stalks, and leaves, with a fruit like potato apples. Mgarh S. R., p. 33.

Kandī: (i) a main subdivision of a proprietary body. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 86; (ii) a section of a village. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.

Kandiārī: a thistle. Mgarh. S. R., p. 80.

Kandol: a wooden drinking bowl. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 74.

Kandola: a shapeless lump of salt. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 148.

Kandu: a corn-bin made of clay. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 134.

Kandurai: an earthen safe. Cf. *kalota*.

Kand-sarra: a prickly shrub. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.

Kangar: a hill tree (*pistacia integerrima*). Jhelum S. R., p. 18; the wood, which is hard and lasting, is used for roofing, furniture and spinning wheels. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Kangrālīān kakoh: a wild fruit. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Kanī: smut, of wheat. Multān Gr., p. 221.

Kanjūn: see *khurnā* = (also *kānjīn*, acc. to Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 215).

Kanjār: the beard of the wheat plant. Cf. *kāh*. Multān Gr., p. 219; -f, the bearded red wheat, p. 218.

Kanjhī: the late maize, sown in October and cut in January. Multān Gr., p. 217.

Kannēdār: a shoe. Mgarh. S. R., p. 62.

Kannewālī topī: a wadded cap coming over the ears. Multān Gr., p. 87.

Kanuja: a tree, locally called *kar*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.

Kāoni: the warty headed Ibis. Mgarh. S. R., p. 36.

Kappar : a very hard soil, in which nothing but rice or *sacānk* will grow — worse than *rappar*, *q. v.* Multan Gr., p. 192.

Kappar : a depression. D. G. Khān. Diack's S. R., p. 3.

Karā : an eight-sided cage surrounded with netting. Mgarh. S. R., p. 82.

Karāk : peas. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 88.

Karal : a tree (*Capparis ophylla*). Cf. *kaler*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 13.

Karāwa : (i) a headman's deputy (elected by the village). Cf. *katwāl*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 83; (ii) a ripe-crop watchman and divider of the grain. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxix.

Kārāyā : a cess taken in commutation of the government claim to have the *mahsūl* share of the crop conveyed to the head-quarters of the *tahsil* or *ilāqa*. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 82.

Kanhbal : the old bank of the Indus in the south of D. G. Khān. Cf. *kur*.

Karez : land watered by springs obtained by tunnelling into the hill sides. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 210.

Kargāni : a superior kind of grape. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Karhāi : a parching pan. Cf. *chattri*. Multan Gr., p. 83.

Karhi : bracelet. Gujrat S. R., p. 43.

Karmor : the lesser bustard, = *tsarai*, *ubāra* or *tītūr*. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxvi.

Karni : the best kind of Biloch mare. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 119.

Karrah : a boiler for sugar. Gujrat S. R., p. 38.

Karril : *Capparis ophylla*. Multan Gr., p. 14.

Karsū : a sort of iron frying pan. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 74.

Kartumma : a plant (*Citrullus colocynthis*). Cf. *tumma*. Multan Gr., p. 20.

Karūn : a mulberry of superior quality. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.

Karwā = *wadhā*.

Kasa : see *osa*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 128.

Kasārwālī : a bearded wheat. Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 78.

Kashrā : see *osa*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 128.

Kaslab : the little earthen dyke and trench which conducts rain drainage from higher lying waste to lower lying cultivation. Cf. *warraur* (used by the Marwats). Bannū S. R., p. xxxvix.

Kasni : endive. Multan Gr., p. 223.

Kasūr : (i) a deduction, in grain, from the *mahsūl* or government share of the produce, paid to certain grantees. Mgarh. S. R., p. 93.

Kasūr sil chāh : a portion of the gross produce, generally $\frac{1}{4}$ *ser* in the maund, given by a *zamīndār* to the sinker of well. Multan S. R., 1880, p. 40.

Kasūrkhōr : the recipient of *kasūr sil chāh*. Multan S. R., 1880, p. 40.

- Kat** : a bed ; Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 134.
- Kat or katā** : a buffalo one year old. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xv.
- Kata** : a rent of fixed amount. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 156.
- Kata** : an irrigated soil. see *bdgh*.
- Kātha** : a variety of sugar-cane. Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 84.
- Kati** : a kind of working in salt. Jhelum S. R., p. 71.
- Kāttinār** : a quack doctor. Cf. *silmār*. Multān Gr., p. 91.
- Katkai** : a stool. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 134.
- Katmāla** : a necklet. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 42.
- Katthan** : the fibre of the *dhamman* tree. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 81.
- Katti** : indigo refuse. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 100.
- Katwai** : an earthen cooking pot. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 74.
- Kaudī kabaddī** : see *pīr handī*. Multān Gr., p. 100.
- Kauk** : the *chikor* or Greek partridge. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 14.
- Kaurāvatā** : a food which friends send to a deceased's house for his family and the visitors who come to offer condolence. Mgarh. S. R., p. 71.
- Kauri valh** : a bitter creeper. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.
- Kenkāni** : an inferior clay mixed with sand. Cf. *roppar*. Multān S. R., 1880, p. 6.
- (**Kenr** : Add s. v. on p. 247 of Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*) — a screen of wattles with a rake at the bottom. Multān Gr., pp. 207-8.
- Khaba** : a grass. Cf. *dila*.
- Khābāni** : a sling. Multān Gr., p. 209.
- Khaggal** : tamarisk. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 28.
- Khāki** : a variety of cotton. Chenāb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 81.
- Khālin** : artizans and menials. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 98.
- Khalka** : a loose coat. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 135.
- Khallar** : a seam of impure salt. Jhelum S. R., p. 71.
- Khamba** : a large wooden press for holding grain. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 81.
- Khānak** : a wooden dish for kneading flour. Kohāt S. R. 1884, p. 74.
- Khandni** : a variety of cotton plant. D. G. Khān Gr. p. 110. Cf. *bugar*.
- Kharinja** : a plant very like the wild fig (*indlar*). Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 29.
- Kharpeti** : a kind of snake, so-called from the hardness of its skin. Cf. *jaleb*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.
- Kharpel** : a plant, a mere weed, but used for fodder. Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.
- Khasanre** : (pronounced *-nē*) = *resh*.

- Khasi**: a neuter date-palm. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30.
- Khasrû**: a variety of rice. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. ix.
- Khat**: (?) spreading the dowry out in an open place. Gujrât S. R., p. 48.
- Khatar**: a cow or buffalo that refuses to let herself be milked. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xviii.
- Khatna**: circumcision. Multân Gr., p. 91; *-karnâ*: to circumcise. Cf. *sunnat*. Gujrât S. R., p. 52.
- Khattakî**: a hard red wheat. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 120.
- Khaunchâ**: a plate without a rim. Multân Gr., p. 83.
- Khâû plâ**: the time after dinner. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.
- Khaur**: a large torrent. Cf. *naîn*. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 3.
- Khel**: a sub-section of a tribe. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 85.
- Kheo**: a grass (*Sporobolus orientalis*). Multân Gr., p. 19.
- Khêr**: sowing by dropping seeds from the hand one by one into the furrow. Chenâb Col. Gr., 1894, p. 66.
- Kheri**: sandals. Cf. *chapli*. Jhelum S. R., p. 51; made of leather. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 72.
- Khin**: a fodder grass. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 15.
- Khindî**: a rough home-spun cotton quilt. Cf. *leph* and *sawwar*. Multân Gr., p. 82.
- Khirâ**: an animal as long as it has only milk teeth. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xiv.
- Khog**: a wild boar. Cf. *khok*. Multân S. R., 1890, p. 22.
- Khok**: Cf. *khog*.
- Khorî**: an enclosure into which picked dates are taken. Mgarh. S. R., p. 31.
- Khudî**: (i) a small earthen fowl-house. Multân Gr., p. 82. (ii) *Khâdi*: a house with thatch roof and mud walls. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xix.
- Khukan**: *Myrsine Africana*. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 94.
- Khulah, Pashto**: a mouth; an opening in a canal; an individual share of land. Bannû S. R., p. xxx.
- Khulkî**: a tenant-at-will, opposed to *mulkî*. Peshâwar S. R., 1874, p. 166.
- Khumak**: a disease of horses. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xv.
- Khunda**: a tree (*Prosopis spicigera*). Cf. *jhand*. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 13.
- Khura**: a grass. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 15.
- Khurmîni**: apricot. Cf. *harî*. Hazâra S. R. 1874, p. 94.
- Khutti**: see *valufa lichh*: a proprietary due; Isâ Khe land Indus villages. Bannû S. R., 1879, p. xxxix.
- Khwarr**: a ravine. Kohât S. R., p. 16.
- Khwarra**: the feasting at the bride's house at a wedding. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 81.

Kiārāh : from *kiārī*, a flower bed, a patch of ground ; a form of rent ; ' if the proprietor lived near, he sometimes took 2 or 3 *marlahs* of green crop for fodder.' Multān S. R., 1880, p. 45.

Kih = **kanjhār** : beard of wheat. Multān Gr., p. 219.

Kihan : a large shovel dragged by oxen, used in making embankments. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 103-105.

Kinjhār : beard (of wheat). Cf. *kanjhār*, Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 230) = *kīh*.

Kip : a plant something like a broom. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 25.

Kirakkā shinh : a synonym for the owl called *ghugh*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 37.

Kirāyā : a due ; exacted in some villages on the pretext that the tenant was bound to carry the proprietor's share of the produce home for him. Multān S. R., 1880, p. 45.

Kirē log : a party of eight gold-seekers. Jhelum S. R., p. 73.

Kirkin : a wooden spade ; see *hamchor*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 96.

Kōhu : a variety of sugarcane. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 84.

Kojdan, kojhdan : betrothal. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 81. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 127.

Koka, - i : foster-brother, -sister. D. G. Khān Customary Law, xvi. p.

Kokan : preserved fruit of the *wan* tree. Also fruit of the *kokanber*. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xxiv.

Kokan : fruit that remains unripe to the end, of date-palms. Cf. *s. v.* in Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 234. Multān Gr., p. 228.

Kokan ber = **mala**.

Kokan lai : a plant (*tamarix gallica*). Cf. *gaddoh lai*. Multān Gr., p. 18.

Kolath : *Dilochus uniflorus*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 88.

Kona kā'ā : a kind of red barley, with a beard almost black in colour. Jhang S. R., p. 88.

Kont : a kind of wheat, white, with a beardless long ear, which has a square unpointed end. The grain is small, but whiter than the *chitti rodī* variety. Jhang S. R., p. 87.

Kor : a house. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.

Korag : a she-buffalo out of milk. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 355.

Kothi : (i) an earthen receptacle large enough to hold from 5 to 10 maunds of grain. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 81 ; (ii) a wooden cylinder like the *ghandā*, but laid *below* the *tilang* to prevent the intrusion of sand. Multān Gr., p. 196.

Kotwāl : a *lambarlar*'s assistant. Cf. *karāwa*. D. G. Khān S. R., p. 83.

Kowār : a married girl. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 45.

Kuār : a betrothed girl. Multān Gr., p. 95.

Kūdan : a stick. Multān Gr., p. 211.

Kuhmar : a tenant, the same as the *adhilāpi* proprietor. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 86.

- Kūhnī**: a kid's skin. Multān Gr., p. 83.
- Kūlan**: the *Grus cinerea* or crane. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 31.
- Kummi**: a kind of *mūla* which attacks turnip roots. Jhang S. R., p. 89.
- Kund**: an unirrigated deep loam soil. Cf. *bela*.
- Kundi**: a wild vegetable. Kohāt S. R. 1884, p. 73.
- Kundni**: a variety of cotton which yields a three-fourth crop the first year, and a full crop the second; the third year's crop is poor. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 348.
- Kūndr**: the bulrush (*typha angustifolia*). Mgarh S. R., p. 9.
- Kungi**: commonest form of blight in wheat; the grain becomes black and the stem yellowish. Dānnū S. R., p. xxxix.
- Kunj**: a kind of wheat. Multān Gr., p. 213.
- Kur**: the old bank of the Indus in the north of Dera Ghāzi Khān (Diack's S. R., p. 1). Cf. *kambhal*.
- Kur**: a shed for cattle in the summer. Cf. *būdī*.
- Kura**: a grass (*panicum holopus*). Multān Gr., p. 19.
- Kurha**: a dwelling; a thatch of reeds supported by three sticks, one in the middle and one at each end. The sides of the thatch fall down on either side to the ground. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 23.
- Kūrhā**: a cabin made of thatch or screens. Jhang S. R., p. 55.
- Kūriā**: a crop but seldom seen—[add to P. Dy., p. 639]. Jhang S. R., p. 97.
- Kurkat**: a climbing plant. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 9.
- Kurkat**: a climber. Multān Gr., p. 19.
- Kūtola**: a camel in the last six months of its first year. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.
- Lachha**: an anklet. Multān Gr., p. 89.
- Lāhorī**: a variety of Indian corn. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.
- Lahu**: (i) a hot furnace blast, D. G. Khān Gr., p. 9; (ii) land which is easily commanded by a canal. Multān Gr., p. 325.
- Lai**: a bush. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 11.
- Lai gadha**: a heap or bundle of corn paid to the labourer at harvest. Multān S. R., 1873-80, p. 44.
- Lak**: a strip of hard land. Cf. *patti*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 3.
- Lākhā**: black cattle. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.
- Lakhi**: the best kind of Biloch mare. D. G. Khān, Gr., p. 119.
- Lalmi**: unirrigated land. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 121.
- Lanjī**: loppings of *jhand* trees. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 25.
- Lēpar**: cutting off the heads of plants. Multān Gr., p. 210.

- Lar**: the bed of a canal or its branch. Multân Gr., p. 313.
- Larih**: a small hill torrent. Cf. *clurh*. D. I. Khân S. R., p. 3.
- Las**: an unirrigated deep loam soil. Cf. *belā, cho* and *kund*. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 91.
- Lath**: the axle of the vertical wheel (*chakkli*) in a well. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.
- Lath**: the shaft that connects the two wheels of a well. Multân Gr., p. 197.
- Latmâr**: a tenant who erects embankments for irrigation. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 86.
- Laude**: inferior. Monty. S. R., p. 29.
- Lauhde wela**: the time from 3 to 4 p. m. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.
- Lâwâ**=*laihar*.
- Lâwin pheran**: the first cotton picking. Mgarh. S. R., p. 76.
- Leh**: a weed like a thistle. Multân Gr., p. 208.
- Lehtan**: a mulberry of inferior quality. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 94.
- Lei dâ kharorâ**: a well lined with wattles. Mgarh. S. R., p. 11.
- Leph**: see *khindî* (cf. Juke's *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 276).
- Lihârâ**: a camel in the first 4 months of its age. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.
- Liki**: lines; narrow divisions of land. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 156.
- Lilki, lirkî**: a nick or notch in a camel's ear.
- Lisikh**: lightning. *lisikh-mâr*; affected by lightning. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. ix.
- Lohra**: a horse run. Multân Gr., p. 242.
- Lori-wela**: the time, about 2 p. m., when a little parched gram or other light food is taken. Jhelum S. R., p. 45.
- Lotâ**: an earthen pot or bucket in which the water is raised. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.
- Lotâ**: a due paid to shrines. Multân Gr., p. 188.
- Lote kâ pâni**: water obtained by lift, not by flow. Multân G. R., p. 200.
- Lukâr**: a coarse blanket. Multân G. R., p. 88.
- Lunqâ**: a form of divorce in which the wife obliges her husband to divorce her. She relinquishes her dower, and sometimes pays a sum to him in consideration of his divorcing her. Mgarh. Customary Law, xx, p. 22.
- Lundi**: a kind of wheat not often found. Jhang S. R. 1890, p. 87.
- Lungi**: *lit*, a turban. See *jhûrî*.
- Machant**: a fish, the *Labeo calbasu*. Cf. *kâla-bans*. Baanû.
- Machhuâ**: a small boat on the European pattern. Jhelum S. R., p. 73.
- Mâda**: a name of the Chenab river. Multân Gr., p. 6.
- Mahâr**: a rope for a camel. Multân Gr., p. 237.

- Mahāra** : mouth disease. Cf. *mush-khar*. Multān Gr., p. 235.
- Mahar** : dower. *Maharmial* : the dower given to a bride of lower origin than the bridegroom, in which he promises her not the dower ordinarily fixed for women of his own tribe, but that current in her own family. Hazāra S. R. 1874, p. 300.
- Mahl** : the ropes of a well. Multān Gr., p. 197.
- Maimāni** : a shrub, *sageretia brandrethiana*. Kohāt S. R. 1884, p. 29.
- Maira** : high land. Peshāwar S. R. 1874, p. 104.
- Māi-rāni** : rinderpest. Cf. *māta* and *māid rāni*. Multān Gr., p. 235 ; cow-pox : Mgarh. S. R., p. 35.
- Majhola** : a cooking-pot. Multān Gr., p. 82.
- Majh** : a female buffalo. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.
- Majhāsān** : a bull buffalo used for breeding. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.
- Makhāmdodai** : the evening meal. Kohāt S. R. 1884, p. 73.
- Makhan sawāi** : the flowers of the *filā* (the upper part of the stem of the *sachar-us sara*). Cf. *bullu*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.
- Makhar** : a species of mouth and foot rot ; a disease of kine. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 98.
- Makhnala** : a rain grass. Cf. *trar*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 32.
- Makhorna** : a bee-hive. Cf. *gahi* and *taun*.
- Makhrālā** : a broad-bladed succulent grass. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 15.
- Mal=pakki samin** : ordinary hard clay soil. Multān Gr., p. 192.
- Mal** : a loamy soil. See *ban*.
- Mal** : a deep loam soil free of stones. See *bela*.
- Māl** : clusters of tendrils on a date-palm. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30.
- Mala** : a roller. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 122.
- Mal mail** : a disease of kine very fatal and contagious. Cf. *pranj*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 98.
- Mala band** : a leather belt to which is attached the *talwār* and pistol. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 136.
- Malhin, malhīr** : a variety of rice. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 112.
- Malhatar** : an armed retainer among the Pathāns of Swāt and Bājaur, included among the Faqir class.
- Man** : the parapet of a well. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.
- Mandhal** : *Eleusine caracana*. Cf. *mandhwa*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.
- Mandhwa** : Cf. *mandhal*.
- Mangan** : a marriage ceremony ; the bride is rubbed by the *ndia* or barber woman with a cosmetic. Multān Gr., p. 95.

Mānjah walā : a man who sweeps down the dirt, unthreshed ears, etc., off the heap of winnowed grain. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vii.

Manja : a kind of board used as a shovel. *-mār*, the man who makes a bank with a *manja*, i. e., one who clears land and embanks it (i. q. *lathmār*), Miānwālī. Bannū S. R., 1879, p. xxxix.

Manjhār : a plant. Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.

Mannu : the small-leaved elm : used like the *kāin*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.

Man-tukhmī : a cultivator generally estimates the area of his holding by the number of maunds of seed-grain it requires. He knows no other land measure ; hence *eman-tukhmī* or *man-tukhmī* means an area requiring one maund of seed. Bannū S. R., p. xxxix.

Marhi bāndhna : to bank up sugar-cane. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.

Marōṛ kar : twisting. D. G. Khān.

Mastakhsadār : a farmer of the revenue, appointed by the Sikh Government generally over a whole village or *ilāqa* : opp. to *hāth-rakhdār*. Jhang S. R., p. 67.

Mashki : the owner of land, whose share of land is a *mashak*. Bannū S. R., p. xxxix.

Massūwāh : a small, strong breed of cattle. Multān Gr., p. 233.

Mast (adj.) : rank (used of wheat). Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 121.

Mat : silt ; the finest soil in the Kachi. Bannū S. R., p. xxxix.

Mātā rūnī : see *māi-rūnī*.

Mati : a saponine drab coloured earth. Cf. *Multānī mati*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 13.

Matta : a hard clay soil requiring plenty of water. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 156.

Mattāh : clay. Peshāwar S. R., 1874, p. 178.

Matwālīān : a breed of horses. Jhang S. R., p. 108.

Mazār : a tiger. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 74.

Memni : a kid. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.

Mendhiānwālī : a kind of wheat. Multān Gr., p. 218.

Methu : a variety of sugar-cane. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 84.

Metra : a betrothal given in exchange for blood or seduction (*udhālā*), but land is generally given along with the girl, so the term has come to be applied to the land so given (Boi tract principally). Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 156.

Mhinā : a bullock whose horns grow downwards. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.

Milk : a reddish soil of a soft texture, with very little sand and retentive of moisture, the best soil (cf. Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 291). Multān Gr., p. 192.

Millass : hair of camel. Multān Gr., p. 237.

Minjli : a skirt worn by women. Jhelum S. R., p. 54.

Mishran : the elders. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.

Mit : a share in land. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 156.

(To be continued.)

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V — XV).

Translated by

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(Continued from p. 264.)

Chapter IV.

The Conduct of a Courtier (*Anujivrittam*).

WHOSOEVER possesses enough experience of the world and its affairs may, through the influence of an interested friend, seek the favour of a king who is endowed with amiable qualities and is possessed of all the elements⁷ of sovereignty. He may court the favour of any king provided he thinks:—Just as I am in need of a patron, so is this king possessed of a taste for good advice and is of amiable character. He may even court the favour of such a king as is poor and destitute of the elements of sovereignty, but never of such a one as is of a depraved character: whoever, as a king, is destitute of good temper and amiable character cannot, by reason of his habitual hatred of the science of Polity and an inborn proclivity to evil ways, maintain his sovereignty, though he is possessed of immense sovereign power.

Having obtained admittance to an amiable king, he shall give the king instructions in sciences. Absence of contradiction from the king will render his position secure. When his opinion is sought about present or future schemes needing much thought and consideration, he may boldly and sensibly, and with no fear of contradiction from the assembly of ministers, pronounce his opinion so as to be in harmony with the principles of righteousness and economy. When required, he may answer questions on points of righteousness and economy (and tell the king:—)

“Following the rule that there should be no delay in putting down by force even a strong confederacy of wicked people, you should apply force against the wicked, if they have a strong support; do not despise my advice, character and secrets; and by means of guestures, I shall prevent you from inflicting punishments on any one, when you are going to do so either wilfully or under provocation.”

With such agreements with the king, he (a courtier) may enter on the duty assigned to him. He shall sit by the side of, and close to, the king and far from the seat of another courtier. He shall avoid speaking aly against the opinion of any member of the assembly; he shall never make incredible or false statements; nor loud laughter with no cause for jest, and loud noise and spittle. He shall also avoid talking to another in secret, mutual conversation with another in the assembly (of ministers), appearing in royal dress in the public, haughtiness, buffoonery, open request for gems and promotions, seeing with one eye, biting the lips, brow-beating, interrupting the king while speaking, enmity with a strong party, association with women, pimps, messengers of foreign kings, enemies, inimical parties, dismissed officers, and wicked people, stubborn adherence to a single purpose, and contact with any confederacy of men.

(a) Without losing the opportune moments, he should speak of the king's interest; of his own interests when in company with persons friendly to him; and of others' interests in a suitable time and place, and in conformity to the principles of righteousness and economy.

⁷ (1) Regal qualities, (2) a good minister, (3) a good territory, (4) strong forts, (5) sound finance, (6) a powerful army, (7) and an ally.

(d) When asked, he should tell the king what is both good and pleasing, but not what is bad, though pleasing; if the king is pleased to listen, he may secretly tell what, though unpleasant, is good.

(e) He may even keep silence, but should never describe what is hateful; by abstaining from talking of what the king hates, even undesirable persons have become powerful when, seeing that the king likes only pleasant things without caring for their evil consequences, they have followed his will.

(d) While laughing in jest, he should avoid loud laughter; he shall avoid evil aspersions against others, nor ascribe evil to others; he shall forgive evil done to himself and have as much forbearance as the earth.

(e) Self-protection shall be the first and constant thought of a wise man; for the life of a man under the service of a king is aptly compared to life in fire; whereas fire burns a part or the whole of the body, if at all; the king has the power either to destroy or to advance the whole family, consisting of sons and wives, of his servants.^a

Chapter V.

Time-serving (Samayāchārikam).

When employed as a minister, he (the courtier) shall show the net revenue that remains after all kinds of expenditure are met with. He shall also give the exact particulars — as this is thus — of whatever work is external, internal, secret, open, costly, or negligible. He shall follow the king in his pursuits after hunting, gambling, drinking, and sexual pleasures. Ever attending upon the king, he shall, by flattery, endeavour to arrest his fall into evil habits and save him from the intrigues, plots and deceptions of enemies. He shall also endeavour to read the mind and appearance of the king.

By way of collecting his wandering thoughts into a resolve, the king exhibits in his appearance and movements his inclination, anger, pleasure, sorrow, determination, fear, and change in the pairs of opposite feelings.

“By cognising wisdom in others, he is pleased; he attends to the speech of others; he gives a seat; allows himself to be seen in private; does not suspect in places of suspicion; takes delight in conversation; spontaneously looks to things without being reminded; tolerates what is said agreeably to reason; orders with smiling face; touches with the hand; does not laugh at what is commendable; commends the qualities of another behind him; remembers (the courtier) while taking luncheon; engages himself in sports accompanied by (the courtier); consults (the courtier) when in trouble; honours the followers of the courtier; reveals the secret; honours the courtier more and more; gives him wealth; and averts his troubles; — these are the signs of the king's satisfaction (with the courtier)”.

The reverse of the above indicates his (the king's) displeasure. Still, we shall describe them in plain terms:—

Angry appearance when the courtier is in sight; evading or refusal to hear his speech; no inclination to give him a seat or to see him; change in syllables and accents while talking to him; seeing with one eye; brow-beating; biting the lips; rise of sweat; hard breathing and smiling with no palpable cause; talking to himself; sudden bending or raising of the body; touching the body or the seat of another; molestation to another; contempt of learning, caste, and country (of the courtier); condemnation of a colleague of equal defects; condemnation of a man of opposite defects; commendation of his opponent; failure to acknowledge his good deeds; enumeration of his bad deeds; attention to whoever enters into the chamber; too much gift; uttering falsehood; change in the conduct and attitude of visitors to the king; nay, the courtier shall also note the change in the life of animals other than men.

^a a, b, c, d, e are in śloka metre.

Kātyāyana holds that this (king) showers his favours broad-cast.

Kaṇinka Bhāradvāja says that Krauncha (a bird) has moved from right to left.

Dirgha Chārāyana says that this (king) is (like) a grass.

Ghoṭāmukha says that (he is like) a wet cloth.

Kinjalka says that (he is like) an elephant pouring over water.

Pisuna is of opinion that one should declare him to be a chariot-horse.

The son of Pisuna says that mortification ensues when his opponent is courted.*

When wealth and honour are discontinued, such a king may be abandoned; or by recognising the character of the king as well as his own defects, he may rectify himself; or he may seek the protection of one of the best friends of the king.

Living with the king's friend, the courtier has to endeavour to remove, through the medium of his own friends, the defects of his master, and then come back to his original place, no matter whether the king is alive or dead.¹⁰

Chapter VI,

Consolidation of the kingdom and absolute sovereignty.

(Rājyapratīsandhānamāikāivaryam cha.)

The minister shall thus avert the calamities in which the king is involved: long before the apprehended death of the king, he shall, in concert with his friends and followers, allow visitors to the king once in a month or two (and avoid their visits on other occasions) under the plea that the king is engaged in performing such rites as are calculated to avert national calamities, or are destructive of enemies, or capable of prolonging life or of procuring a son.

On appropriate occasions, he may shew a pseudo-king not only to the people, but also to messengers coming from friends or enemies; and this (false) king shall make the minister his mouth-piece in conversing with them as deserved. And through the medium of the gate-keeper and the officer in charge of the harem, the minister shall (pretend to) receive the orders of the king. Displeasure or mercy to wrong-doers shall be shewn only indirectly.

Both the treasury and the army shall be kept under the command of two reliable and confidential persons and in a single locality, either within the fort or at the boundary of the kingdom.

Cognates, princes, and other chiefs of the royal family may be employed in works such as the capture of a chief who, employed as a commander of a fort or the tracts of wilderness, has turned inimical along with a strong band of supporters; or they may be sent on an expedition full of difficulties, or to visit the family of the king's friend.

Whoever, among the neighbouring kings, seems to threaten with an invasion may be invited for some festival, marriage, capture of elephants, purchase of horses, or of merchandise, or for taking possession of some lands ceded to him, and captured; or such an enemy may be kept at bay by an ally till an agreement of not condemnable nature is made with him; or he may be made to incur the displeasure of wild tribes or of his enemies; or whoever among his nearest relatives is kept under guard may be promised a portion of his territory and set against him.

* The meaning of the above six passages is not clearly known.

¹⁰ This is in Sloka metre.

Or with the help of nobles and princes of the king's family, the minister may have the heir-apparent installed and shew him to the public.

Or having, as pointed out in the chapter¹¹ concerning the awards of punishments, removed the throne of the kingdom, he may conduct the administration.

Or if a chief among the neighbouring kings seems to give trouble, the minister may invite him, saying "come here and I shall make thee king," and then put him to death; or he may be kept at bay by taking such measures as can ward off dangers.

Or having gradually placed the burden of administration on the shoulders of the heir-apparent, the minister may announce the death of the king to the public.

In case of the king's demise in an enemy's land, the minister, having brought about an agreement between the enemy and a friend pretending to be an enemy of the dead king, may withdraw himself; or having installed in the king's fort any one of the neighbouring kings, he may withdraw himself; or having installed the heir-apparent, he may set the army against the enemy; and when attacked by the enemy, he may take, as detailed elsewhere, such measures as can ward off dangers.

"Thus," says Kautilya,¹² "the minister shall invest himself with the powers of sovereignty."

"Not so," says Bhāradvāja; "The king lying on his death-bed, the minister may set up the princes and other chiefs of the royal family against one another or against other chiefs. Whoever attacks the kingdom may be put to death under the plea of disturbance and annoyance to the people; or having secretly punished the chief rebels of the royal family and brought them under his control, the minister shall himself take possession of the kingdom, for on account of the kingdom the father hates his sons, and sons their father; why then should the minister who is the sole prop of the kingdom (be an exception to it)? Therefore he shall never discard what has, of its own accord, fallen into his hands; for it is a general talk among the people that a woman making love of her own accord will, when discarded, curse the man.

"An¹³ opportunity will only once offer itself to a man who is waiting for it, and will not come a second time when he may be desirous of accomplishing his work.¹³"

"But it is," says Kautilya, "unrighteous to do an act which excites popular fury; nor is it an accepted rule. He shall, therefore, install over in the kingdom such a son of the king as is possessed of amiable qualities. In the absence of a prince of good character, he may place before himself a wicked prince, or a princess, or the pregnant queen, and tell the other ministers:—'This is your cast (*kshepa*); look to the father of this (boy) as well as to your own valour and descent; this (boy) is merely a flag; and yourselves are the lords; pray, how shall I act?'"

As he is saying this, others, taken in confidence before, shall say in reply:—"Who else than the one of your lead is capable of protecting the mass of the people of the four castes of the king"? Then the other ministers will certainly agree to it. Accordingly he shall install a prince, a princess, or the pregnant queen, and shew him or her to all the royal relations as well as to the

¹¹ Chapter I, Book V.

¹² The words 'Kautilya' and 'Chāṇīkyā' are also spelt as 'Kautalya,' and 'Chāṇakya,' derived as they are from *kutala* or *kutila*, and *chanaka*.

¹³ In *Rika* metre.

messengers coming from friends or enemies. He shall provide the ministers and military officers with increased subsistence and salary, promising them that "This (boy) will, after attaining full age, increase your emoluments still more." He shall likewise promise the chief officers in charge of the forts and country parts as well as the parties of both the friends and enemies. He shall then take necessary steps to educate and train the prince.

Or he may install a child begotten on the princess by a man of the same caste.

He shall keep as a representative of the prince one who is of the same family, of little valour and of beautiful appearance, lest the mother's mind may be agitated with wild apprehensions. He shall justly protect her. He shall not provide himself with luxurious means of enjoyment. As to the king, he may provide him with new chariots, horses, jewels, dress, women, and palaces.

When¹⁴ the prince comes of age, he may request the prince to relieve him from the intellectual worry. He may abandon the king, if he (the king) is displeased; and follow him if he is pleased. If he is disgusted with the ministerial life, he may go to a forest or a long sacrifice, after having informed the queen of the safeguards and persons that are employed to bring up the princes. Even if the king is held by the chiefs under their influence, the minister may, through the medium of the king's favourites, teach him the principles of polity with illustrations, taken from the *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa*. Having taken the garb of an accomplished ascetic, the minister may ingratiate himself with the king; and having brought the king under his influence, he may take coercive measure, against seditious.¹⁴

Book VI.

The Source of Sovereign States (Maṇḍalayoniḥ).

Chapter I.

The Elements of Sovereignty (Prakritisampadah).

The king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the friend are the elements of sovereignty.

Of these, the best qualities of the king are :—

Born of a high family, godly, possessed of valour, seeing through the medium of aged persons, virtuous, truthful, not of a contradictory nature, grateful, having large aims, highly enthusiastic, not addicted to procrastination, powerful to control his neighbouring kings, of resolute mind, having an assembly of ministers of no mean quality, and possessed of a taste for discipline; — these are the qualities of an inviting nature.

Inquiry, hearing, perception, retention in memory, reflection, deliberation, inference, and steadfast adherence to conclusions are the qualities of the intellect.

Valour, determination of purpose, quickness, and probity are the aspects of enthusiasm.

Possessed of a sharp intellect, strong memory, and keen mind, energetic, powerful, trained in all kinds of arts, free from vice, capable of paying in the same coin by way of awarding punishments or rewards, possessed of dignity, capable of taking remedial measures against dangers, possessed of foresight, ready to avail himself of opportunities when afforded in respect of place, time, and manly efforts, clever enough to discern the causes necessitating the cessation of treaty or war with an enemy, or to lie in wait keeping treaties, obligations and pledges, or to avail himself of his enemy's weak points, making jokes with no loss of dignity or secrecy, never brow-beating and casting haughty and stern looks, free from passion, anger, greed, obstinacy, fickleness, haste and back-biting habits, talking to others with a smiling face, and observing customs as taught by aged persons; — such is the nature of self-possession.

¹⁴ In *Shloka* metre.

The qualifications of a minister have already been described.¹⁵

Possessed of capital cities both in the centre and the extremities of the kingdom, productive of subsistence not only to its own people, but also to outsiders on occasions of calamities, repulsive to enemies, powerful enough to put down neighbouring kings, free from miry, rocky, uneven, and desert tracts as well as from conspirators, tigers, wild beasts, and large tracts of wilderness, beautiful to look at, containing fertile lands, mines, timber and elephant forests, and pasture grounds, artistic, containing hidden passages, full of cattle, not depending upon rain for water, possessed of land and waterways, rich in various kinds of commercial articles, capable of bearing the burden of a vast army and heavy taxation, inhabited by agriculturists of good character, full of intelligent masters and servants, and with a population noted for its loyalty and good character; — these are the qualities of a good country.

The excellent qualities of forts have already been described.¹⁶

Justly obtained either by inheritance or by self-acquisition, rich in gold and silver, filled with an abundance of big gems of various colours and of gold coins, and capable to withstand calamities of long duration is the best treasury.

Coming down directly from father and grandfather (of the king), ever strong, obedient, happy in keeping their sons and wives well contented, not averse to making a long sojourn, ever and everywhere invincible, endowed with the power of endurance, trained in fighting various kinds of battles, skilful in handling various forms of weapons, ready to share in the weal or woe of the king, and consequently not falling foul of him, and purely composed of soldiers of Kshatriya caste, is the best army.

Coming down directly from father and grandfather, long-standing, open to conviction, never falling foul, and capable of making preparations for war quickly and on a large scale, is the best friend.

Not born of a royal family, greedy, possessed of a mean assembly of ministers, with disloyal subjects, ever doing unrighteous acts, of loose character, addicted to mean pleasures, devoid of enthusiasm, trusting to fate, indiscreet in action, powerless, helpless, impotent, and ever injurious, is the worst enemy. Such an enemy is easily uprooted.

(a) Excepting the enemy, these seven elements, possessed of their excellent characteristics are said to be the limb-like elements of sovereignty.

(b) A wise king can make even the poor and miserable elements of his sovereignty happy and prosperous; but a wicked king will surely destroy the most prosperous and loyal elements of his kingdom.

(c) Hence a king of unrighteous character and of vicious habits will, though he is an emperor, fall a prey either to the fury of his own subjects or to that of his enemies.

(d) But a wise king, trained in politics, will, though he possesses a small territory, conquer the whole earth with the help of the best-fitted elements of his sovereignty, and will never be defeated.¹⁷

¹⁵ Chapter 9, Book I.

¹⁶ Chapter 2, Book II.

¹⁷ a, b, c and d are in Sloka metres.

Chapter II.

Concerning Peace and Exertion.

(Samavyāyāṁikam.)

Acquisition and security (of property) are dependent upon peace and industry.

Efforts to achieve the results of works undertaken is industry (*vyāyāma*).

Absence of disturbance to the enjoyment of the results achieved from works is peace.

The application of the sixfold royal policy is the source of peace and industry.

Deterioration, stagnation, and progress are the three aspects of position.

Those causes of human make which affect position are policy and impolicy (*śāya* and *apāśāya*); fortune and misfortune (*śāya* and *apāśāya*) are providential causes. Causes, both human and providential, govern the world and its affairs.

What is unforeseen is providential; here, the attainment of that desired end which seemed almost lost is (termed) fortune.

What is anticipated is human; and the attainment of a desired end as anticipated is (due to) policy.

What produces unfavourable results is impolicy. This can be foreseen; but misfortune due to providence cannot be known.

The king who, being possessed of good character and best-fitted elements of sovereignty, is the fountain of policy, is termed the conqueror.

The king who is situated anywhere immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is termed the enemy.

The king who is likewise situated close to the enemy, but separated from the conqueror only by the enemy, is termed the friend (of the conqueror).

A neighbouring foe of considerable power is styled an enemy; and when he is involved in calamities or has taken himself to evil ways, he becomes assailable; and when he has little or no help, he becomes destructible; otherwise (*i. e.*, when he is provided with some help), he deserves to be harassed or reduced. Such are the aspects of an enemy.

In front of the conqueror and close to his enemy, there happen to be situated kings such as the conqueror's friend, next to him, the enemy's friend, and next to the last, the conqueror's friend's friend, and next, the enemy's friend's friend.

In the rear of the conqueror, there happen to be situated a rearward enemy (*pārśhāgrāha*), a rearward friend (*ākraṇḍa*), an ally of the rearward enemy (*pārśhāgrāhāsāra*), and an ally of the rearward friend (*ākraṇḍāsāra*).

That foe who is equally of high birth and occupies a territory close to that of the conqueror is a natural enemy; while he who is merely antagonistic and creates enemies to the conqueror is a factitious enemy.

He whose friendship is derived from father and grandfather, and who is situated close to the territory of the immediate enemy of the conqueror is a natural friend; while he whose friendship is courted for self-maintenance is an acquired friend.

The king who occupies a territory close to both the conqueror and his immediate enemy in front and who is capable of helping both the kings, whether united or disunited, or of resisting either of them individually is termed a Madhyama (mediatory) king.

He who is situated beyond the territory of any of the above kings and who is very powerful and capable of helping the enemy, the conqueror, and the Madhyama king together or individually, or of resisting any of them individually, is a neutral king (*uddana*), — these are the (twelve) primary kings.

The conqueror, his friend, and his friend's friend are the three primary kings constituting a circle of states. As each of these three kings possesses the five elements of sovereignty, such as the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, and the army, a circle of states consists of eighteen elements. Thus, it needs no commentary to understand that the (three) circles of states having the enemy (of the conqueror), the Madhyama king, or the neutral king at the centre of each of the three circles, are different from that of the conqueror. Thus there are four primary circles of states, twelve kings, sixty elements of sovereignty, and seventy-two elements of states.¹⁸

Each of the twelve primary kings shall have their elements of sovereignty, power and end. Strength is power, and happiness is the end.

Strength is of three kinds : power of deliberation is intellectual strength ; the possession of a prosperous treasury and a strong army is the strength of sovereignty ; and martial power is physical strength.

The end is also of three kinds : that which is attainable by deliberation is the end of deliberation ; that which is attainable by the strength of sovereignty is the end of sovereignty ; and that which is to be secured by perseverance is the end of martial power.

The possession of power and happiness in a greater degree makes a king superior to another ; in a less degree, inferior ; and in an equal degree, equal. Hence a king shall always endeavour to augment his own power and elevate his happiness.

A king who is equal to his enemy in the matter of his sovereign elements shall, in virtue of his own righteous conduct or with the help of those who are hostile or conspiring against his enemy, endeavour to throw his enemy's power into the shade ; or if he thinks : —

"That my enemy, possessed as he is of immense power, will, yet in the near future, hurt the elements of his own sovereignty, by using contumelious language, by inflicting severe punishments, and by squandering his wealth ; that though attaining success for a time, yet he will blindly take himself to hunting, gambling, drinking, and women ; that as his subjects are disaffected, himself powerless and haughty, I can overthrow him ; that when attacked, he will take shelter with all his paraphernalia into a fort or elsewhere ; that possessed as he is of a strong army, he will yet fall into my hands, as he has neither a friend nor a fort to help him ; that a distant king is desirous to put down his own enemy, and also inclined to help me to put down my own assailable enemy when my resources are poor ; or that I may be invited as a Madhyama king," — for these reasons, the conqueror may allow his enemy to grow in strength and to attain success for the time being.

(a) Throwing the circumference of the circle of states beyond his friend's territory, and making the kings of those states as the spokes of that circle, the conqueror shall make himself as the nave of that circle.

(b) A reducible or a conquerable enemy will, when placed between a conqueror and the conqueror's friend, appear to be growing in strength.¹⁹

(To be continued.)

¹⁸ (1) The conqueror's circle of states ; (2) the enemy's circle of states ; (3) The Madhyama king's circle of states ; (4) the neutral king's circle of states. As each of the twelve primary kings has five elements of sovereignty, the total number of elements is sixty. These sixty elements with the twelve kings amount to seventy-two elements.

¹⁹ a and b are in sloka metre.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from p. 276.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Mithā kallar : a synonym for *kallarāthi* soil.**Moghal** : a kind of date. Multān Gr., p. 228.**Moh** : a variety of fish. Multān Gr., p. 23.**Mohra** : a hamlet. Cf. *dhok*.**Mokabba** : a covered dish. Multān Gr., p. 247.**Mori** : a fish, the *cirrhinus nurigala*. Bannā S. R., 1899, p. xxxvi.**Morniān** : a breed of horses. Jhang S. R., 108.**Moti bind** : literally 'pearl drops,' a kind of snake. Mgarh, S. R., p. 42.**Motrā** : a disease of horses. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.

Moyajora : 'the share of the dead pair' — a due taken by the *lathāsad* on account of the oxen, supposed to be dead, by which the field was originally *lath*'ed; D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 107. — **murtahin** : the share out of the *rehkam* paid by old cultivators to the *nidwaddr*; *Ibid*, p. 150.

Mukā : an upper sheet worn by boys. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxi.

Mukat : a silver crown put on the bridegroom's head on his wedding day. Multān Gr., p. 93

Mulki : a hereditary or permanent tenant, opp. to *khulā*. (q. v.)**Multāni matt** : a saponine drab-coloured earth. Cf. *matt*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 13.**Mund** : the head of a torrent or distributary. Cf. *saropa*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 103.**Mundai sarkai** : a beardless wheat. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 121.**Mundi** : indigo plants in their second year. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 111.**Mundhi** : the second year's crop of indigo. Multān Gr., p. 213.**Munggali** : the handle of a straw-chopper. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iv.

Mungri : add to Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 297. A flattish dish for holding liquids, smaller than the *chawāl* (= *katori*). Multān Gr., p. 83.

Munjhal : a grass. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 15.**Munjkanā** : a name wrongly used for the *bud* (*saccharum sara*). Mgarh, S. R., p. 33.**Munna** : a slant-handed plough. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 65.**Munnakka** : a superior kind of grape. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.**Munnān** : the pillars on which the upper beam of a well rests. Multān Gr., p. 197.

Munniwāla gāh : threshing a crop by fixing a stake in the middle and tying one or more yoke of cattle by a rope to it and driving them round and round over the crop. Multān Gr., p. 210.

Mūra : a small present of money received by the boy's relations from those of the girl to complete the betrothal. Multān Gr., p. 93.

Murkhai = bunga.

Mushk paint : to infect. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.

Mustājiri : the lease of land. Multān Gr., p. 179.

Mustaki : a permanent *inām*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 235.

Mutai : a share : Cf. *muti*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 156.

Mūthaiyā : a peglet fastened into the upright shaft of the handle of a plough, which the ploughman grasps. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.

Muthi : a share. Cf. *mutai*.

Nagarai : an iron tripod on which the cooking pot is placed over the fire. Kohāt S. R. 1884, p. 74.

Nagha : the fine or commutation charged for absence at the time of a canal clearance Bannū S. R., p. xl.

Nāghan : a wheaten cake. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 73.

Nain : a large torrent ; (Diack's S. R., p. 3). Cf. *khaur*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 3.

Nālthel : a drill plough. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.

Nālī nāl : to sow with the drill. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vi.

Nalla : a deep loam soil free of stones. See *bela*.

Nalli : a variety of date : Multān Gr., p. 228.

Namāshān : evening. Multān Gr., p. 256.

Namdabāna : *lit.*, 'pressing in the damp' : the process of ploughing land again and again and thus enabling it to absorb the rainfall and economise moisture. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 121.

Nandap : a cotton-cleaner. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.

Nāngni : *kodr* or *mandwa*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 112.

Nar : a name of the Sutlej River. Multān Gr., p. 6.

Nārā : a variety of barley. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. ix.

Nardūr : the bittern. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.

Nārī : a common kind of barley. Jhang S. R., p. 88.

Nārī : See *bela*.

Nari jowār : the lesser millet ; the ordinary *jowār* of the Panjab. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 122.

Nashī : a necklet. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 42.

Nāsib : the tenant, of a garden, who does the whole planting and construction in return for a share of the produce. Multān Gr., p. 225.

Nauka : four small rectangular beds of soil. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 26.

Nawā : a mill trough. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 273.

Nawighri : adoration of the planets at a wedding. Multān Gr., p. 93.

Nāwin sam : 9th share, i.e., a rent of four-ninths. Multān Gr., p. 181.

Nazar bakrā : a cess. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 82.

Nazar mukaddami : a fee levied on an unusually good crop. Mgarh. S. R., p. 94.

Negar : a deep loam soil free of stones. See *bela*.

Nian : the spring crop usually called *hārā*.

Niāwa : the sum of money advanced by a middleman to the proprietors on taking over the management of land. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 150; —*dār* : the middleman who advances *nīdās*.

Nihal : planting out of rice. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 124.

Nikkt : a variety of wheat. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.

Nil būti : wild indigo. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.

Nimāsha : the time from sunset to twilight. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.

Nimbāt : half a sale, i. e., a mortgage. Bannū S. R., p. xl.

Nimhai : a unit of measurement, Dir, etc.

Nimkara : a rent of half the produce. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 159.

Nimkarawal : a tenant who supplies his own seed and oxen. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 91.

Niras : *lit.*, 'small;' the ordinary sheaf, as opposed to *saras*, the reaper's sheaf. Cf. also *kārcūn*. Jhang S. R., p. 98.

Nirgi : a mallard. Mgarh. S. R., p. 39.

Nirwārū : a man who assists in the division of grain, clearing it off as it is weighed out by the *dhawālī* : from *nirwār*, justice. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 370.

Nisār : the longer conduit on a Persian wheel. (Cf. Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 306). Multān Gr., p. 197.

Nishānī : token. Jhelum S. R., p. 57.

Nistar : a three-bladed knife with which incisions are made in poppy heads. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vii.

Niwarū : a cess. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 84.

Nolon : a mungoose. Mgarh. S. R., p. 36.

Nonak : a grass (*sporobolus diander*). Multân Gr., p. 19.

Nukka : the ledge of the Sândal Bâr. Jhang S. R., p. 2.

Nûnâr : a salt manufacturer. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 12.

Ôa : the last day's cotton-picking allowed to *hamîns* (village servants). Monty. S. R., p. 30.

Odi : a measure of capacity. Peshâwar S. R., 1878, p. 140.

Ogi : see *odi*.

Oral = *baharbadî*, q. v. : a *jhalâr* having a few pots only, but of a large size. Multân Gr., p. 205.

Oza : a dry measure=the Panjabi *topa*. Cf. *kashrâ* and *kâsa*. Kohât. S. R., 1884, p. 128.

Pâ : add at Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.* p. 54 : =4 *shâraks*, in measuring wood. Multân Gr., p. 257.

Pachheti : late (of cultivation, i. e., sowing after 15th Sawan). Cf. *agatri*.

Pachhi : a man specially employed in puncturing the capsules of the poppy and manufacturing opium ; he is paid one-fifth of the opium made before its division between landlord and tenant. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 108.

(P) **Pachhu** : a receptacle for ornaments.

Padam : a kind of snake. Mgarh. S. R., n. 49

Pag : see *jhûrî*.

Pâh : add to Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 56 : ordinary cattle manure, while on the well before it is put in the land. Multân Gr., p. 208. Cf. *âhî*.

Pâh : alum. D. G. Khân-Gr., p. 12.

Fahal chhalla : the first month of the rains. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 74.

Pâhî : an alum miner. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 12.

Pâhî-kasht : outside cultivators. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 215.

Pai : a weight=16 *seers*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 20.

Pain warkh : tail of the irrigation or lower field. Peshâwar S. R., 1874, p. 272.

Painâ : lower down, with reference to flow of water : opposed to *sarobah*. Bannû S. R., p. xi.

Paina ; Pushto=pand : tail. See *saropa-paina*. D. G. Khân Gr., p. 103.

Pai path : *lit.*, one *pai* in the *path* ; a specific rate of *hagg zamîndârî*. Cf. *adh-seera man*.

Pail : a single-headed pick, with a wooden handle, used to break up soil on narrow hill terraces where the plough cannot work. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 96.

Pair pakrah : a custom at weddings; the bride's family tie a rope to the bridegroom's leg until he is bought off by his father for Rs. 1-4, 2 or 5. Gujrāt S. R., p. 48.

Pakh : a sail (not 'soil' as in *P. Dy.*, p. 848). Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxiv.

Pakhi : a shed of *tili* screens. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xix.

Paksha : a clay sod, used as a brick for building. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 72.

Pakkapāni : water in a well that remains constant and does not diminish much when the well is worked. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.

Pakki : a clay soil, Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxiii. *zamān* : the ordinary hard clay soil, Cf. *mal*. Multān Gr., p. 192.

Pala log : the Gujar owners who pay a tax called *rama-shumārī* (flock counting) are locally so-called. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 252.

Palla : a wattled stack. Cf. *dhusa*. Multān Gr., p. 82.

Palosi : camel thorn. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 16.

Paludar : *Picea Webbiana*, a tall, straight, handsome tree. Cf. *renar*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 10.

Pamman : a kind of wheat. Multān Gr., p. 218.

Panā : (i) clay from the canal spoil banks; (ii) sand from the Thal sand-hills. Mgarh. S. R., p. 75.

Pand : tail, of a torrent or distributary. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 103.

Pānt : canal water only. Multān Gr., p. 199.

Pānjā : a rake with wooden teeth used in dressing the boundaries of fields. Cf. *panjhathi* and *jandra*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 96.

Panjōn : a division of produce, so that the proprietor gets two shares and the cultivators three. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.

Panjhathi : a rake. See *pānja*.

Panrākā : a small repast. Multān Gr., p. 86.

Pāpra : a small plant, about a foot high, with purple flowers. Multān Gr., p. 208.

Par : work on salt. Jhelum S. R., p. 71.

Para=bhargar : a ravine. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 104.

Parāhi : a kind of fish (*chola-gora*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 40.

Paroha : matting. Mgarh. S. R., p. 9.

Parchh : l. q. : *phāri* and *traddi*, q. v.

Parohhā : the small conduit into which the pots on a Persian wheel pour the water. Multān Gr., p. 197.

Pargandai : mud. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 124.

Parkatal : the child of a woman by her first husband. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 264.

Parkauri : a kind of prisoner's base. Gujrāt, S. R., p. 91.

Parri : a fish, the *notoptherus kapirot*. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxxvi.

Partug : loose pajāmas. Peshāwar S. R., 1874, p. 185.

Parūnai : dower. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 137.

Pastawanai : a tree, found in the upper valleys. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.

Pat : hard clay. Multān S. R., 1880, p. 3.

Patchir (*division of land*) : acquisition of land by original tribal division. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 78.

Path : (i) a grain measure of 25 standard maunds, Bannū S. R., p. xl ; (ii) a weight = 32 maunds. Mgarh. S. R., p. 20.

Pathā lagnā : to shrivel up. Cf. *paṭhā*, Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 58. Multān Gr., p. 226.

Patrāli : a plant. Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.

Patol : a kind of fish. Mgarh. S. R., p. 40.

Pattadārs : leasees who paid fixed sums in cash for the wells cultivated by them. Mgarh. S. R., p. 84.

Pattari : a kind of *bhāsa* made of the leaves of pulses, such as *moth*. Jhang S. R., p. 93.

Pawanji : a tax of 5 per cent. on sales of cattle, levied by the *rdt* for providing protection in time of danger. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 18.

Pāya : husband. Cf. *piḍā*, Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 77. Multān.

Peghla : a virgin. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 137.

Peshiwela : the time from 2 to 3 p. m. Jhelum S. R., p. 56.

Pet : the bed of a river. Jhang S. R., p. 9.

Peto : an account of : in *sabukars'* language.

Phabhanān : a breed of horses. Jhang S. R., p. 108.

Phakkah : grain which a blacksmith or cobbler receives at the spring and autumn harvests. Gujrāt S. R., p. 41.

Phal jhalla : rain after June 15th. Gujrāt S. R., p. 14.

Phalhā : a threshing frame. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iv.

- Phali**: a saucer-shaped platter of *tālā*-wood. Jhelum S. R., p. 73.
- Phalli**: the section of a tribe. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 62.
- Phalsi**: (*Grewia asiatica*), a small currant-like bush yielding a small acid berry about the end of May. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 113.
- Phalsira**: a concoction of *sira* and sugar, cooked in *ghī*. Multān Gr., p. 90.
- Phamban**: a kind of wheat (not often met with). Jhang S. R., 1874-80, p. 87.
- Phambi**: a soil, somewhat richer than the *gas*, *q. s.* Multān Gr., p. 92.
- Phara-bhūtrā**, *q. v.*: the pinna of the date-palm. Multān G. R., p. 228.
- Pharā**: the pinna of a date-tree. Mgarh S. R., p. 31.
- Pharman**: *Tamarix articulata*. Cf. *farāsh* and *akhān*. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 7.
- Phara**: a heavy mass of wood and straw. -*uālā gāh*: the threshing of a crop by yoking a heavy mass of wood and straw behind each pair of cattle. Multān Gr., p. 210.
- Phatt**: a sort of *sundri* (ring), with a shield on it. Mgarh. S. R., p. 69.
- Pheh**: a long-handled wooden shovel, tipped with iron. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 96.
- Phepri**: pleuro-pneumonia in sheep. Multān. Gr., p. 237.
- Phikari**: a disease of sheep and goats, very fatal and contagious. Cf. *phirikhi*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 98.
- Phirāk**: a barren cow or buffalo. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xvii.
- Phirikhi**: a disease of sheep and goats. See *phikari*.
- Phit-sain**: a common grass much appreciated by buffaloes and horned cattle. It is coarse and grows in a spiky sort of way. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 25.
- Phul**: a charm. Multān Gr., p. 117.
- Phul chunnan**: a ceremony in which the *mirdān* places a flock of cotton on the bride's head and the bridegroom blows it away seven times. Mgarh. S. R., p. 70.
- Phulmāla**: a necklet. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 42.
- Phuro**: matting. Mgarh. S. R., p. 9.
- Phūri**: a coarse palm mat, i. *q. parchā* and *traddi*. Multān Gr., p. 82.
- Phus**: dates which fall from the tree. Multān Gr., p. 227.
- Phuta kā rupiyā**: a fee of Rs. 10 taken by the chief of a tribe for recovering the stolen property of a dependent. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 18.
- Phutāki**: brushwood. Jhelum S. R., p. 19.
- Piāsa**: an Indian corncake. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 73.

Pichhain : a meal taken in the afternoon. Mgarh. S. R., p. 62.

Pichhāwān dhal'e : 2 p. m. Cf. *dopahar dhal'e*. Multān Gr., p. 256.

Pilahan : a grass (*andropogon annulatus*). Cf. *pilādhan*. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 9.

Pilwāhan : a grass. Cf. *pilahan*.

Pin : a socket and iron plate by which the blade is attached to the handle of a plough, Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.

Pinn : a pot of butter. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xviii. Cf. the verse. *Jad charhiyā Agath, nau naza pānī hath* : *Māhīn pinn walettīān, wāgīn gohā hath*. When Agath arose the water, which was nine spears deep, sank to one cubit ; the female buffalo herds were rolling about pots of butter ; the female cowherds got nothing but cow-dung. Agath is said to be a star that rises in Aśū. The Dictionary says, it is a storm that usually winds up the rainy season. The meaning is that, cows milk well only in the rains ; while buffaloes' milk yields little butter till after them.

Pinn : dates pressed together into a lump. Multān Gr., p. 228.

Piotra : paternal. (?) share of property by right of agnatic descent. D. G. Khān.

Piplī : a plant. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.

Pir : a disease of buffaloes. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xvi.

Pirkaudi : a kind of prisoners case. Cf. *kauḍī kabaddī*. Multān Gr., p. 100.

Pish : the dwarf palm (*chamacrope Ritchiana*). D. G. Khān Gr., p. 15.

Piskot : a four-handed variety of playing-cards. Multān Gr., p. 100.

Pitāo : the sunny slope ; the southern slope of a range of hills. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 26.

Plandar : a step-father. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 264.

Ponah : a chaff-sifter. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 81.

Pons-ohaji : a chaff-sifter. Cf. *chura*. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 370.

Poris : proprietorship acquired by manual labour. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 79.

Pourchi : a bracelet. Multān Gr., p. 89.

Prācha (parācha) : a Muhammadan shop-keeper. Sirsa S. R., p. 71.

Prāl or prāli : dry straw of rice, *chīnd*, *hangat*, and *sawānk*. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xi.

Prāng : a variegated pigeon. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 31.

Franj : a disease of kine. See *mal mail*.

Prācha : (i) a lot or share of land. Cf. *bakhra* and *brakha*. (ii) an unit of measurement, Dir, etc.

Pullāni : a plover. Mgarh. S. R., p. 39.

Punni : a variety of cotton. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 81.

- Purāf** : a 3-year old she-camel. Jhang S. R., p. 111.
- Putreta** : a bridegroom's near relation. Multān Gr., p. 96.
- Rafa** : the grain that remains after the heap of corn has been removed. Cf. *anganī and talwera*. Multān S. R., p. 21.
- Rafad** : water thick with mud ; *karnā* ; to plough up rice-fields when under water, preparatory to sowing broadcast. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. vi.
- Rahnā** : (i) a hamlet, the head-quarters of a camel graziar, as opposed to *jhok*, *q. v.*, (ii).
- Rahnāh** : a cluster of *dharāhs*. Multān S. R., 1878-80, p. 15.
- Rāhū** (P = *rohū*) : a kind of fish. Mgarh. S. R., p. 40.
- Rain** : wild goat (= *goral*). Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.
- Rakab** : an earthen dish in which cooked food is served. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 74.
- Rakh** : a charm put on the grain before division to preserve it from goblins (*bhūts*). Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.
- Rakhā** : a watcher hired to watch the fruit of a date tree ; a forest guard in Kāngra. Mgarh. S. R., p. 30.
- Rakhāt** : the pay of a watchman of date-palms, equal to one-twelfth of the produce of the trees. Jhang S. R., p. 169.
- Rakhi karnā** : to watch (a field). Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. v.
- Rakhmina** : *lit.*, 'silky land' ; a soft clayey soil with a slight mixture of sand. Kohāt S. R. 1884, p. 156.
- Rakmāt** : a cess. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 82.
- Ramak** : true white wheat. Multān Gr., p. 218.
- Rām rām** : the same as *mīlāf*. Multān Gr., p. 93.
- Rang ki bāzi** : a three-handed variety of playing-cards. Multān Gr., p. 100.
- Rangar** : scattered, sparse. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vi.
- Rappar** : a very hard clay soil, only slightly better than the *kappar*. (Cf. *rap, rapar*, Jakes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 173). Multān Gr., p. 192.
- Rārī** : a vetch-like creeping plant which grows among Rabi crops. Multān Gr., p. 208.
- Rārī** : a piece of wood between the *nasār* and *pārcāha* on which the latter rests. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiii.
- Rasaula** : a disease of horses. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.
- Rasham** : a useless plant (*pluchea lanceolata*). Multān Gr., p. 19.
- Rāshī** : Pathāns belonging to the labouring class. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 107.
- Rasm mulk** : see *sharmāna*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 77.
- Rat** : a disease of sheep. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.
- Rāt** : a powerful man, a dacoit : a term applied to a tribal leader. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 18.
- Rātachar** (= *rātarchāri* ?) : Gujrat S. R., p. 49.

Bātarchārī : the custom of distributing money to *mīrāsīs* at weddings. Cf. *dar.* Gujrāt S. R., p. 42.

Batti-chigārī : a red-bearded wheat, the commonest of all, especially on *sailāb* lands. Jhang S. R., p. 87.

Bāwa : a synonym for the Bār tract. Good soil if supplied with water is called *rāwa suhāwa* or 'married,' and bad soil is called *rāwa rund*, or widowed. Multān Gr., p. 193.

Beri (pl. *ān*) : the sticks that connect the ropes of a well. Multān Gr., p. 197.

Beshan : a plant. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.

Betā : sand thrown up by a river. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxiv.

Betti : a soil in which sand largely preponderates. Cf. *tapli.* Mgarh. S. R., p. 26.

Bewar : the *picea webbiana* (in Kāgān). Cf. *paludar.*

Bichh : a variety of date-palm. Multān Gr., p. 228.

Rik : a disease of camels. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.

Rikhi : violent diarrhoea, in sheep. Multān Gr., p. 237.

Riza-talli : a share admitted by consent ; a share transferred from the branch of the tribe, to which it genealogically belongs, to another branch. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 156.

Rod kōhi : land irrigated by channels from hill torrents in the flood season, D. I. Khān S. R., p. 6 ; *pānt*, an autumn flood, D. G. Khān Gr., p. 98.

Rora : a roller made of wood. Jhang S. R., p. 83.

Rorah : a hard stiff clay of dark colour ; it absorbs water with difficulty, and is best used for growing rice. Cf. *sikand.* Multān S. R., 1880, p. 6.

Rorāwālā kallar : a synonym for *rori* soil. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 64.

Rot lagānā : to plant out young plants of rice, etc. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. vi.

Roti weia : see *dopra.* Multān Gr., p. 256.

Rowan : beans. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.

Rū : a variety of cotton. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. x.

Rudkol : torrent flow. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 9.

Sachh : a stratum of water-giving sand. Multān Gr., p. 195.

Safeda : a variety of rice. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. ix.

Sāhpiṭṭa : a kind of snake said to drink the breath of sleeping persons. Cf. *sālang vāsak.* Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.

Saihinak : a kneading dish. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xx.

Sain : a common grass, like *phitsain*, *q. v.*

Sajji : the owner of the land under a canal. Bannū S. R., p. xl.

Sakhi : see *dohā.* Multān Gr., p. 93.

MISCELLANEA.

THE SONG OF SINDHU BIR.¹*A Song of the Gaddi women, the Shepherdess of the outer Himalayas, Panjāb.*

BY H. A. ROSE.

Text.

- 1 Lohē Lohān Pālā !
Bhūmi Bhūmi Pālā !
- 2 Ghaṭ ghaṭ Pālā meriyā,
Sanglīn Sanglīn Pālā !
- 3 Ghaṭ pahṛe thān, mere devā,
Satwen tū rehndā Patālen.²
- 4 Ghaṭ dājre thān, mere devā,
Tū rehndā padhriā Kashmirā.
- 5 Phīr Kāsiā Kashmirā, mere devā,
Tū rehndā Kāsiā Kashmirā.
- 6 Ghaṭ tijre thān, mere devā,
Kukṭī tū qere lāe.
- 7 Ghaṭ bārān phātīān de Rāje devā,
Jātrā jo teriā āe.
- 8 Ghaṭ deviān māyān, mere devā,
Jātrā jo teriā āiyān.
- 9 Ghaṭ Rārī Brārī, mere devā,
Jātrā jo teriā āiyān.
- 9a Ghaṭ Andlā Sandlā māyān,
Jātrā pāiyān, devā jātrā pāiyān.
- 10 Chāhri, Chhatrāhri, mere devā,
Jātrā jo teriā āiyān.
- 11 Ghaṭ lahul nachdīyān Lahliyān,
Bhaṭ bich āp Bharmānī.
- 12 Ghaṭ satyo Banāspatiyān māi,
Teriā jātrā jo āiyānā.

Translation.

- 1 O thou, Lohē Pāl !³
O thou, Bhūmi Pāl !
- 2 O thou, my Pāl, at every place,
O thou, Sanglīn Pāl !⁴
- 3 In the first place, my god,
Thou residest in the seventh Patāl.
- 4 In the second place, my god,
Thou livest in flat Kashmir.
- 5 Then in Kāsi, and, again in Kashmir, my god
Thou settlest in Kāsi and Kashmir.
- 6 In the third place, my god,
Thou fixedest thy lodging at Kukṭī.⁵
- 7 There Rājās of the twelve phāṭis,⁶
Came to worship thee.
- 8 Goddesses and mothers, my god,
Came as pilgrims to thee.
- 9 Rārī and Brārī, my god,⁷
Came on a pilgrimage to thee.
- 9a Andlā and Sandlā,⁸ goddesses,
Came to visit thee, O god, came to visit thee.
- 10 Chāhri and Chhatrāhri,⁹ my god,
Came to adore thee.
- 11 Women of Lahul dance in Lahul,¹⁰
The goddess Bharmānī¹¹ dances in Bhat.
- 12 All the seven Banāspatiyān,¹²
Came for adoration to thee.

¹ Sindhu Bir or the Whistling Hero is doubtless an emanation of Śiva. For an account of his cult, see the *Punjab Census Rep.*, 1902, p. 130 ; the *Kāngra Dist. Gazetteer*, 1904 or the forthcoming *Gazetteer of Chamba*.

² Lohān; pl. of loh, metal and Lohē or Lohān Pāl is said to mean 'Lord of Metals.'

³ Sanglīn Pāl; the sangal is an iron chain used in flagellating devotees. Sindhū Bir is said to have a chain always with him, and his votaries also keep one at their homes. Hence Sindhū is Lord of Chains, as well as of Metals, and of the earth as Bhūmi Pāl.

⁴ 'Thou dwellest in all the seven lower regions,' and the poem goes on to describe the Bir's flittings from Kashmir to Benares, etc.

⁵ Kukṭī: the well-known pass in Chamba. Sindhū's votaries are numerous in its neighbourhood.

⁶ Phāṭi: a pargana. The term is also used in Kullū for the subdivision of a *keṭhī* or pargana. Here it appears to mean a principality.

⁷ Rārī and Brārī are two goddesses worshipped in Chamba, but subservient to Sindhū.

⁸ Andlā and Sandlā are also goddesses in the hills, but the exact locality of their cult is not known.

⁹ Chāhri and Chhatrāhri are also two goddesses worshipped in Chamba. The duality of these three pairs of goddesses calls to mind the duality of the Bhis, the two wives of the Mīn: see *Is the Cult of Mīn Bhis Phallic?* *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXXVI, ante, p. 52. For the phallic origin and aspect of Śiva, see the recent article in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, VIII, pp. 191, et seq (1909).

¹⁰ Sindhū Bir is said to be well-known and worshipped in Lahul and he affects mountainous regions generally. He also becomes enamoured of fair maidens, and they dance with him.

¹¹ Bharmānī a goddess of Barmaur in Chamba. She has also a temple in Bhūṭin and she too dances with Sindhū. Bhaṭ (sic) = Bhūṭin.

¹² Banāspatiyān: lit., 'vegetables'; all the seven kinds of vegetation.

- 13 Sôhá sôhá mai sâluâ lândiân,
Keart tilk hai lâl.
- 14 Bupnâ Buhârî mere bâwâ,
Kheino dâ bhârî.
- 15 Ghat bârân serân dâ ðorâ merâ,
Aþhârân serân dâ choîâ.
- 16 Dhâkâ¹³ nawâri mere mitrâ,
Dandruen dawâri.
- 17 Ghaþ gbâgghîâ ðopiâ lânde,
Ghagghî topl hai lâl.
- 18 Ghat dhârân¹⁴ bhankhârân mere devâ,
Singhnâ ralkânde.
- 19 Bheðîân lalkânde, mere devâ,
Bakriân chrânde.
- 20 Ghaþ thandre thande nâlen, mere devâ,
Bansri bajânde.
- 21 Jân kalâsen lânde, devâ,
Jan kalâsen lânde.
- 22 Ghaþ chbunâ chbhû merîâ Lahulnâ,
Ghaþ chhna chbhuhârî lânde.
- 23 Chharupûen pâni pînde, devâ,
Chharupûen þhandâ pâni pînde.
- 24 Ghaþ badhni ghamâi, mere chachunâ,
Lahaulen desain deni.
- 25 Lahaulen desain basdâ Lakhnû Gadetû,
Lakhnû jo deni, mere chachunâ, Lakhnuen jo deni.
- 26 Ghaþ thathlunâ ghrâtâ,
Tera landhar chaliâ âtâ.
- 27 Ghaþ sat path sattûn phakdi,
Aukan pîndi pâni.
- 28 Ghaþ chhotrie Gadetû,
Dâhbi lambi landi bîni.
- 29 Ghat pathki lândi kodrândâ,
Bhumbhak²⁰ rasdâ bîni.
- 13 Red fine cloth they wear,
And paint a saffron *tilak* on the foreheads.
- 14 *Bûrâ buhârî*,¹⁵ my god,
Thou art fond of playing.
- 15 Of twelve seers my *ðorâ*,¹⁶
Of eighteen seers my *choîâ*.
- 16 *Nawâr* round thy waist, my friend,
And a window in thy teeth.¹⁷
- 17 Thou puttest on the *ghagghî* cap,¹⁷
Thou hast worn the *ghagghî* cap.
- 18 Over the hillocks on the four sides, my god,
Whistling thou wanderest.
- 19 Thou drivest the sheep, my god,
Thou feedest the goats.
- 20 Along the cold, cold brook, my god,
Thou playest on the flute.
- 21 Thou, god, takest thy soul over the high place,
Takest thy soul over the high place.
- 22 *Chhnâ chhâ*! my Lahulnâ,
Thou utterest the sound *chhnâ chhâ*.¹⁸
- 23 At the spring thou drinkest water, my god,
At the spring cold water thou drinkest.
- 24 I beg and pray thee, my uncle,
Give me in Lahul country.¹⁹
- 25 In the country of Lahul resides Lakhnû²¹
Gadetû,
Give me to Lakhnû, give me to Lakhnû, my uncle.
- 26 O slowly-turning water-mill,²²
Thy fine flour is coming out.
- 27 She eats seven *pathi*²³ of *sattâ*,
To add to this she drinks water.
- 28 O thou dwarfish Gaddi girl,
Thou wearest thy hair long behind.
- 29 Thou usest a *path* of small cowries,
And the pendant beautifies thy long locks.

¹³ *Bûrâ*: having small ears — or none at all: *buhârî* a broom. *Sindhû Bîr* has small ears and often carries a broom on his back.

¹⁴ *Þorâ*: a woollen girdle worn by the Gaddis, as *choîâ* is the loose woollen garment worn by them.

¹⁵ *Þâdâ*: waist, loins: *Sindhû Bîr* wears a girdle which is usually of cotton. *Nawârî*: *Sindhû Bîr* wears the Gaddi costume, but instead of the *ðorâ* he wears a belt of cotton webbing (*nawâr*).

¹⁶ *Dandruen*: (*dandûrî*, lit., a window) 'in thy teeth.' *Sindhû's* teeth are set close together, but somewhat apart.

¹⁷ *Ghagghî* *topi*: the long pointed conical cap worn by the Gaddi.

¹⁸ *Dhâr*: a low range of hills: *bhankhâr*, barren, arid, devoid of vegetation. Over the hills *Sindhû* wanders and then descends into the valleys, which are surrounded by hills on all sides.

¹⁹ *Chhnâ chhâ*: the sound which he makes when not whistling. Gaddis often utter this sound when grazing their sheep, or when resting after a journey, or when overtired after carrying a heavy load.

²⁰ Bestow me in marriage upon some one in Lahul. This proves that it is a girl's song.

²¹ *Lakhnû*: another name for *Sindhû Bîr*, with whom the singer is in love.

²² Water-mills are favourite places for assignations.

²³ The *path* is a wooden grain measure — holding some 4 seers *kachchâ*. *Sattâ*, parched barley flour.

²⁴ *Bhumbhak*: a pendant ornament often made of small cowries, or coloured woollen threads. It is generally worn by women of all classes even in the plains, and is also called *prâdâ*. It is tied to the braided locks which hang down the bride's back.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES DURING EXPLORATIONS
IN CENTRAL ASIA IN 1906-8.¹

BY DR. M. AUREL STEIN.

Preface by the Editor.

My old friend, Dr. Aurel Stein, has been kind enough to enable me to extract at the earliest opportunity the archaeological matter contained in his account of his last great journey in Central Asia, which he first read before the Royal Geographical Society in March last and subsequently before the Royal Asiatic Society and elsewhere.

The extraordinary success that attended his journey from the antiquarian and archaeological points of view is indicated in the extracts now printed. The great variety of hardships endured will be found in some detail in the full account as published by the Royal Geographical Society, as will also the extremely valuable geographical results of the journey.

I gladly take this opportunity of testifying to the admiration that all cognisant of what Dr. Stein has achieved and endured, feel in respect of the pluck, endurance, skill and knowledge that he has once again exhibited in this last splendid effort of travel.

The Sketch Map accompanying this paper has been prepared by my son, Lieut. R. D. Temple, F. R. G. S., King's Royal Rifles.

Introductory Remarks.

EVER since I had returned in 1901 from my first journey into Chinese Turkestan, happy recollections of congenial labour spent in its mountains and desert had made me long for a chance of fresh explorations. There was reason to hope that the ruins of sites long ago abandoned to the desert would yield more relics of that ancient civilization which, as the joint product of Indian, Chinese, and classical influences, had once flourished in the oasis fringing the Tarim basin, and upon which it had been my good fortune to throw light by my former excavations. But the scientific elaboration of the results then secured cost time and great efforts, having to be carried on largely by the side of exacting official duties, and it was not until the summer of 1904 that I was able to submit to the Government of India detailed proposals about another journey which was to carry me back to my old archaeological hunting-grounds around the Taklamakan Desert and thence much further eastwards, to Lop-nor and the Great Wall of China.

I had originally tried hard for permission to start during the summer of 1905. But the freedom from official routine work which I needed for the completion of my *Detailed Report* on the previous journey, itself an indispensable preliminary to fresh work, could not be secured until the following autumn and winter. So it was only in April, 1906, that I could set out from Kashmir, where by six months' incessant desk-work, more fatiguing to me than any hard marching or digging, I had managed to finish—and even to see through the press in distant Oxford—those two stout quarto volumes of *Ancient Khotan*. For my entry into Chinese Turkestan I had chosen this time a route singularly interesting for the student of early geography and ethnography, but practically closed now to the European traveller. It was to take me from the Peshawar district, on the Indian administrative border, through the independent tribal territory of Swat and Dir, into Chitral and thence across the Baroghil to the Upper Oxus Valley and the Afghan Pamirs.

1. Extracts from a paper read at the Royal Geographical Society, March 8, 1909, and printed in full in the *Geographical Journal*, for July and September, 1909.

In the end a hint from His Excellency, the present Viceroy, Lord Minto, who favoured me with an interview at Peshawar, and who subsequently followed my travels with the kindest interest, helped to clear the way for me. So it was not until on April 28, 1906 that I was able to leave Fort Chakdarra, the scene of much hard fighting during the last great tribal rising. In the meantime I had been joined by my Indian assistant, **Rai Ram Singh**, the excellent native surveyor who had accompanied me on my former journey, and by worthy **Naik Ram Singh**, a corporal of the First (Bengal) Sappers and Miners, who through effective special training provided by his regimental authorities, had qualified to assist me in photographic work, making of plans, and similar tasks requiring a "handy man." With the **Rai Sahib** came **Jasvant Singh**, the wiry little Rajput, who had acted as his cook on my previous journey, and who in the meantime had enlarged his extensive practical experience of Central Asia by crossing Tibet on Major Ryder's expedition. Never have I seen an Indian follower so reliable in character and so gentlemanly in manner, and how often have I regretted that his high caste precluded his giving to myself the benefit of his ministrations. Our little party, besides, included my faithful old **Yarkandi caravan man**, **Muhammadju**, who had braved the wintry passes in order to join me, and had narrowly escaped with his life early in the month, when an avalanche swept away and buried half a dozen of his fellow travellers on the **Burzil**, and an Indian **Muhammadan**, who was supposed to act as my cook, and about whose qualities, professional and personal, the less said, the better. Taking into account that our equipment comprised a considerable quantity of scientific instruments, several thousands of photographic glass plates, a raft floated by numerous goatskins which were to be utilized also for transport of water in the desert, and indispensable stores of all kinds, likely to last for two and a half years, I had reason to feel satisfied at fourteen mules sufficing for the whole baggage.

My journey was to take me not to distant regions alone, but also far back into the ages. So it was doubly appropriate that its first stages should lead through trans-border valleys which twenty-two centuries ago had seen the columns of Alexander the conquering Macedonian pass by, and where now the possibility of fanatical outbreaks still obliges the European officer to move with tribal escort and armed. There were ruins of Buddhist times to be surveyed and interesting ethnographic observations to be gathered already on the rapid marches which carried me up to **Dir**.

I received also the services of a qualified Chinese secretary in the person of **Chiang-szu-yieh**. For the tasks before me, the help of a Chinese scholar had appeared from the first indispensable. Having always had to carry on my scholarly labours amidst struggles for leisure, I had never had a chance of adding to my philological equipment by a serious study of Chinese, however much I realized its importance. It was a piece of real good fortune which gave me in **Chiang-szu-yieh** not merely an excellent teacher and secretary, but a devoted helpmate ever ready to face hardships for the sake of my scientific interests. **Chiang's** exceedingly slight knowledge of Turki counted for little in the lessons I used to take in the saddle while doing long desert marches, or else in camp whenever it was pitched early enough in the evening. But once I had mastered the rudiments of conversational practice in Chinese, his ever-cheerful companionship was a great resource during long months of lonely travel and exertion. With the true historical sense innate in every educated Chinese, he took to archaeological work like a young duck to the water, and whether the remains to be explored were Chinese or foreign in origin, he watched and recorded everything with the same unflinching care and thoroughness. Slight and yet wiry of body, he bore the privations and discomforts of desert life with a cheerful indifference quite surprising in a *litteratus* accustomed during all his life to work near the fleshpots of the **Yamens**. And with all his interest in remains dead and buried, the faithful companion of my labours had a keen eye for things and people of this world and an inexhaustible stock of humorous observations. How often have I longed since we parted for my ever alert and devoted Chinese comrade.

1. Chitral.

The Chitral capital is a charming little oasis in a maze of barren steep mountains. During the few days of halt there through the kind help of my friend, Captain Knollys, Assistant Political Agent for Chitral I was able to gather an ample anthropometrical harvest. In its autochthon population Chitral holds an important branch of that "Dard" race, which by its antiquity and ethnic and linguistic affinities may well claim the special interest of the historical student and ethnographer. But the mountain fastnesses of Chitral have again and again offered shelter also to remnants of tribes unable to hold their own elsewhere, and thus it came that among the many exact anthropological measurements I was able to take with my assistants, those of Iranian-speaking hill-men from across the Hindu-kush and of wild-looking immigrants from Kafiristan were also largely represented. The physical affinity between these tribes, all approximating the *Homo Alpinus* type, as seen more or less purely in the inhabitants of the high valleys drained by the Oxus, seems marked, and this helps to throw light on more than one problem connected with the early ethnology of Central Asia and the Indian North-West.

The survival of much ancient lore in customs, traditions, crafts, and even in domestic architecture, as seen in this *interieur*, makes Chitral and the adjacent valleys a fascinating field for the student of early civilisation. It was with regret, therefore, that I yielded to a variety of cogent practical reasons urging me onwards, to the Oxus and the "Roof of the World." But rapid as my marches up the Yarkhun River and through Mastuj had to be, I was able, thanks to local information carefully collected before, to trace and survey an interesting series of early Buddhist rock carvings, sites of pre-Muhammadan forts, etc. It was curious to note how often local tradition connected the latter with dimly remembered periods of Chinese over-lordship—a significant fact in view of what the *Chinese Annals* tell us of the temporary extension of imperial power under the T'ang Dynasty right across the Pamirs and even to the south of the Hindu-kush. The accuracy of these records with regard to local topography was strikingly illustrated by the discovery that a large stretch of arable land now almost completely waste but showing ample evidence of ancient cultivation in the shape of terraced fields, stone enclosures, etc., still bears the name of *Shuyist*, the Chinese reproduction of which is applied by the T'ang Annals to the chief place of the territory of Shang-mi or Mastuj in the eighth century A. D. It is true that this tract, far larger than any other actually cultivated area in Mastuj, seems at present not exactly inviting, its elevation, *circa* 10,500 feet above the sea, probably in combination with the recent advance of a huge glacier in the side valley opposite, making its climate distinctly cold. But whether or not this part of the Mastuj Valley had been affected by important climatic changes during the last twelve hundred years, there remains the interesting fact that since the British pacification of the country, the incipient pressure of population is now leading to the reoccupation of this, as well as other but smaller areas, where cultivation has ceased for centuries.

But it was on far more interesting ground that I was soon able to verify the accuracy of those Chinese annalists, who are our chief guides in the early history and geography of Central Asia. Reasons, which cannot be set forth here in detail, had years before led me to assume by which, in 749 A. D., a Chinese army coming from Kashgar and across the Pamirs had successfully invaded the territories of Yasin and Gilgit, then held by the Tibetans, that the route, led over the Baroghil and Darkot Passes. I was naturally very anxious to trace on the actual ground the route of this remarkable exploit, the only recorded instance of an organized force of relatively large size, having surmounted these passes the formidable natural barriers which the Pamirs and Hindu-kush present to military action. The ascent of the Darkot Pass, *circa* 15,400 feet above the sea, which I undertook with this object on May 17, proved a very trying affair, for the miles of magnificent glacier over which the ascent led from the north were still covered by deep masses of snow, and only after nine hours of toil in soft snow, hiding much-crevassed ice, did we reach the top of the pass. Even my hardy Mastuji and Wakhi guides had held it to be inaccessible at this early season. The

observations gathered there, and subsequently on the marshes across the Baroghil to the Oxus, fully bore out the exactness of the topographical indications furnished by the official account of **Kao-hsien-che's Expedition**. As I stood on the glittering expanse of snow marking the top of the pass and looked down the precipitous slopes leading some 6,000 feet below to the head of Yasin Valley, I felt sorry that there was no likelihood of a monument ever rising for the brave Korean general who had succeeded in moving thousands of men across the inhospitable Pamirs and over such passes.

2. The Baroghil Pass.

On May 19 we crossed the Hindu-kush main range over its lowest depression, the Baroghil, *circa.*, 12,400 feet into the barren Upper Wakhan. Regard for the hardships already so long undergone by my military hosts—and touching applications from the peaceful Wakhi villagers upon whom they were largely subsisting—urged me onwards, yet not before I had surveyed interesting ruins of fortifications intended to guard the route leading from the Baroghil, and probably of early Chinese origin.

3. The Route of Hsüan-tsang in the Pamirs.

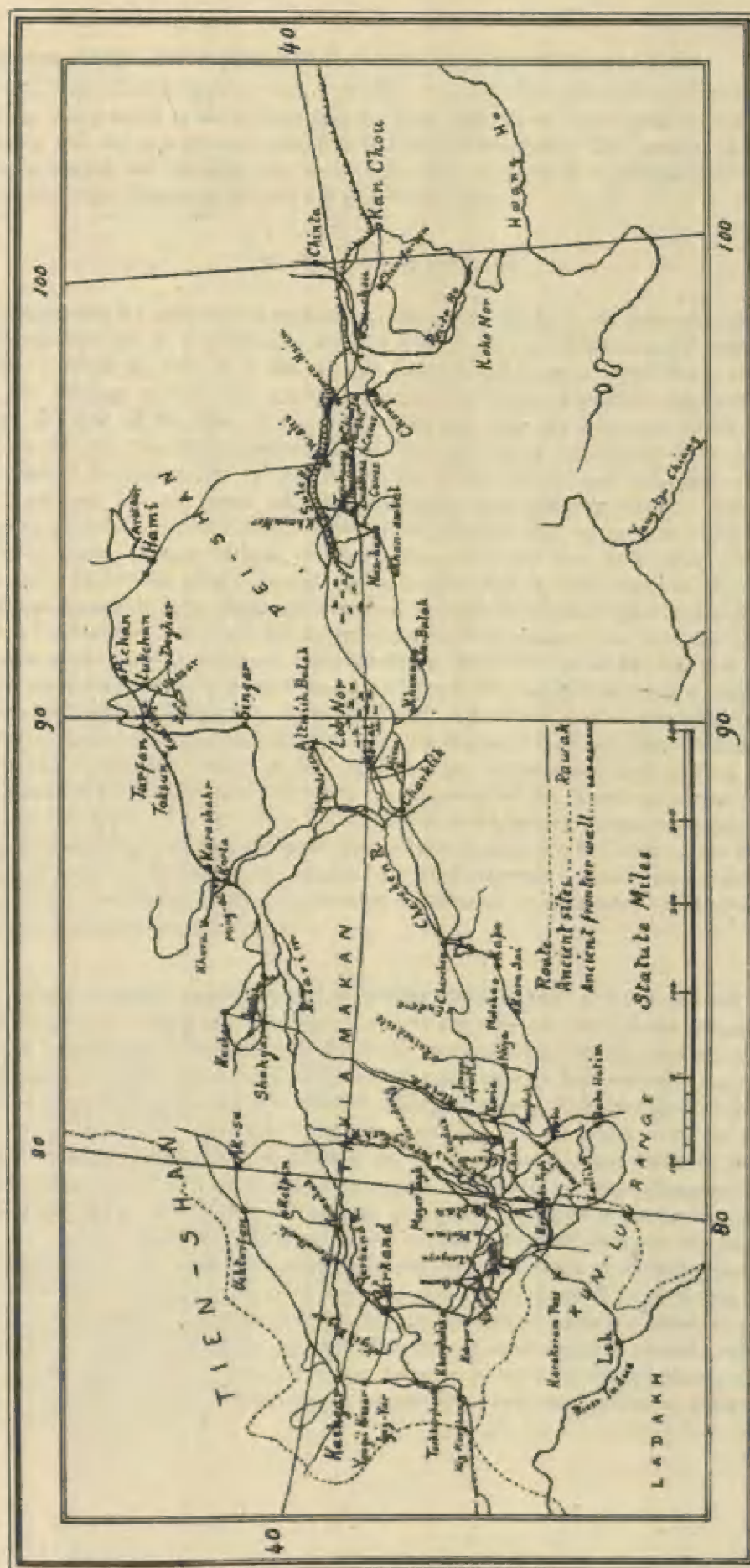
Moving down the Taghdumbash Pamir, nine marches from Chitral, I found myself once more on the ancient route which Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese pilgrim, had followed when returning in 649 A. D. from his long travels in India. I had traced his footprints before to so many sacred Buddhist sites, and was now setting out to follow them up so much further to the east, that I felt special gratification at being definitely able to identify here the rock fastness, where a curious local legend, related by the pilgrim, supposed an imperial princess from China to have been imprisoned in ancient days. The fortifications which I traced on the top of the almost completely isolated rock spur of Kizkurghan, "the Princess's Tower," rising with precipitous crags fully 500 feet above a gloomy defile of the Taghdumbash River, must have been long in ruins already in Hsüan-tsang's days. Yet such is the dryness of the climate in these high valleys that the walls defending the only possible approach to this ancient place of refuge could still be clearly traced, in spite of the material being mere sun-dried bricks with regular layers of juniper twigs embedded between their courses.

At Tashkurghan, where I revisited the site of the old capital of Sarikol as described by Hsüan-tsang, I divided our party. Rai Ram Singh was sent off to carry on survey work in the eastern portion of the Muztagh-ata range, supplementary to our labours of 1900, while I myself moved on to Kashgar by the direct route across the high Chichiklik Dawan and a succession of minor passes. Rapid as my marches had to be—I covered the distance of close on 180 miles in six days in spite of serious difficulties on account of melting snows and flooded streams—I was able to ascertain by unmistakable topographical evidence that the route was the same which my Chinese guide and patron-saint, Hsüan-tsang, had followed more than twelve centuries ago.

4. The Pakhpo Nomads of the outer Kun-lun Hills.

We turned eastwards from Yarkand and made our way through hitherto unsurveyed ground along the right bank of the Tizna River to the outer Kun-lun hills about Kōk-yar. There, with my tent sheltered in a shady garden of the small oasis, with the barren mountains around assuring relative coolness, and yet near enough to the desert to receive almost daily a steady rain of fine dust carried up by the winds from the dunes and deposited here to form fresh loess, I worked hard for a fortnight. Besides finishing off the last literary tasks which bound me to Europe, I found my hands fully occupied with collecting anthropological measurements and data about the people of Pakhpo. It was no easy matter to get hold of these interesting hill nomads. At first they fought terribly shy of leaving their high valleys, just as if real live heads were to have been taken instead of mere measurements and photographs with perfectly harmless instruments. But the

SKETCH MAP OF ROUTES OF DR. STEIN'S EXPEDITION IN CHINESE
TURKESTAN AND KANSU, 1906-08.



R. D. TEMPLE, DEL.

W. GRIGGS & SONS, PHOTO-LITHO.

trouble was amply repaid by the evidence that this small tribe in its alpine isolation had preserved remarkably well the main physical features of that race, represented by the present Galchas of the Pamir region, and probably like those of Iranian speech, which in ancient times appears to have extended right through to Khotan and even further east.

5. Khotan and the Tatis.

By September 9 I had returned to Khotan, where preparations for my archaeological campaign and the examination of miscellaneous antiques brought in by treasure-seekers detained me for some days. Hard at work as I was, I could not help attending a great feast which Chien-Darin, the obliging prefect, was giving in my honour to the assembled dignitaries of the district. In spite of the time it cost to get through some thirty strange courses, I appreciated the attention the kindly mandarin desired thus to pay in acknowledgment of the labours I had devoted for years past to the elucidation of the history and geography of Khotan. Then I set out for the desert adjoining the oasis north-eastward, where I succeeded in tracing much-eroded, but still clearly recognizable, remains proving ancient occupation well beyond the great Rawak Stupa. I found the court of the latter even more deeply buried under dunes than when I carried on excavations here in 1901, and alas, the fine stucco reliefs then brought to light completely destroyed by treasure-seekers in spite of careful re-burial. But when I subsequently surveyed the extensive *debris*-strewn areas known as *tatis* fringing the north edge of the tract of Hanguya, where potsherds, fragments of bricks, slag, and other hard material cover square miles of ground once thickly occupied, but long centuries since abandoned to the desert, I had the satisfaction of recovering by excavation a mass of interesting small reliefs in hard stucco, which had once decorated the walls of a large Buddhist temple, dating probably from the fifth to the sixth century A. D. In their style, unmistakably derived from models of Græco-Buddhist art, these relief fragments closely resembled the Rawak sculptures. Curiously enough, of the temple itself and the larger sculptures once adorning it, but the scantiest remains had survived in the ground. The probable explanation is that the site had continued to be occupied for some time after the temple had become a ruin, evidently through fire, and that only such smaller stuccoes as had become hardened by the latter into a likeness of *tetra-cotta* could survive in soil constantly kept moist through irrigation.

The finds possessed special interest as proving that even sites so much exposed to erosion by wind and havoc wrought by human agency, as *tatis* generally are, may preserve antiquarian relics of interest in lower strata, which neither the slowly scooping force of driven sand, nor the burrowings of treasure-seekers, etc., from the still inhabited area close by, had reached. Another important and curious feature was the prevalence of richly gilt pieces. This furnished striking confirmation of the hypothetical explanation I had given years before of the origin of the leaf gold washed from the culture strata of the old Khotan capital at Yotkan. I may notice in passing that, just as elsewhere along the edges of the Khotan oasis, cultivation in the fertile Hanguya tract is now steadily advancing in the direction of the areas previously abandoned to the desert. The present favourable economic conditions and the consequent increase in the population seem the chief cause for this extension of the cultivated area, which struck me again and again on revisiting portions of the oasis surveyed six years before, and which may yet, given a continuance of those factors, lead to the recovery of a considerable portion of the desolate *tati* overrun by dunes and elsewhere undergoing wind-erosion. But it appears to me equally certain that the water-supply at present available in the Yurung-kash could under no system whatever be made to suffice for the irrigation of the whole of the large tracts now abandoned to the desert, and for this broad fact desiccation alone supplies an adequate explanation.

6. The Domoko Oasis.

From the **Hanguya Tati** I passed on to a group of small ruined sites exhibiting in a typical form the fate of destruction, to which ancient remains are exposed in the belt of sandy jungle often intervening between the still cultivated areas of the **Domoko Oasis** and the open desert of drift-sand. In 1901, I had passed some completely eroded dwellings, forming the northernmost of those sites, in a maze of tamarisk-covered sand-cones not far from the village tract of Domoko, on the route from Khotan to Keriya. But information about the rest had become available only since, a few years later, an enterprising village, stimulated by my old desert guide, Ahmad "the Hunter," had begun to prospect there for "old papers" to sell in the antique market of Khotan. The site of **Khadalik**, from which one of my old treasure-seeking guides had extracted some manuscript remains of interest, and to which the promise of a good reward now induced him to take me, seemed disappointing at first sight; for its principal ruin, which soon proved to be that of a large Buddhist temple, presented itself merely as an extensive low *débris* heap covered with sand. But scarcely had we begun systematic clearing of it, when pieces of paper manuscript began to crop out in numbers. It soon became evident that the destructive operations of those who in early days had quarried the ruined temple for timber, and the more recent burrowings by "treasure-seekers" like my guide Mullah Khoja, had failed to disturb the votive offerings of the last worshippers, which, being mainly deposited on the floor, had long before passed under a safe cover of sand. So we were able to recover here, in spite of the almost complete disappearance of the superstructure, a large number of manuscript leaves in Sanskrit, Chinese, and the "unknown" language of Khotan, besides many inscribed wooden tablets in the same language, and some in Tibetan. Most of them probably contain Buddhist texts, like some excellently preserved large rolls, which on one side presents the Chinese version of a well-known Buddhist work, with what evidently is its translation into the "unknown" language on the other. The clue thus offered for the decipherment of the latter may yet prove of great value. Plentiful remains of stucco reliefs and fresco pieces once adorning the temple walls, together with painted panels, had also found a safe refuge in the sand covering the floor. Their style pointed clearly to the same period as that ascertained for the Buddhist shrines I had excavated six years before at the site of **Dandan-Oilik** in the desert northward, i. e., to the latter half of the eighth century A. D. It was gratifying when the subsequent discovery in a second shrine close by of stringed rolls of Chinese copper pieces, no doubt deposited by some of the last worshippers, supplied definite numismatic confirmation of this dating.

We worked hard here with a large number of diggers, and in spite of heat and smothering dust, practically without interruption from daybreak until nightfall. Yet it took us fully ten days to clear these temples together with some smaller adjoining shrines and dwellings. I was eager to move on to the east towards sites further away in the desert, and hence likely to have been abandoned far earlier. Yet I was doubly glad in the end to have spared time and labour for **Khadalik** at the outset, for when I returned to this tract nearly eighteen months later I found that the area containing the ruins had just been brought under irrigation from the stream which passes within three miles of it. I cannot do more than allude here to a problem of geographical interest presented by **Khadalik** and another small site, **Mazar-toghrak**, near the opposite (southern) edge of the Domoko oasis, where I subsequently excavated a considerable number of records on wood both in Chinese and the Brahmi script of old Khotan, indicating, as at **Khadalik**, abandonment about the end of the eighth century A. D. Now it is noteworthy that the large ruined settlement of **Dandan-Oilik**, which I explored in 1900, and which, as duly recognized also by my friend Mr. Huntington, who has carefully studied since the physiography of this whole region, must have received its water from the same drainage system, was deserted about the same period. **Dandan-Oilik** is situated fully 65 miles further north in the desert, and if abstinence of the water-supply needed for irrigation were to be considered as the only possible cause of abandonment of these sites, the chronological coincidence in the case of localities dependent on the same streams and yet so widely separated would certainly be curious.

(To be continued.)

THE ARTHASASTRA OF CHANAKYA (BOOKS V — XV).

Translated by

B. SHAMASASTRY, B.A.,

Librarian, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.²⁰

(Continued from p. 234).

Book VII.

The end of the six-fold policy. (Shāḍgunyassamuddetaḥ.)

Chapter I.

The six-fold policy, and determination of deterioration, stagnation and progress.

(Shāḍgunyam Kahayasthānavriddhinishchasyasāha.)

The Circle of States is the source of the six-fold policy.

My teacher says that peace (*sandhi*), war (*vigraha*), observance of neutrality (*dsana*), marching (*yāna*), alliance (*samsraya*), and making peace with one and waging war with another are the six forms of state-policy.

But Vātāyādhi holds that there are only two forms of policy, peace and war, inasmuch as the six forms result from these two primary forms of policy.

While Kauṭilya holds that as their respective conditions differ, the forms of policy are six.

Of these, agreement with pledges is peace; offensive operation is war; indifference is neutrality; making preparations is marching; seeking the protection of another is alliance; and making peace with one and waging war with another, is termed a double policy (*dvaiddhikā*). These are the six forms.

Whoever is inferior to another shall make peace with him; whoever is superior in power shall wage war; whoever thinks "no enemy can hurt me, nor am I strong enough to destroy my enemy," shall observe neutrality; whoever is possessed of necessary means shall march against his enemy; whoever is devoid of necessary strength to defend himself shall seek the protection of another; whoever thinks that help is necessary to work out an end shall make peace with one and wage war with another. Such is the aspect of the six forms of policy.

Of these, a wise king shall observe that form of policy which, in his opinion, enables him to build forts, to construct buildings and commercial roads, to open new plantations and villages, to exploit mines and timber and elephant forests, and at the same time to harass similar works of his enemy.

Whoever thinks himself to be growing in power more rapidly both in quality and quantity (than his enemy), and the reverse of his enemy, may neglect his enemy's progress for the time.

²⁰ The first four books have been published in the *Mysore Review*, 1906-1909.

If any two kings hostile to each other find the time of achieving the results of their respective works to be equal, they shall make peace with each other.

No king shall keep that form of policy, which causes him the loss of profit from his own works, but which entails no such loss on the enemy; for it is deterioration.

Whoever thinks that in the course of time his loss will be less than his acquisition as contrasted with that of his enemy, may neglect his temporary deterioration.

If any two kings hostile to each other and deteriorating, expect to acquire equal amount of wealth in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

That position in which neither progress nor retrogression is seen is stagnation.

Whoever thinks his stagnancy to be of a shorter duration and his prosperity in the long run to be greater than his enemy's may neglect his temporary stagnation.

My teacher says that if any two kings, who are hostile to each other and are in a stationary condition, expect to acquire equal amount of wealth and power in equal time, they shall make peace with each other.

"Of course," says Kautilya, "there is no other alternative."

Or if a king thinks:—

"That keeping the agreement of peace, I can undertake productive works of considerable importance and destroy at the same time those of my enemy; or apart from enjoying the results of my own works, I shall also enjoy those of my enemy in virtue of the agreement of peace; or I can destroy the works of my enemy by employing spies and other secret means; or by holding out such inducements as a happy dwelling, rewards, remission of taxes, little work, and large profits and wages, I can empty my enemy's country of its population, with which he has been able to carry on his own works; or being allied with a king of considerable power, my enemy will have his own works destroyed; or I can prolong my enemy's hostility with another king whose threats drove my enemy to seek my protection; or being allied with me, my enemy can harass the country of another king who hates me; or oppressed by another king, the subjects of my enemy will immigrate into my country, and I can, therefore, achieve the results of my own works very easily; or being in a precarious condition due to the destruction of his works, my enemy will not be so powerful as to attack me; or by exploiting my own resources in alliance with any two (friendly) kings, I can augment my resources; or if a Circle of States is formed by my enemy as one of its members, I can divide them and combine with the others; or by threats or favour, I can catch hold of my enemy, and when he desires to be a member of my own Circle of States, I can make him incur the displeasure of the other members and fall a victim to their own fury," — if a king thinks thus, then he may increase his resources by keeping peace.

Or if a king thinks:—

"That as my country is full of born soldiers and of corporations of fighting men, and as it possesses such natural defensive positions as mountains, forests, rivers, and forts with only one entrance, it can easily repel the attack of my enemy; or having taken my stand in my impregnable fortress at the border of my country, I can harass the works of my enemy; or owing to internal troubles and loss of energy, my enemy will early suffer from the destruction of his works; or when my enemy is attacked by another king, I can induce his subjects to immigrate into my country," then he may augment his own resources by keeping open hostility with such an enemy.

Or if a king thinks:—

"That neither is my enemy strong enough to destroy my works, nor am I his; or if he comes to fight with me like a dog with a boar, I can increase his afflictions without incurring any loss in my own works," then he may observe neutrality and augment his own resources.

Or if a king thinks:—

"That by marching my troops it is possible to destroy the works of my enemy; and as for myself, I have made proper arrangements to safeguard my own works," then he may increase his resources by marching.

Or if a king thinks:—

"That I am strong enough neither to harass my enemy's works nor to defend my own against my enemy's attack," then he shall seek protection from a king of superior power and endeavour to pass from the stage of deterioration to that of stagnancy and from the latter to that of progress.

Or if a king thinks:—

"That by making peace with one, I can work out my own resources, and by waging war with another, I can destroy the works of my enemy," then he may adopt that double policy and improve his resources.

Thus²¹, a king in the circle of sovereign elements shall, by adopting the six-fold policy, endeavour to pass from the state of deterioration to that of stagnation and from the latter to that of progress.²¹

Chapter II.

The Nature of Alliance (*Samrayavṛittih*).

When the advantages derivable from peace and war are of equal character, one should prefer peace; for disadvantages, such as the loss of power and wealth, sojourning, and sin, are ever attending upon war.

The same holds good in the case of neutrality and war.

Of the two (forms of policy), double policy and alliance, double policy (*i. e.*, making peace with one and waging war with another) is preferable; for whoever adopts the double policy enriches himself, being ever attentive to his own works, whereas an allied king has to help his ally at his own expense.

One shall make an alliance with a king who is stronger than one's neighbouring enemy; in the absence of such a king, one should ingratiate oneself with one's neighbouring enemy, either by supplying money or army or by ceding a part of one's territory and by keeping oneself aloof; for there can be no greater evil to kings than alliance with a king of considerable power, unless one is actually attacked by one's enemy.

²¹ In *Śaka* metre.

A powerless king should behave as a conquered king (towards his immediate enemy) ; but when he finds that the time of his own ascendancy is at hand due to a fatal disease, internal troubles, increase of enemies, or a friend's calamities that are vexing his enemy, then under the pretence of performing some expiatory rites to avert the danger of his enemy, he may get out (of the enemy's court) ; or if he is in his own territory, he should not go to see his suffering enemy ; or if he is near to his enemy, he may murder the enemy when opportunity affords itself.

A king who is situated between two powerful kings shall seek protection from the stronger of the two ; or from one of them on whom he can rely ; or he may make peace with both of them on equal terms. Then he may begin to set one of them against the other by telling each that the other is a tyrant causing utter ruin to himself, and thus cause dissension between them. When they are divided, he may put down each separately by secret or covert means. Or, throwing himself under the protection of any two immediate kings of considerable power, he may defend himself against an immediate enemy. Or, having made an alliance with a chief in a stronghold, he may adopt double policy (i.e., make peace with one of the two kings and wage war with another). Or, he may adapt himself to circumstances depending upon the causes of peace and war in order. Or, he may make friendship with traitors, enemies, and wild chiefs who are conspiring against both the kings. Or, pretending to be a close friend of one of them, he may strike the other at the latter's weak point by employing enemies, and wild tribes. Or, having made friendship with both, he may form a Circle of States. Or, he may make an alliance with the *madhyama* or the neutral king ; and with this help he may put down one of them or both. Or when hurt by both, he may seek protection from a king of righteous character among the *madhyama* kings, the neutral king, and their friends or equals, or from any other king whose subjects are so disposed as to increase his happiness and peace, with whose help he may be able to recover his lost position, with whom his ancestors were in close intimacy or blood relationship, and in whose kingdom he can find a number of powerful friends.

Of ²² two powerful kings who are on amicable terms with each other, a king shall make alliance with one of them, who likes him and whom he likes ; this is the best way of making alliance.²³

Chapter III.

The character of equal, inferior and superior kings ; and forms of agreement made by an inferior king (*Samahinajyāyasām guṇābhinivetaḥ hīnasandhayatṣa*).

A king desirous of expanding his own power shall make use of the six-fold policy.

Agreements of peace shall be made with equal and superior kings ; and an inferior king shall be attacked.

Whoever goes to wage war with a superior king will be reduced to the same condition as that of a foot-soldier opposing an elephant.

Just as the collision of an unbaked mud-vessel with a similar vessel is destructive to both, so war with an equal king brings ruin to both.

Like a stone striking an earthen pot, a superior king attains decisive victory over an inferior king.

²³ In *śloka* metre.

If a superior king discards the proposal of an inferior king for peace, the latter should take the attitude of a conquered king, or play the part of an inferior king towards a superior.²³

When a king of equal power does not like peace, then the same amount of vexation as his opponent has received at his hands should be given to him in return; for it is power that brings about peace between any two kings: no piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another piece of iron.

When an inferior king is all submissive, peace should be made with him; for when provoked by causing him troubles and anger, an inferior king, like a wild fire, will attack his enemy and will also be favoured by (his) Circle of States.

When a king in peace with another finds that greedy, impoverished, and oppressed as are the subjects of his ally, they do not yet immigrate into his own territory lest they might be called back by their master, then he should, though of inferior power, proclaim war against his ally.

When a king at war with another finds that greedy, impoverished, and oppressed as are the subjects of his enemy, still they do not come to his side in consequence of the troubles of war, then he should, though of superior power, make peace with his enemy or remove the troubles of war as far as possible.

When one of the two kings at war with each other and equally involved in trouble finds his own troubles to be greater than his enemy's, and thinks that by getting rid of his (enemy's) trouble his enemy can successfully wage war with him, then he should, though possessing greater resources, sue for peace.

When, either in peace or war, a king finds neither loss to his enemy nor gain to himself, he should, though superior, observe neutrality.

When a king finds the troubles of his enemy irremediable, he should, though of inferior power, march against the enemy.

When a king finds himself threatened by imminent dangers or troubles, he should, though superior, seek the protection of another.

When a king is sure to achieve his desired ends by making peace with one and waging war with another, he should, though superior, adopt the double policy.

Thus it is that the six forms of policy are applied together.

As to their special application :—

(a) When a powerless king finds himself attacked by a powerful king, leading a Circle of States, he should submissively sue for peace on the condition of offering treasure, army, himself, or his territory.

(b) Agreement made on the condition that with a fixed number of troops or with the flower of his army, a king should present himself (when called for), is peace termed *dīdamishka*, 'offering himself as flesh.'

(c) Agreement made on the condition that the commander of the army together with the heir-apparent should present himself (when called for), is peace styled *perushāntasandhi*, 'peace with hostages other than the king himself'; and it is conducive to self-preservation, as it does not require the personal attendance of the king.

(d) Agreement made on the condition that the king himself or some one else should march with the army to some place, as required, is peace termed *alishāpurusha*, 'peace with no specified person to serve'; and it is conducive to the safety of the king and the chiefs of his army.

(e) In the first two forms of the peace, a woman of high rank should be given as an hostage, and in the last, a secret attempt should be made to capture the enemy; these are the forms of peace concluded on the condition of supplying his army.

(f) When, by offering wealth, the rest of the elements of sovereignty are set free, that peace is termed *parikroya*, 'price.'

(g) Similarly, when peace is concluded by offering money capable of being taken on a man's shoulders, it is termed *upagraha*, 'subsidy'; and it is of various forms. Owing to distance and owing to its having been kept long, the amount of the tribute promised may sometimes fall in arrears.

(h) Yet as such a burden can tolerably be paid in future, this peace is better than the one with a woman given as an hostage. When the parties making an agreement of peace are amicably united, it is termed *anurāsandhi*, 'golden peace.'

(i) Quite reverse from the former is the peace called *kapāla*, 'half of a pot,' which is concluded on the condition of paying immense quantity of money.

(j) In the first two, one should send the supply of raw materials, elephants, horses and traps; in the third, money; and in the fourth, one should evade the payment under the plea of loss of results from works; these are the forms of peace concluded on the payment of money.

(k) When by ceding a part of the territory, the rest of the kingdom with its subjects are kept safe, it is termed *ādishā* 'ceded,' and is of advantage to one who is desirous of destroying thieves and other wicked persons (infesting the ceded part).

(l) When with the exception of the capital, the whole of the territory, impoverished by exploitation of its resources is ceded, it is termed *uchchinnasandhi*, 'peace cut off from profit,' and is of advantage to one who desires to involve the enemy in troubles.

(m) When by the stipulation of paying the produce of the land, the kingdom is set free, it is termed *aratraya*, 'rent.' That which is concluded by the promise of paying more than the land yields is called *parihāshaya*, 'ornament.'

(n) One should prefer the first; but the last two based upon the payment of the produce should be made only when one is obliged to submit to power. These are the forms of peace made by ceding territory.

(c) These three kinds of peace²⁴ are to be concluded by an inferior king in submission to the power of a superior king owing to the peculiar condition of his own works, circumstances, and time.²⁵

Chapter IV.

**Neutrality after proclaiming war or after concluding a treaty of peace ;
marching after proclaiming war or after making peace ; and the
march of combined powers. (Vigrihyāsanam sandhāyāsanam
Vigrihya yānam sandhāya yānam sambhāya prayānam cha.)**

Neutrality or marching after proclaiming war or peace has been explained.

Sthāna (keeping quiet), *āsana* (withdrawal from hostility), and *upakṣhāṇa* (negligence) are synonymous with the word '*āsana*,' 'neutrality.' As to the difference between these three aspects of neutrality :— keeping quiet, maintaining a particular kind of policy is *sthāna* ; withdrawal from hostile actions for the sake of one's own interests is *āsana* ; and taking no steps (against an enemy) is *upakṣhāṇa*.

When two kings, who, though bent on making conquests, are desirous of peace are unable to proceed, one against the other, they may keep quiet after proclaiming war or after making peace.

When a king finds, it possible to put down by means of his own army, or with the help of a friend, or of wild tribes, another king of equal or superior power, then having set up proper defences against both internal and external enemies, he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When a king is convinced that his own subjects are brave, united, prosperous, and able not only to carry on their own works without interference, but also to harass his enemy's works, then he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When a king finds that as his enemy's subjects are ill-treated, impoverished and greedy, and are ever being oppressed by the inroads of the army, thieves, and wild tribes, they can be made through intrigue to join his side ; or that his own agriculture and commerce are flourishing while those of his enemy are waning ; or that as the subjects of his enemy are suffering from famine, they will immigrate into his own territory ; or that, though his own returns of agriculture and commerce are falling and those of his enemy increasing, his own subjects will never desert him in favour of his enemy ; or that by proclaiming war, he can carry off, by force, the grains, cattle, and gold of his enemy ; or that he can prevent the import of his enemy's merchandise, which was destructive of his own commerce ; or that valuable merchandise, would come to his own territory, leaving that of his enemy ; or that war being proclaimed, his enemy would be unable to put down traitors, enemies, and wild tribes and other rebels, and would be involved in war with them ; or that his own friend would in a very short time accumulate wealth without much loss and would not fail to follow him in his march since no friend would neglect the opportunity of acquiring a fertile land and a prosperous friend like himself, — then in view of inflicting injuries on his enemy and of exhibiting his own power, he may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

²⁴ Peace made by supplying the army, money, or territory.

²⁵ a—e are in *śloka* metre.

But my teacher says that turning against such a king, his enemy may swallow him.

• Not so,' says Kanṣilya, 'impoverishment of the enemy who is free from troubles is all that is aimed at (when a king keeps quiet after proclaiming war). As soon as such a king acquires sufficient strength, he will undertake to destroy the enemy. To such a king, the enemy's enemy will send help to secure his own personal safety'. Hence, whoever is provided with necessary strength may keep quiet after proclaiming war.

When the policy of keeping quiet after proclaiming war is found productive of unfavourable results, then one shall keep quiet after making peace.

Whoever has grown in strength in consequence of keeping quiet after proclaiming war should proceed to attack his helpless enemy.

When a king finds that his enemy has fallen into troubles; that the troubles of his enemy's subjects can by no means be remedied; that as his enemy's subjects are oppressed, ill-treated, disaffected, impoverished, become effeminate and disunited among themselves, they can be prevailed upon to desert their master; that his enemy's country has fallen a victim to the inroads of such calamities, as fire, floods, pestilence, epidemics (*maraka*) and famine and is therefore losing the flower of its youth and its defensive power, — then he should march after proclaiming war.

When a king is so fortunate as to have a powerful friend in front and a powerful ally (*ākṛanda*) in the rear, both with brave and loyal subjects, while the reverse is the case with his enemies both in front and in the rear, and when he finds it possible for his friend to hold his frontal enemy in check, and for his rear-ally to keep his rear-enemy (*pārshṇigrāha*) at bay, then he may march after proclaiming war against his frontal enemy.

When a king finds it possible to achieve the results of victory single-handed in a very short time, then he may march (against his frontal enemy) after proclaiming war against his rear-enemies; otherwise he should march after making peace (with his rear-enemies).

When a king finds himself unable to confront his enemy single-handed and when it is necessary that he should march, then he should make the expedition in combination with kings of inferior, equal, or superior powers. When the object aimed at is of a definite nature, then the share of spoils should be fixed; but when it is of a manifold or complex nature, then with no fixity in the share of the spoils. When no such combination is possible, he may request a king either to supply him with the army for a fixed share, or to accompany him for an equal share of the spoils.

When profit is certain, then they should march with fixed shares of profit; but when it is uncertain, with no fixity of shares.

Share²⁰ of profit proportional to the strength of the army is of the first kind; that which is equal to the effort made is the best; shares may be allotted in proportion to the profit earned or to the capital invested.²¹

(To be continued.)

LEGENDS FROM THE PANJAB.

BY SIR E. C. TEMPLE AND M. A. ROSE.

(Continued from Vol. XXXVIII., p. 83.)

No. IV.

THE WEDDING OF RAI MORNI²² OR PRINCESS PEAHEN.*A Panjābī Extracanonica.*

The following are the *dramatis personæ* and they appear to be related thus:—

I.—The family of Garh Mughalānī, a State which comprised seven districts:

	(Brothers)
(Sister)	— Rai Has — Rai Keorā <i>alias</i> Rai Bhangī
Rai Hasul —	×
	Rānī Jaunsān
	Maṭh Meorā <i>alias</i> Meorā Rai.

Kiḍḍā, household Brahman to Rai Has.
 Chidḍā, his brother.
 Rūp Chand, a third brother.
 Rūp Chand's wife.

II.—The family of Depā Māwā, a State which comprised twenty one districts:

Rai Majhār × Rānī Kesari

	Rai Chilmīl Rai Morni (daughter).

Rai Diwān, *diwān* of Rai Majhār (slain).
 Madav Rai (slain).
 Dāl Chand Rai (slain).
 Kālā Rai (slain).
 Chhelā, musician to Rai Majhār.

Tārādhirā, ruler of Delhi.
 Ghatti, maid to Rai Hasul.
 Scald-head } servants to Rai Hasul.
 Wall-eye }
 A Kalāṇ.

²² Morni, meaning like a peahen, is an expression for a beautiful woman. Rāi (for Rānī) Morni is a woman's and not a man's name. This remarkable story is really a skit upon Rajput wedding ceremonies.

Bait.	Verso.
<i>Awval Nām sachche Rabb dā ; dājd Nām Rasūl.</i>	First the Name of the true God ; next the Name of the Prophet.
<i>Sachhe Sātī⁴¹ sach jo, dargāh paws qabūl.</i>	Who keeps true to the True Keeper of Mystery, is welcome in his Court.
<i>Kalima dittā wachūd, Musalmān dā māl.</i>	He has recited the Creed, not at all that of the Musalmāns.

Rāi Has and Rāi Keorā were two brothers, the latter was also named Rāi Bhangī, Rāi Has was a master of the art of government,⁴² but Keorā had not the least acquaintance with it. He once went home and saw — what? Why, that his sister had grown up. So he returned and said to his brother : —

"Rāi Hasyā, you know all about government, a thing I know nothing about ; but our sister has grown up, and we ought to betroth her to somebody."

Has replied : — "Brother, thank God for giving you, too, some sense. Send for the Dūm, the bard, the Brāhman and the barber."

They came and were told to arrange Rāi Hasnī's betrothal⁴³ in some respectable family. So the Dūm, the bard and the Brāhman set out and reached Rāi Majhār's capital and placed the date⁴⁴ in the mouth of Rāi Chilmil, Rāi Majhār's son. Then the menials congratulated him, and he replied : —

"To you also good luck, menials.⁴⁵ Whence did you bring this proposal?"⁴⁶

The menials said : — "From Garh Mughalāni.⁴⁷" He said : "Menials, I am Rājī of twenty-one districts,⁴⁸ ; they only rule seven. Compared with me, they are only a family of menials. I will only accept a proposal from a Rājī of thirty-six districts."

The courtiers, attendants⁴⁹ and ministers said : — "O Rājā, you have seven sons, and had better marry the (other) six in high families. A maid's proposal has come to your house, don't reject it."⁵⁰

Rāi Majhār said (to the messengers) : — "Menials, in eighteen days get food ready for 18,000 warriors and fodder for 18,000 horses. Then I will bring the wedding procession to your house, otherwise I will not come⁵¹ to your abode."

The menials set out for their city and came to where Rāi Has sat, saying : — "Sire, greeting."

In reply he said : — "Greeting to you, menials, in return. Where have you arranged the betrothal?"

"With Rāi Majhār's son Chilmil," they said, "but he made one condition — that, by the eighteenth day you must have food for 18,000 warriors and fodder for 18,000 horses."

Rāi Has said : — "Go back to him at once and tell him that if he comes on the eighth day he will find his son's bride, otherwise we shall make other arrangements."⁵²

So Rāi Majhār set out in the procession with great pomp,⁵³

⁴¹ Sātī, intelligencer : one acquainted with mysteries.

⁴² Sātī, lit. a kinsman or relative, so kinship or relationship.

⁴³ As a sign of betrothal.

⁴⁴ Lāḡ, one entitled to receive Mā, i. e., dues at weddings payable to dependents.

⁴⁵ Dhār, lit., a line, limit ; = a tract or district.

⁴⁶ Mutasaddī, lit., a clerk.

⁴⁷ Dhukad, to come, approach, especially of a bridegroom's party.

⁴⁸ Rāj-shāḡ.

⁴⁹ Wāḡhāḡ, benefaction : wāḡhāḡ, to increase.

⁵⁰ Bhāḡḡ, with regard to, in comparison with.

⁵¹ Mōḡḡ, a turning back.

⁵² Rāḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

⁵³ Takāḡḡḡḡḡḡ.

Bait.

Khasi kusan bakṛs; sikhni chayan kabḍ;
Ikki dhārāṁ sadidā; kāraj chāc Rāi Majhār.

Chayha kafah amorha ā gas; hai koṭ jhallanhdṛ?

Verse.

Fat goats killed; flesh put on the spits;
 Twenty-one districts invited; Rāi Majhār raised
 a procession.

Crowds have collected, multitudes have come;
 who is there shall stay them?

Said Rāi Majhār: — "Is there anyone who will take control of this procession?"

Rāi Has had a sweetstuff market placed at five leagues,⁵⁴ and at its head he put a musician.⁵⁵ When the wedding procession drew nigh the musician said: — "Brothers, here is this market for us to loot, do you plunder it." Those who were wise took a little sweetstuff and those who were foolish took bundles of it. They talked to one another and said: — "What are you going to do if we go on? Come, let us go home."

Now, Rāi Has had set up⁵⁶ nine lances, on top of which he had put a jar;⁵⁷ and when the wedding party reached the spot, the musician said it was his master's⁵⁸ order that, until they succeeded in hitting the jar, no one should dismount, but should wait there and take their ease. The 18,000 warriors shot their arrows at it, but not one of them hit it. Rāi Has demanded news from the musician as to whether anyone had succeeded in hitting the jar or not. It was now afternoon, and Rāi Has came with his procession, and Rāi Chilmil said to Rāi Has: — "Sire, congratulations!" He answered: — "Sire, congratulations to you, too." Then Rāi Has said: — "You have brought a procession of 18,000 men. Is there not a man among them? Since the morning this jar has been put up and it has not yet been shot down." Rāi Chilmil then addressed Rāi Has: —

Bait.

"Haiā tūā chhoṭā Rājput, bōlōn bahut hanḍr.

Pahlī choṭ kṛpī chutaiā, jo kuchh manjā dewan dān:

Pahlī choṭ kṛpī nā chutaiā, sir waḍhūngā vichh maidān:

Dole pā wāḍ tārī bahin nāā, Rāi Hasiā, lā gharā nā jān:

Jatīā laṇḍiā, bāndiā sadidiā, sabhā de chāko, chākṛā dā ghulān."

Said Rāi Has to the musician: —

Bait.

"Lā ghorī, lā kamān." Dast kamān waḡṭiā;⁵⁹
kiyā chilla chhapḥ⁶⁰.

Jehī chapḥī⁶¹ khānan qahr āi, khānan burt bālā.

Tirā vichhōā tūr kaḡḡiā, tirā vichhōā tūr bālā.

Pahlā tūr chālḡḡī Rāi Has nā, kṛpī lā glā nālā lāh.

Verse.

"Thou art a petty Rājput, a great boaster in words.

If thou break the jar at the first shot, I will give freely what thou mayest demand:

If thou break not the jar at the first shot, I will cut off thy head on the plain:

I will put thy sister into my palanquin, Rāi Hasiā, and take her to my house:

Of all my servant-girls, of all my slave-girls, of all my household, to be the slave of slaves."

Verse.

"Bring my steed and bring my bow." He lowered the bow in his hand; and he drew the string.

(The bow) he drew (was) a calamitous murderer, an evil monstrous murderer.

He drew an arrow from amongst the arrows, a monstrous arrow from among the arrows.

Rāi Has let fly his first arrow and the jar was knocked off the standard.

⁵⁴ Koo.

⁵⁵ Mirdal.

⁵⁶ Gajound, bury, fix, set. Chā is a prefix.

⁵⁷ Kuppī, a large leathern oil-jar.

⁵⁸ Jaimān is usually translated "client," but it should be "patron."

⁵⁹ Jakhānd, to draw a bow—here chhapḥ—lān. Chilmā is a bow-string. Dast kamān waḡṭiā clearly refers to the necessary action of lowering the bow in order to string it.

Râi Has made Râi Chilmil sit on the couch. The courtiers and ministers said to Râi Chilmil:—"Sire, you laid a wager. Râi Has has brought down the jar. You had better give him what is due."

Râi Chilmil called Râi Has and said:—"Brother Has, we had a bet and you brought down the jar. Now you can ask for anything your thirty-two teeth want."

Râi Has replied:—"You had better take the palanquin home. I will come to you on the eighth day and take whatsoever I choose."

But the ministers and courtiers said to Râi Chilmil:—"You had better give him here what has to be given, if he goes to you he will give trouble."

And the family musician *mirâsi* said to Râi Has:—"Ask for his sister's hand, lest they betroth her to some one else. Open the doors of his ears."⁶⁰

Then Râi Has said to Râi Chilmil:—

Bait.

"*Mañ sir wechid apnâ, jâne kul jahân.*
Manglâ bahin terî, Mornî; mañ taiñ thoñ
manglâ hân ch dâñ.
Assi hân uttam zdt de; marî zdt Pañwâr.
Assi lîdñ tuhâdîdñ; tuhâ nûñ mûl nâ diye sâk."

Verse.

"I have sold my head, as all the world knows,
 I demand thy sister, Mornî; I ask this gift of
 thee.
 We are of the highest caste; our caste is
 Pañwâr.
 We take your (brides); we have never be-
 trothed (brides) to you."⁶¹

Râi Chilmil said:—"Wise Râjpûts are not obstinate. Your (sister) has stayed at home; let mine do the same."

Râi Has said:—"Get thee back, whence thou' earnest."

So the 18,000 warriors returned as empty as they came, and Râi Has on his return home went to the palace, where Rânî Késari, his mother lived; and she said to him:—

Bait.

"*Nij janê diôn mere kok se, jin ke lîyê dâdhd*
dôgh.
Laggâ lîyâ merâ râñh gûê; nâ hoî sahaj, nâ
hot thâ.
Pun parât bîrî, angan liye bahâ.

Verse.

"Would I had not given birth from my womb to
 one who has brought so great disgrace.
 My expenditure has been wasted; no result, no
 fulfilment.
 The maiden brought as alms has been stayed
 at the threshold.
 For the sake of God bring back the procession to
 the house."

Said Râi Has:—"You love your daughter, but not your son."

Said his mother:—"Daughters are dear to mothers. Some people will say that there was something wrong with the boy's parents and so the girl's parents would not give her to him. And others will say there was something wrong about the girl and so the boy's parents would not have her. For the Lord's sake bring the procession back home again."

So Râi Has got on his horse and took a spear eighteen cubits long in his hand and went ahead of the whole procession to where Râi Chilmil was mounted on an elephant. Twirling his spear he smote the elephant on the head with it and sent it off squealing. The people in the procession said:—"This is the very fellow who brought down the jar. As is the bridegroom, so are the people of the wedding party."

⁶⁰ I. e., lower his pride.

⁶¹ I. e., we are of the superior family.

Râi Has brought them to the place where his mother lived, and, giving his sister her dowry and presents, put her in the palanquin. Then he said to Râi Chilmil: — "Brother, get you home with what is yours and expect me later."

The palanquin reached the well in Râi Majhâr's garden, and the news reached Késari Râi Chilmil's mother, so she took all her sons' daughters and her menials and went to the spot where her son was sitting. She passed a cup of milk round the heads of her son and his bride, and drank it and said: —

Bait.

"*Kihâñ dîthiâñ sâtiâñ gharwâlîdâñ? Kihâ
dîthiyo sâte hâr?*"
"*Achehîdâñ dîthîdâñ gharwâlîdâñ: achhe dîthe
sâte hâr.*"
*It kam awwald hoiâ, Ammâ; meri Morni
de âyâ sâte hâr.*

Verse.

"How seem your sister-in-law and the matrons?
How seems thy brother-in-law's wife?"
"Well seem my sister-in-laws and the matrons:
well seems my brother-in-law's wife."
There has been one mistake, Mother; I made
Morni a brother-in-law's wife."

His mother replied: "My son, we are rulers of twenty-one tracts and he only has seven. What a mess you have made of it!"

Râi Majhâr received congratulations from everybody, except one man. Who was he? Chhelâ, the musician. Masters don't know the names of all their servants. Râi Majhâr said: "All my menials have congratulated me, except Chhelâ, my household musician. Why has he not done so?"

Chhelâ, who was lying on a couch, got up and said: — "Sire, all the menials were hungry for their fees. None of them told you what touched your interests."

Râi Majhâr asked what the point was, and Chhelâ said: — "You sent out a wedding procession of 18,000 warriors. He stuck a cup on high, on nine lances, and the 18,000 warriors went shooting at it. Then your son made a bet with Râi Has, who knocked the cup down and won it, so your son agreed to betroth Morni, your daughter, to him. And now the 18,000 warriors have returned home, but otherwise he would not have let one come back."

Râi Majhâr said: — "Go and betroth Morni to Târadhîrâ of Dillî." And it was done.

(Meanwhile) Kîddâ, the household Brâhman of Râi Has, was walking by, and Râi Has saw him and said: —

Bait.

"*Aggo âwêh, Dâdd Brâhman; taiñ sâldâñ,
maiñ, Hasâ Râi.*"
Oh jo kahîdî Morni, oh dî khabar le.
Khabar te âwêh, taiñ rakhedâ: nahîñ, rakhî;
ûphâlîdâ jâh."

Verse.

"Come hither, Father Brâhman; I call thee, I,
Hasâ Râi.
She whom they call Morni, bring me news of
her.
If thou bring news, then will I cherish thee: if
not, remain there, (or) I might take thy life."

The Brâhman did not even go home, but started for the city of Râi Majhâr, and as soon as he got there, he heard of Morni's betrothal to Târadhîrâ. He was greatly disturbed and went to Râi Majhâr's court, where he neither bowed nor paid his respects to the Râi, but demanded Morni's bridal palanquin of him.⁶³

⁶³ I.e., that Morni should be taken as a bride to Râi Has.

Now it was the Brāhman Kidjā that had been sent first, and it was his brother Chidḍa that next met Rāi Has, who said: —

Bait.

"*Age āweñ, Dādā Brāhman, tainā sadidā*
Hasse Rāi.

Oh jo kahidī Morai, oh di khabar le de:

Khabar le āweñ, tūñ rakheñ; nahā, rakhē
uthāñ jāñ."

Verse.

'Come hither, Father Brāhman; I assē Rāi
calls thee.

She whom they call Morai, bring me news of
her.

If thou bring news, then will I cherish thee: if
not, remain there, (or) I might take thy life."

The Brāhman set out instantly and got to Rāi Majhār's city. There he made enquiries and people said that the Brāhman, who had first come to claim Morai in betrothal had been hanged by Rāi Majhār. Brothers, hearing of a brother's fate, suffer great pain. He went to Rāi Majhār's court, made neither obeisance nor salutation, but asked for the palanquin (of betrothal).

Bait.

Gadh Mughalāntōñ Dāhman chaliā, wakhid shahr
Majhār.

Akhan Rāi Majhār nūñ: "Maine suniāñ
wadhā be-lmāñ:

⁶⁷[*Moro Dāmāñ, Bhattāñ, Dāhmanāñ, tukā nūñ*
wadhā pāp lagge]:

Mang hai sūñi sundar Morai: hor le-jāgā kare
jāññ?

*Teghāñ māñi auliāñ-sauliāñ,*⁶⁸ *jāñe kul jāññ.*

Tir nāl Ved parhā de: main le gharāñ nūñ jāñ."

Verse.

The Brāhman left Gadh Mughalānt, and invaded
the city of Majhār.

He said to Rāi Majhār: "I have heard that
thou art very faithless:

⁶⁷[If Pōms, Bhattās and Brāhmans die, great sins
are upon thee]:

The demand is our beautiful Morai: shall any
other youth (than our Rājā) take her away?

We can strike with our swords hither and thither,
as all the world knows.

Have the *Vedas* read to an arrow⁶⁹ and I will
take her home."

Rāi Majhār said: "Every Brāhman that comes, talks of 'Morai, Morai,' and nothing else. Put a rope two and-a-half cubits long round his neck and hang him on the left branch, just as the first Brāhman was hanged on the right." So the two Brāhmans hung like gourds dangling. The news reached Rāi Has that a second Brāhman had come from her father and had been pitilessly and unjustly hanged too. She merely said: "Every fool of a Brāhman that comes does not come near me, but goes there."

The brother of these two Brāhmans, Rūp Chand, the austere, the virtuous,⁷⁰ the pious and earnest⁷¹, had been lately married, and next day he went to Rāi Has and begged for alms, but Rāi Has said: —

Bait.

"*Agge āweñ, Dādā Dāhmanāñ, tainā saddāñ*
Hasse Rāi:

Oh jo kahidī Morai, oh di khabar le de.

Khabar le āweñ tūñ rakheñ; nahā, rakhē,
uthāñ jāñ."

Verse.

"Come hither, Father Brāhman, Hassē Rāi calls
thee.

She whom they call Morai, bring me news of her.

If thou bring news, then will I cherish thee;
if not, remain away and stay there."

⁶⁷ A suspicious line; it does not fit in with the rest and is perhaps added out of exuberance by the bard.

⁶⁸ Hither and thither, at random.

⁶⁹ Bait.

⁶⁹ Marry her to an arrow.

⁷¹ Rāñi pati.

Rûp Chand said :—

Bait.

"*Main kal vidhi Brâhmanî ; merâ mûl na latthâ chûe.*
Aj dî rât mainûn rahan de, bhalke pawāngd lambî rdh."

Said Râi Has : —

Bait.

"*Main pat de diân gûn kapre, sona has ghayâ ;*
Jhûlî diân dudh piwān nû.
Asî karke rakhân Brâhmanî, jaisî Kesrî Râni de merî mû."

Verse.

"Yesterday I married a Brâhmanî ; I have not yet had my money's worth.
Let me be to-night, to-morrow I will make a long journey."

Verse.

"I will give thee clothes of silk and handsome ornaments of gold ;
I will give thee a buffalo for milk to drink.
I will guard thy Brâhmanî as my mother, Kesrî Râni.

O Brâhman, set out."

The Brâhman had a platter filled with gold coins, which he tied up in a corner of his shawl, as a gift made in charity, and went home. The Brâhmanî peeped at him from her veil and saw that he, who when he set out was as ruddy as a pomegranate flower, had come back as white as a roll of cotton, and she said to the Brâhman : —

Bait.

"*Main changâ bhallâ ghallî dîn nû ; tûn âyon rang rūp wajde.*
Kehre man tere wartî ? Dil dî âkh sunde."
Kam piâ hai joymân Râi Has dâ ; mathon ghari na rahî jûe."

Said the Brâhmanî : —

Bait.

"*Ithe asî kiân wasiye, jithon jân dâ hone windh ?*
Nahîn tûn bhaj chal Lâhor Shahr, mangke khû kiâr ?
Main pâkiân de wirt le diân, baithâ rûj kamâ."

Said the Brâhman Rûp Chand : —

Bait.

"*Pahle sohre so wasse, jîh dâ piñd na girân.*
Dûje sohre so wasse, jîh dâ wadhû kare brîhî et mû.
Dhan hai sâde jîânâ ; dhan hai sâde joymân.
Badhîân bondî chhudâwan de ; sâde chhudâwan na âgge ?"

Verse.

"I sent thee for alms, bright and cheery ; thou comest as white as silver.
What has passed through your mind ? Tell me what is in your heart."
"I have an errand from my patron, Râi Has ; I cannot stay an hour."

Verse.

"Why should we stay here, where life is in danger ?
When we can go to Lâhor City and beg our livelihood from the shops ?
I will give you my father's patrons⁷³ and we will earn a kingdom at ease."

Verse.

"First one lives with a father-in-law, who has no village nor hamlet.
Next one lives with a father-in-law, whose mother and sister are more than enough for him.⁷⁴
Blessing on our lives : blessing on our patrons.
They set free the prisoner and the slave, will they not set us free too ?⁷⁵

⁷³ Wirt, or dirt, the dues payable to a Brâhman. Here Rûp Chand's wife talks as if she would inherit her father's right to collect dirt in Lahore.

⁷⁴ Wadhû kare.

⁷⁵ See that we are comfortable.

The Brāhman threw down the shawl in front of his wife, and she drew it towards her; and when she had untied the knot she found the gold coins with not a single silver one amongst them. Then she said:— "I am a daughter of black (poor) Brāhmans. Truly, it is this that gets Brāhmans into trouble—that people give them gold coins; but our patrons give us only coppers. Whatever has happened there, I can tell you all from the book. Your two brothers, who went there, have been strangled and gibbeted by Rāi Majhār. O Brāhman, you must set out. You will suffer much but will bring back ample subsistence."

The Brāhman took off his new clothes and put on his old ones, and with a staff on his shoulder set out like a young colt. The Brāhmani went up to the palace and said:—

Bait.

"*Sajiye titar lolo; khabien lowid kálá kán.*

Shakkar didā Thākurān Parmēshrdā Bāhman
sahīh salāmat āe.

Verse.

"A partridge called on the right: a black crow cawed on the left,

I will give sugar to the godlings and gods that the Brāhman return safe and sound.

Go, Brāhman, let me see your back at starting and your face on your return."

The Brāhman went his way and reached Rāi Majhār's city. The Brāhman was a very fort of wisdom and he said to himself:— "I think I shall achieve my object either at the stairs which lead to the well or at the mill, or else at the oven. Now you had best go and sit at the well."

So he went to the well, where he saw four young women⁷³ who had come to draw water, and said to them:—

Bait.

"*Sarwar, khāh khalōtie, thōyā pāni mujh pīā,*

Pāni pīā tere khāh dā, pāni pīe iardā dūf."

Verse.

"Ladies, standing at the well, give me a little water to drink.

If I drink the water of your well, as I drink I will make a prayer."

When the Brāhman said this, all four looked towards him. Some looked at his clothes and one said:— "I wonder what curse has befallen him! What a handsome form he has and how badly he is dressed!" One said:— "I will ask him." The two others said:— "We don't know him. Why should we ask him?" She said:— "No, I will ask him." And then she said:—

Bait.

"*Tuffo jeha tere tingane; bure kasulē wee.*"

"*Rah, jajmān ā befi, tūā kī puchhāt nā?*

Ohā konj kumārī befi, mangān dyā lālān
dān."⁷⁴

Verse.

"Torn are thy rags; wretched and sad are thy looks."

"Stay, my patron's daughter, what hast thou to ask?"

I have four young maiden daughters at home, I have come to ask alms of rubies."⁷⁵

They said:— "That's right. He who has a grown-up daughter or sister at home cares nothing for eating, drinking or clothes."

⁷³ *Mitārdā.*

⁷⁴ Apparently fragments of stanzas are collected here.

One said : — " Râi Majhâr is giving heaps of alms." Another said : — " Mornî's giving lots of alms." The Brâhman said : — " A newly-married girl has come here, who is giving lavish alms. Take me to her." So they took him, and he said : — " As soon as we get near the palace of Râi Hasnî, point it out to me and go away." They showed him the palace and Rûp Chand told them to go away, while he himself went into Râi Hasnî's hall and said : — " The king will rule and the pigeon coo, and the sword will rattle : whosoever wants to ask about God's secrets, let him ask me." Râi Hasnî heard him and told her maid to see who it was, as it sounded like Rûp Chand's voice. The girl saw it was Rûp Chand and Râi Hasnî told her to ask him in at once, lest he share his brothers' fate. The Râni took off her new dress and put on an old one, removed the bed, and put down a mat. Rûp Chand went up into the palace and placed his hand on his (spiritual) daughter's head, saying : — " Your wedding was only the other day, what has become of your fine clothes ? "

She said : — " Father, I am in mourning for your two dead brothers." Rûp Chand said : — " They were fools, if they had come to you, they would never have died."

Then they talked of indifferent subjects, and Râi Hasnî said : — " Father, cook something for yourself and me to eat." Rûp Chand said : — " When I left home, I started thinking of you, my daughter, and that if I eat anything, I must take it from the hands of Râi Mornî." Râi Hasnî said : — " Every Brâhman who comes here talks of Râi Mornî, Râi Mornî. Mornî is silly and shy. She must have gone to graze the cattle or to grind corn."

Rûp Chand's wit was no match for Râi Hasnî's, and he said to himself : — " Mornî is the daughter of a Râjâ of twenty-one tracts ; if she were mad she would have a guard about her." Râi Hasnî went on to say : — " Father, if you don't believe what I say, I will show you Mornî."

Hè told her to do so, and so Râi Hasnî went and gave Ghattî, one of her maids who ground corn, an embroidered shawl which she had brought from her home, and put it on her. She was delighted and said : — " Yesterday you kindly gave me a bodice and now you have given me a shawl." Râi Hasnî said : — " I have made thee Mornî for a couple of hours." The girl agreed to this and stuck her pot of flour under her arm. When she came, Râi Hasnî said : — " Râjput women wear a veil of one and a quarter yard long, so she too had better have one, too." When she adjusted the veil the pot of flour slipped, and *vice versa*, — so she came. Rûp Chand also saw her as she drew near and thought she had either a bundle of clothes on her or a child in her lap. As she approached, he remarked that she had a gait like a donkey-grazer's, and rolling himself in his shawl, went to sleep.

She came up into the palace. Râi Hasnî said : — " Mornî, Rûp Chand has arrived tired out. Fan him until he wakes up." So she began to fan him, but what with the fan in one hand and the pot of flour in the other, she was soon tired, and said : — " Accursed is the gold that tears one's ears." Laying aside the fan, she perspired and her body began to discharge.⁷⁷ Rûp Chand saw how filthy she was and thought of his two brothers murdered on her account. Suddenly he sat up and seizing a bamboo staff gave her two or three blows with it. One blow fell on the pot of flour and she became as white as she had once been black, and with the flour coming out looked like a *churâi*.⁷⁸ Her teeth were as long as one's finger and she was just hideous to see. Rûp Chand began to retreat and exclaimed : — " O god, save me from this fate. It is a pity that all on account of this Mornî my two treasures⁷⁹ perished." When Rûp Chand uttered Mornî's name the grindstone slave laughed, and then looking at her hurts wept. Rûp Chand observed that people who were beaten generally wept and asked why she laughed. She replied : —

⁷⁷ *Wajan* = *wapnâ*, to flow, discharge.

⁷⁸ The hideous ghost of a woman that has died in childbirth.

⁷⁹ *Lîl*, rubies.

Bait.

"*Agloñ ghutiā, Bāhmanān; sinbhal kēn wagā.*

Morni dīdā la nishānīdā maithon nandā jā.
Sajanhdre sarjayā: rūp dītā Kartār.

Wāl maldī pālweñ; kunḍal kēs pawēñ.

Nalithā hai bhale chand dā, lāl hawdīn dē.
Honḥ pānān tōn paḥle, malūk pān chabēñ.
Dand jawāhīr hīre, kach dē mōti joḥ karcēñ.

Gallān lāl bambhūridā, lāl hawdīn dēñ.
Kānīā bukbukodlīdā; bāhīā wellan wellīdā.
Chhatle apar apār; unglīdā aricā dī phallīdā.

Sine ulie dō lāḍā dhare mashālān bāl.
Dhunnē tung charāb dī; modē gurj dhare dhar
jār.

Paṭṭīā mās līpētōdā; jhanjhan, dē chhankār.
Chāl-chale wāḡe shēr dī; ūḍē panekā mardī
jhanjhan dī chhankār.

Dhan oh rājā oh dā jiānā, jis ghar Morni nār."

Verses.

"Thou hast been outwitted, Brāhman; do thy work skilfully.

Hear the signs of Morni from me.

The Creator made her: the Creator gave her beauty.

Hair nourished with cream; looks curled in ringlets.

Forehead as the full moon, ruddy as a rocket.

Lips thin as betel leaves such as beauties chew.

Teeth of jewels and diamonds, set like pearls of glass.

Cheeks red as scarlet birds, ruddy as rockets.

Ears full of rings; arms round as rollers.

Rings without number; fingers thin as pease-pods.

Two globes as bright as torches on her breast.

Navel like a flask of wine; shoulders rounded as a ball.

Thighs covered with flesh; jingling anklets.

Gait like a tigress's; the jingling of her anklets kills the flying birds.

Blessed is that rājā and his life, in whose house Morni is wife."

"Listen to me, O Brāhman, I have described Morni to you. Does she go about grinding flour? She is the Rājā's daughter, what has she to do with such tasks?"

Rūp Chand gave her ten rupees and said: — "Forgive me for beating you." And he gave her ten rupees more, telling her to get him some lac,⁴⁰ sheep's wool, scissors, and some firewood. She did so, and he put the lac into a pan, lighted a fire under it and laid bits of the wool beside him. When the lac had melted, he took it off the fire and when it was luke-warm; he told the slave-girl to paste it all over his body. She did so, and then stuck pieces of wool all over him. Meanwhile, the wind blew and the lac was completely plastered over his body and the sheep's wool bristled, so that he looked like an old, old Brāhman five hundred years old. Ghatī was now ordered by the Brāhman to go and point out Morni's palace to him, as they passed through the bazar. He carried a brass pot in his hand, and when people saw him, they said he must have come down from Heaven, and that if any one wanted an oracle, now was the time to ask for it. One man said: — "If you are going to give him anything, give it. He is in a bad way, let him go somewhere else, lest he die at our door." Traversing the bazar he reached the watch-house, where one sentry asked him one thing, and another, another until the head sentry said: — "This Brāhman is very weak, don't ask him any questions, but give him whatever you mean to give, and let him go, lest he die here." The Brāhman held his breath⁴¹ and in his terror fell down. The head sentry said they could now ask for oracles and omens.⁴² "A Brāhman had died at their door, and they must give Rs. 5 to buy fire-wood. The murder would be an extra charge, and they would have to go to the Ganges as well." Another sentry said: — "It's no affair of ours, we are Morni's servants, and she herself must burn him or go to the Ganges. Take him by the legs and arms, and throw him into the courtyard." So two men seized his legs and two his arms and threw him into Morni's yard.

(To be continued.)

⁴⁰ Chaprā, lac fitted for commercial use.

⁴¹ Thaggaṇ, lit. to cheat, cheating, i.e., humbug.

⁴² Sānhghuṇā, to be stopped — of the breath.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PANJABI LEXICOGRAPHY.

(Continued from p. 294.)

SERIES II.

BY H. A. ROSE, I.C.S.

Sakhshi: a witness. *Jhelum Customary Law*, xix, p. .**Sakra**: a disease of camels. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. xv.**Sakwât**: relationship. Cf. *sakat* and *sakâwat*, *Jukes' Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 193.**Salâmanwâlâ**: a man who at winnowing gathers up the grain to be winnowed. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. vii.**Salang vâsak**: a kind of snake which drinks the breath of sleeping persons. Cf. *sâhpienâ*, *Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 42.**Sam**: sandy land. *D. I. Khân S. R.*, 1879, p. 211.**Sâm**: an iron boot with which the pestle (*mahla*) is shod. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. vii.**Sambhi**: a kind of net. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. xxiv.**Sân**: the name of a bullock after 4 years of age. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. xvi.**Sanatha or Sinatha**: bog myrtle. *Kohât S. R.*, 1884, p. 29.**Sânda**: a species of lizard. Cf. *sahua*. *Chenab Col. Gr.*, 1894, p. 10; *sanda*, *Multân Gr.* p. 21.**Sandâra**: an inflated skin used for crossing streams. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. xxiv.**Sandla**: an aqueduct. *Multân Gr.*, p. 325.**Sâng**: a form of sudden death. *Multân Gr.*, p. 235.**Sânga**: a two-pronged wooden pitchfork. *Hazâra S. R.*, 1874, p. 96.**Sangair**: a soil having a large mixture of stones. *Kohât S. R.*, 1884, p. 156.**Sangochûr**: lit., throttler, a poisonous snake. Cf. *gurdhâ*. *Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 42.**Sangli**: a husk, of cotton. *Multân Gr.*, p. 210.**Sanidar**: a variety of tobacco with an even, well-shaped leaf requiring much more trouble to cultivate than the *gardha*. *D. I. Khân S. R.*, 1879, p. 349.**Saoli**: a fish, the murrel. *Bannû S. R.* 1899, p. xxxvi.**Sar**: the wavy leaves at the base of the *butâ* (*saccharum sara*). *Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 33.**Sar kânâ**: a name wrongly used for *butâ* (*saccharum sara*). *Mgarh. S. R.*, p. 33.**Saras**: lit., 'great'; the reaper's 'sheaf'. Cf. *niras*.**Sardâ**: an earlier sown Indian corn. See *garma*. *Kohât S. R.*, 1884, p. 122.**Sarhon**: rape. *Monty. S. R. Gloss.*, p. xi.

Sari : a disease of kind extremely contagious, the principal symptom being a swelling of the whole body. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 98.

Sarīhan : a fish (*labeo curaa*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 40.

Sarobah : higher-lying, with reference to water-supply. Bannū S. R., p. xl.

Saroba-paina : *lit.*, 'head (and) tail,' the general rule by which the lands at the head of a stream or channel are first entitled to be watered and after them the lower lands in succession. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 7.

Sarop : the first year's crop of indigo. Multān Gr., p. 213.

Saropā : see *jhāri*.

Saropa : head of a torrent or distributary. Cf. *mund piana*, D. G. Khān Gr., p. 103.

Saropah : bundles of cloth, forming part of a dowry. Gujrāt S. R., p. 48.

Sarrāfi : *abwāb* (extra cesses) levied in cash. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xxii.

Sartor : bareheaded, a title of the Mullāh Mastān or Mad Mullāh, who is commonly known as the Sartor Faqir.

Sarwah : the autumn crop : *sawannī* is perhaps the widest known term. Bannū S. R., p. xv.

Sat : a disease of camels. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.

Satān pawān : or 'seven quarters of a rupee,' i. e., Re. 1 as. 12; a specific rate of *haqq amīn-lāri*. Cf. *adh-sara man*.

Sathrā : (i) common red rice. (Cf. Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 188). Multān Gr., p. 216; (ii) a kind of wheat which yields a large out-turn of grain, but inferior straw, p. 218.

Satluba :  a brand on camels.

Setthi : the sixth day after the birth of a child. Multān Gr., p. 90.

Satthri = toriā : an oil seed. (Cf. Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 188). Multān Gr., p. 221.

Satāvārā : the seven days during which a bride remains in her husband's house. Mgarh. S. R., p. 70.

Satwāra : an observance in which sweetmeats are taken to the bridegroom's house by the bride's people, 3 to 7 days after marriage. Multān G. R., p. 96.

Saunfa : a kind of late-growing rice. Multān Gr., p. 216.

Sāure : a plant, a mere weed, but used for fodder. Mgarh. S. R., p. 23.

Sawri : wild *sawankh*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 16.

Sawwar : rough home-spun cotton-quilt. Cf. *leph, khindī*. Multān Gr., p. 82.

Sef : a good fodder grass. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 16.

Sepl : a sweeper, who works for several families each in turn, and twice a year at harvest-time—opp. to *athari*. Gujrāt S. R., p. 40.

Seri : a grant, generally used of lands granted in ownership to religious characters; but also applied to grants to a chief in excess of his *sisāsat* (tribal share) and to other service grants. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 155.

Shahi khol: a sweeper and grave-digger. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.

Shahora: land ready-ploughed and watered. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 121.

Shāli: rice. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 88.

Shama: land ready-ploughed. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 121.

Shamshād: the box tree. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.

Shangist: dried (of dates). Multān Gr., p. 228.

Shara-jawāb: the last ceremony of the betrothal, in which the father of the bridegroom and the father of the bride successively declare the betrothal in a loud voice, the declaration being repeated three times. Cf. *ijāb kabūl*. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 299.

Shārak (add at Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.* p. 205:—): 2 *tanus*, in measuring wood = *chitāk* in weight. Multān Gr., p. 257.

Sharik: see *chārikār*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 92.

Sharmāna: a fine paid by a man who marries a woman without the consent of her guardians. Cf. *rasm mulk*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 77.

Shaḥ pānī: (add at Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.* p. 208:—): the permanent supply of water found in the *sachh*. Multān Gr., p. 195.

Shavinh: a tree. Cf. *śiśa*. Multān Gr., p. 16.

Shiggā: the worst description of soil in which sand predominates. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 156.

Shihan: a kind of hawk. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.

Shingist: a kind of date, long, and bright-yellow in colour. Mgarh. S. R., p. 31.

Shinh-bakri: a game. Multān Gr., p. 99.

Shini: the best kind of Biloch mare. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 119.

Shinī: a tall forest tree, something like an ash. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.

Sholgira: rice-bearing land. Peshāwar S. R., 1894, p. 104.

Sijh-ubhārā (*lit.*, sun rise): a plant. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.

Sikand: a clay soil. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xxiii.

Sikand: a hard stiff clay of dark colour. Cf. *rorah*.

Sikar: a hard soil full of shale and gravel. Cf. *rakkar*.

Silmār: a quack doctor. Cf. *kātmār*. Multān Gr., p. 91.

Simak: a disease of camels. Monty. S. R., Gloss., p. xv.

Sin: a plant. Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.

Sindī: a variety of wheat of the Indus valley. Kohāt S. R., p. 120.

Sinetta: thick, low brushwood. Jhelum S. R., p. 3.

Singhārā: a fish (*macones aor*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 39.

Singi: a variety of fish. Multān Gr., p. 23.

- Singli** (adj.): horned, of sheep. Multān Gr., p. 239.
- Sinwak**: a white ant. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. viii.
- Sip**: a tray made of *kānd* or *āṭh*, larger than the *chhaj* and used only in winnowing. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. iii.
- Sipt**: the spathe of the palm-tree. Multān Gr., p. 227.
- Sirin**: a tree (*albizzia lebbek*). Cf. *sharrah*. Multān Gr., p. 14.
- Sirmel**: completion of a wedding. Multān Gr., p. 94.
- Siropa**: an installation fee. Cf. *jhāri* and *lāngi*. Multān Gr., p. 168.
- Sir par honā**: an animal which is kept by a man other than its owner on condition that the keeper gets half its value, when grown up. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xiv.
- Sisal**: a game bird, a kind of hill partridge, Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 31; *sisa*. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 16.
- Sitni**: abuse given by the women of the bride's family to the bridegroom's procession. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 300.
- Sitthri**: see *dohā*. Multān Gr., p. 93.
- Siyal**: a disease of buffaloes. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.
- Skhai**: a game; it consists in holding up the left foot in the right hand, and hopping on one leg against an adversary. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 131.
- Sohāg**: marriage song sung at the bride's house—opp. to *ghoridān*. Gujrat S. R., p. 44.
- Sojal**: a disease of buffaloes. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.
- Solh-satahrwin**: a cash proprietary due at the rate of one-seventeenth, i. e., Rs. 6-4 per cent. on the Government revenue, was originally the seventh share of the produce. Bannū S. R., p. xv.
- Soni**: a fish, the *labeo curaa*. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxvi.
- Sot**: throwing coins over a bridegroom's head. Multān Gr., p. 96.
- Spadār**: a tree, found in the upper valleys. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.
- Spin**: a kind of wheat. See *dūd khāni*.
- Subhai tikāla**: the morning meal. Cf. *gharmai marai*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 73.
- Sufed pānt**: the discoloured silty water brought down by rain in a stream. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 5.
- Suhāwa**: a variety of camel. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xv.
- Sukband**: a dam of earthwork at the end of a water-course. Multān Gr., p. 325.
- Sukhdas**: a valuable variety of rice. Kohāt S. R., p. 124.
- Sum**: ash, the wood is valuable for oars, shafts and all articles which require a combination of strength and flexibility. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 11.
- Sunal**: a marriage.
- Sūndā**: the Pharaoh's chicken. Mgach. S. R., p. 37.
- Sunjāti**: recognition.
- Surgi**: a branch or a *vial*. Bannū S. R., p. xi.
- Surrā**: a disease among horses and camels. It is very fatal and does not yield to treatment. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 97.

- Suryal** : The relatives of the man in whose house a boy's wedding is observed.
- Susari** : a worm which attacks dates still on the tree. Mgarh. S. R., p. 32.
- Sutiar** : the pole fixed against the well ropes to prevent them from slipping off the *hair*. Jhang. S. R., p. 79.
- Swajan** : the Chaste tree (*Vitex negundo*). Pashto *marwandai*. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 13.
- Sweri** : the shady side ; the northern slope of a range of hills. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 26.
- Tabbai** : a griddle of stone, a foot in diameter, for baking cakes. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 74.
- Tabbi** : an oblong block of salt. Cf. *chakki*. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 148.
- Tad** : a rope made of *mānj* used to fasten the yoke to the *gādi*, or driving seat of a well. Cf. *chil*. Jhang S. R., p. 83.
- Tadda** : of a colour nearly strawberry. Monty. S. R. ¹⁸⁸⁴ Ross., p. xvi.
- Tagha** : a large shrub with a small edible berry, the wood of which is a good deal used for making amulets. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 30.
- Tag sutlaj** : a disease of buffaloes. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.
- Talla** : a fish, the *catla bichanni*. Bannū S. R., 1899, p. xxx vi.
- Takhti** : a plaque. Multān Gr., p. 89.
- Takka** : a share. Cf. *kadda*.
- Takma** : a charm. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 42.
- Tal** : an apparatus consisting of transverse sticks and thick ropes of twisted *ear* grass. Multān Gr., pp. 195-6.
- Tal** : a sectional allotment of land. Bannū S. R., p. xl.
- Tal** : a subdivision of a *kandi* (section of a village). Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 86.
- Tal di** : local. Multān Gr., p. 233.
- Tallīān** : a game in which one man presses his palm on the ground, and others try to pull it up from the ground. Multān Gr., p. 100.
- Talwang**, = *tilwang* : (Cf. Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 90.) Multān Gr., p. 195.
- Talwera** : the grain that remains on the threshing floor after the heaps of corn have been removed. Cf. *angari* and *rafa*. Multān S. R., p. 21.
- Tamālā** : a deep vessel with a neck. Cf. *gaded*. Multān Gr., p. 83.
- Tambal** : cymbals. Kohāt S. R., 1884, p. 75.
- Tānd, tandobi** : a system of cultivation in which the water is laid on to open fields divided by small ridges like those used in well cultivation. D. I. Khān S. R., 1879, p. 9.
- Tandulā** : a plant. Mgarh. S. R., p. 34.
- Tangan** : see *utangan*. Multān Gr., p. 205.
- Tanrai** : a clothes chest or safe made of wood. Peshāwar S. R., 1878, p. 134.
- Tapli** : a soil in which sand largely preponderates. Cf. *estli*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 26.
- Tappa** : the portion of a main subdivison of a tribe, among the Pathāns of Dir, Swāt and Bajaur. Each *tappa* was again subdivided between the various khels into *daftars*.
- Tappi** : earnest-money. D. G. Khān.

- Tariz**: an agreement. Multân.
- Tasi**: two *angals*, in measuring wood. Multân Gr., p. 257.
- Tatiri**: the peewit. Mgarh. S. R., p. 36.
- Tatti**: a game resembling prisoner's base. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 74.
- Taun**: a bee-hive. Cf. *gahi* and *makhorna*.
- Tâwân bâbat**: *lit.*, 'fine account'; a term applied to the Government revenue. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 156.
- Todâ gandh badhesân**: *lit.*, 'I will tie a knot to you,' i. e., I will visit your shrine. Mgarh. S. R., p. 67.
- Teghna**: an iron griddle, a foot in diameter, for baking cakes. Kohât S. R., 1884, p. 74.
- Telâ**: rusty brown. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvi.
- Tengra**: a variety of fish. Multân Gr., p. 23.
- Teri**: charitable grants given from times immemorial to *faqirs* and other individuals following a religious profession. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 122.
- Thadri**: cow-pox. Mgarh. S. R., p. 35.
- Thai la**: a kind of fish (*catla buehanani*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 40.
- Thâka**: a cog of a wheel. (Cf. *thâkay*, Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 101.) Multân Gr., p. 199.
- Thakkar**: a *guru* of the *sewaks* or river-worshippers. Multân Gr., p. 115.
- Thamb**: tied up. Mgarh.
- Thâl**: a betrothal ceremony: when the bridegroom's party have, on arrival at the bride's house, been feasted, the barber puts between the two parties a large brass platter called a *thâl*. Into this, the bridegroom puts what money and jewels he has brought for his bride. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 299.
- Thala**: a small level patch on a hill-top. Cf. *thâpla* and *mohri*. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 197.
- Thalwân**: a Thal camel. Jhang S. R., p. 110.
- Thangar**: unirrigated soil. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 197.
- Thanj pitânâ**: a ceremony performed some six days after the birth of a son when the relations are called in, and the mother, in the presence of the females of the family, gives the child the breast. Multân Gr., p. 81.
- Thapla**: a small level patch on a hill top. See *thâla*.
- Thokar**: a dam or regulator on a canal or large water-course. Multân Gr., p. 325.
- Thubâi**: excavating the pit of a well after water has been reached. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xii.
- Thuni**: the yew. See *barai*. Hazâra S. R., 1874, p. 11.
- Tikâ**: among the upper classes of Gujrât this term is applied to the presents sent to the boy's father at a wedding; equivalent to the *thocha* among the middle classes. Gujrât S. R., 1874, p. 43.
- Til, pl. tilhân**: sesamum. Multân Gr., p. 217.
- Tillar**: a variety of cotton. Chenab Col. Gr., 1894, p. 81.
- Tilphâti**: a disease of sheep. Monty. S. R. Gloss., p. xvii.
- Têli**: the upper part of the stem of the *bûta* (*saccharum cara*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 33.
- Tilôr**: a florican (*houbara macqueeni*). Mgarh. S. R., p. 38.
- Timbu, tibbu**: a memorandum in an account book. Mgarh.

- Timmar**: a wild fruit. Hazāra S. R., 1874, p. 94.
Tingā: roosting-pole. Multān Gr., p. 82.
Tir mār: a kind of snake. Cf. *ghore dangan*. Mgarh. S. R., p. 42.
Tirāhi: a kind of wheat. See *dūd-dhānī*.
Tirao: a unit of measurement. *Dir*, etc.
Tirkanda: a variety of fish. Multān Gr., p. 23.
Titak: a vegetable. D. G. Khān, p. 113; a water-melon. Cf. *hindwāna*. D. I. Khān S. R., 1872-79, p. 25.
Titāhā: sand-piper. Mgarh. S. R., p. 36.
Tobah: a well-sinker. Jhang S. R., p. 100.
Tobi: a diver=*foba*, (Jukes' *Dicty. of W. P.*, p. 100). Multān Gr., p. 195.
Tobra: a cess. D. G. Khān Gr., p. 84; a horse's nose bag, filled with corn, and representing the feed of corn given freely by the tenant; a due. Multān S. R., 1880, p. 44.
Tog: the Indian bustard (*ubdrā*). Bannū S. R., 1897, p. xxxv.
(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

Subdī ki Nāṭī¹

BY H. A. ROSE.

Tek.

Rayā to kare, Subdī, Kāshī Rām, re ghaurē:
 Nahī mānā burā; mahī mānā burā,

Fūli karālā fulrū, fūli karālā dūnū.
 Dhela bhari merī jindārī; kas, kas rā shunū?

Rayā to kare, Subdī, etc.

Dhanu re taṅgō pānde dhālā, Sundī, mānjā.

Rākhiā to karāi, Subdī, uchō nichō jānjā.

Rajī to kare, Subdī, etc.

Kāle khāye ākhī, re, kājle; mānj māthe re bindē.

Kohri khāye terī paritē, ghārī palo, re, chitē.¹

Rayā to kare, Subdī, etc.

Haṅs chugo samundare; mor dūlī, re, bighe.

Hāmē to simre the umrokhe; tuse bichhre shighe.

Rayā to kare, Subdī, etc.

Refrain.

Subdī, you should live in Kāshī Rām's house:
 Never to be unhappy, unhappy.

Flowerets bloom and the wild onions bloom.
 My life weighs half a *tolī*; whose, whose order am
 I to obey?

Subdī, you should live, etc.

O, Subdī, you have made your bed in Dhanu's
 verandah.

You should keep the distance between the high
 and low (castes), Subdī.

Subdī, you should live, etc.

O, pretty is the lamp-black under your eyes, and
 the red spot in the centre of your forehead.

O, I remember your one-sided love that fascinates
 every moment.

Subdī, you should live, etc.

O, Swans live by the lake; peafowls in the valley
 fields.

I had taken you till your life's end, but you at
 once deserted me.

Subdī, you should live, etc.

¹ Pākī Love Song. Subdī or Subdā was a Kanet girl in a village in Jā parganā in the Keonthal State. Kāshī Rām, her husband, was a Kanet; Dhanu, her lover, was a Koli; both of Keonthal.

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